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45. 1615.

The Place where Prayer was wont to be made.

THE

RE-INTRODUCTION OF THE SYSTEM

OF

Private Devotion in Churches

CONSIDERED IN

A LETTER

TO THE VENERABLE

The President

OF THE

CAMBRIDGE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

J. M. Neale

Regeles:

JOHN THOMAS WALTERS.

J. BURNS, PORTMAN STREET, LONDON.

MDCCKXLIV.



On Private Devotion in Churches.

A LETTER.

REVEREND SIR,

It is allowed on all hands, that one of the principal benefits likely to accrue to the Church from the formation of those Architectural Societies, of the largest and most influential of which you are President, is the inculcation of a due spirit of Reverence towards the Houses of God. They are not only instituted in order that future temples may be, in some sort, worthy of His Divine Majesty, but that those which we already possess may be regarded as verily and indeed the habitations of Him, Whom the Heaven and the Heaven of Heavens cannot contain. They would teach, if it may be so, the Architect how to frame his conceptions, to arrange his details, to mature his plan : but they would also teach the humble worshipper, by symbols and types which he can understand, the Majesty of that God Who draws nigh to the sons of men in His own Holy Temples. That the exertions of the Cambridge Camden Society have been useful in promoting the latter end, you have frequently stated in your anniversary addresses ; that it is an end dear to all the

members of our Society, but more especially so to yourself, none who are at all conversant with the subject will deny. It is therefore with the more confidence that the following pages are addressed to you: because I am sure that any attempt, however feeble in itself, to revive a devotional and ancient practice, will, if honestly made, be favourably received by you; and that you will, to use an architectural metaphor, excuse the details for the sake of the idea.

No English Catholick can, I think, have visited in foreign lands the churches of another Communion, without being struck by some painful differences between them and our own. The doors are there open from day-break till the afternoon; in the morning hours, the number of worshippers employed in private devotion is often large; and even later in the day, when two or three aged men, or poor widows, are all who are to be found there, the character and the holiness of the House of Prayer are still maintained. Our traveller cannot but contrast these things with the difficulty of access, on the week-day, to one of our own parish churches; with our fastened wickets, and locked doors, and bolted gates; with the deserted appearance, desolate sensations and damp atmosphere which mark one of God's Temples amongst ourselves. Doubtless the first impression, whatever might be the result of a further comparison, is in favour of the Foreign System, and against our own.

The enquiry, therefore, naturally suggests itself,—What are the advantages of that system? To what objections does it lie open? Should the former be found to preponderate over the latter, what are the difficulties which would attend its introduction, (or rather, as I shall presently endeavour to shew, *re-introduction*) amongst our-

selves? Are they of such a nature as to be invincible? If not, how may we best hope to overcome them?

It is to these enquiries that, with your permission, I now propose to attempt an answer. I know well that a prejudice, rather the misfortune than the fault of the present age, is strongly opposed to the plan I am about to recommend. But I am also sure, that it needs only fairly and perseveringly to be met, in order finally to be dispelled. "As for the truth, it endureth, and is always strong; it liveth and conquereth for evermore." And when I remember the prejudices that have been and are being surmounted by the force of Truth, I am not apprehensive but that this also will share their fate.

Let us take the highest possible ground at the out-set. I will begin by asking one simple question. Have we, or have we not, reason to believe that a difference of locality can make any difference in the acceptance with which the same prayer, offered by the same persons, is received by Him Who is everywhere present! Have we, in short, any reasons for believing in the *inherent sanctity of particular spots*? I am willing to join issue on the narrowest possible ground, and dropping for the present all reference to Catholick practice, which none will deny to be in my favour, and confining myself to the Scriptural argument alone, I answer, Undoubtedly we have reason for this belief.

We shall find, that in each of the three Dispensations, Prayer, offered either in the House of God, or in the place which He more immediately honoured with His presence, had a virtue and an efficacy which it had not elsewhere. To speak first of the Patriarchal Age. It is the opinion of the Jewish Rabbis, and this, as you are aware, has received the sanction of the learned Bishop Patrick, that from the very first the Schechinah, a Divine

¹ Esdras iv. 38.

Glory, appeared to the Patriarchs in some settled locality, where in danger or necessity they could always resort to it. Thus the going up to this locality became a religious action, and was called appearing before the LORD, or drawing nigh unto the LORD. A reference to the texts¹ which I have placed below, with the notes of the above named commentator, will tend to make this view more than probable. Furthermore, the Altar which Abram built, in the place where this Schechinah had appeared, at the beginning of his sojourn in the land of Canaan, seems to have been ever after regarded by him as more especially holy. Three years later, we find him returning for the purpose of sacrifice, "unto the place of the Altar which he had made there at the first." A second Altar, erected in the plain of Mamre, was resorted to, not only by Abraham himself, but also by Isaac and Jacob. Mount Moriah, first, as it were, hallowed by the oblation of Isaac, was afterwards appointed to be the scene of the Great Sacrifice which that represented. The grove, planted by Abraham at Beer-sheba² for the purposes of devotion, seems afterwards to have been frequented by his son Isaac. An instance more remarkably to our purpose, is that of the stone, which Jacob,³ when flying from his father's house, had consecrated in Bethel, as a memorial of the vision which he had seen, and of the vow which he had made, in that city. To this Altar, on his return to the land of Canaan, he was expressly commanded by God⁴ to go up, and there to offer sacrifice; a clear intimation that worship paid in that particular spot would be more acceptable to the Maker of all things, than that offered in any other. Nay, more;

¹ Genesis iv. 16, xviii. 23; Exodus viii. 12, 30, ix. 29, 33; Genesis xii. 7.

² Genesis xii. 4. ³ Genesis xxi. 33, and compare Genesis xxvi. 23, 33.

⁴ Gen. xxviii. 18, 20. ⁵ Gen. xxxv. 1; see also Gen. xxxi. 13.

GOD condescended to receive a title from the place which he had thus sanctified: and thus it is that we read of El-Bethel.¹ Now I will venture to say, that had a fact like this come down to us, attested by Ecclesiastical only, instead of Scriptural authority, it would have exposed the relaters to the charge of gross superstition, and a low view of the Attributes of the Divine Being. Again, the mountain in which Moses fed his father-in-law's sheep, and which was consecrated by the appearance of the unconsumed bush, was that mountain to which the Israelites were afterwards expressly led, for the purpose of worshipping God there. These instances may suffice to prove that in the Patriarchal dispensation, the sanctity attaching itself to locality was an acknowledged principle; and if this be allowed us, our argument is at once very strong. For those ordinances and those doctrines which, like the Sabbath, had been instituted and inculcated before the Law, were, as S. Paul² teaches with respect to another subject, intended to continue after the Law.

Under the Jewish dispensation, none will deny that Prayer, offered in the Tabernacle or Temple, had greater power than when offered elsewhere. I may refer more particularly to Hannah's³ supplication for Samuel; to Solomon's inaugural speech at the dedication of the Temple; to Asaph's⁴ going up to God's House, when perplexed by the consideration of the worldly prosperity of the wicked; to his declaration that the way of God is in the Sanctuary; to David's earnest desire to see God's Power and Glory, so as he had⁵ seen Him in the Sanctuary; to his going into the Tabernacle to return thanks⁶ for the

¹ Genesis xxxv. 7.² Galatians iii. 17.³ 1 Samuel i. 10.⁴ Psalm lxxiii. 17; and Psalm lxxvii. 13.⁵ Psalm lxiii. 2.⁶ 2 Chron. xvii. 16.

gracious promise vouchsafed to him with respect to his successors; to his¹ doing the same thing when bowing to God's will, after the death of his son; to Hezekiah's² spreading Rabshakeh's letters before the LORD, in the temple; to the carrying forth of the Ark in cases of difficulty and danger, as in the battle³ of Aphek, and the flight of David⁴ from Jerusalem; to Naaman's⁵ requesting two mules' burden of Israelitish earth, for the purpose of building an Altar,—a request unreprieved by Elisha; and finally, to the custom which prevailed amongst the devout Jews, as we may see in the instance of Daniel,⁶ of praying with open windows toward the distant Temple. And so indeed David exclaims,⁷ “in Thy fear will I worship *toward Thy Holy Temple* ;” and even Jonah, in the whale's belly, could say,⁸ “I will look again *toward Thy Holy Temple* .” It would appear, from a comparison of certain passages in the Prophecy of Ezekiel,⁹ that the prophetic spirit descended on him in one particular locality, to which place the elders of Israel were accordingly wont to assemble when any enquiry was to be made. After the return from captivity we find¹⁰ Sherezer and Regem-melech deputed, on an occasion of particular importance, to pray in the House of the LORD, and that, it may be well to observe, three¹¹ years before the building was finished. So great was the sanctity then attached to locality alone! And you will remember, that, in the cases I have mentioned, the acceptableness of the prayer arose from the simple circumstance of the place where it was offered, not from the united fervour of the petitions of a congregation. A

¹ 2 Sam. xii. 20.² 2 Kings xix. 14³ 1 Sam. 4, 5.⁴ 2 Sam. 15—24.⁵ 2 Kings v. 17.⁶ Dan. vi. 10.⁷ Psalm v. 7; cxxxviii. 2.⁸ Jonah ii. 4.⁹ Ezekiel viii. 1; xiv. 1; xx. 1; xxxiii. 31.¹⁰ Zech. vii. 2.¹¹ Compare with the above Ezra vi. 15.

reference to the Book of Psalms shows how often God has condescended to receive a title from the places which He has honoured, from time to time, with His especial Presence.

Nay,—which will be, perhaps, more pertinent still to our argument,—the case was the same under the Christian Dispensation. Anna¹ departed *not from the Temple*. Our blessed SAVIOUR chose the Temple as the scene of His discourses, and of what the Fathers are wont to call His Greatest Miracle; a miracle wrought for the express purpose of asserting the sanctity, and punishing the profanation, of that House of Prayer. And afterwards, although the Jewish polity was now at an end, it was *in the Temple* that the Apostles were continually² praising and blessing God: and again we are told, that they continued daily with one accord *in the Temple*; and yet again, that daily *in the Temple*³ they ceased not to teach. It was to the Temple⁴ that S.S. Peter and John went up at the hour of prayer; it was in the Temple⁵ that the Holy Apostles were commanded by the Angel to stand and speak to the people all the words of this life; it was *in the Temple*⁷ that S. Paul received his mission to the Gentiles. Nay, and long afterwards, witness was borne to the sanctity which yet lingered around the building by those fearful words, which were heard, during the Siege, to proceed from the Holy of Holies, LET US DEPART HENCE! And the case was the same with the Proseuchæ or Oratories. The SAVIOUR Himself frequented the Jewish synagogues: and His example was followed by His Apostles. At Philippi, on the Sabbath, S. Paul and his companions⁸ “went out

¹ S. Luke ii. 37.

² S. Luke xxiv. 53.

³ Acts ii. 46.

⁴ Acts v. 42

⁵ Acts iii. 1.

⁶ Ibid v. 20.

⁷ Ibid xxii. 17—21.

⁸ Ibid xvi. 13.

of the city by a river side, where prayer was wont to be made:" and it was as they went to the¹ Proseucha, apparently day after day, that the Pythoness bore witness to their mission. And finally, I would observe, that one of the strongest testimonies to the sanctity of locality is given by S. Matthew, where, after recording that deed, the like of which, for horror, was never perpetrated, he calls Jerusalem, the scene of the action, "the Holy City."²

I conclude, then, that if a building, like the Temple, which never had possessed more than a shadow of good things to come, and was in process of time, deprived even of that; a building, originally founded by a wicked oppressor, deprived of its proper orders of ministers, profaned by the Gentiles, defiled by merchandize, the scene of rapine and violence, were, nevertheless, a place where the faithful were wont to supplicate God's blessing, with the certainty of becoming, therefore, the more acceptable to Him; have we not an *a fortiori* argument for the belief that Christian churches, dedicated by fasting and prayer, hallowed by so many commemorative sacrifices at the Altar, and so many illuminations at the Font, are more especially suited to be the resort of Christians for Private Prayer. "The LORD loveth the gates of Sion more than all the dwellings of Jacob."

Let us now consider the analogy of holy *Times*, still confining ourselves to Holy Scripture. It is assumed, all through the formularies of our Church, which therein according to her wont, only echoes the consentient voice of the Church Catholick, that "although we ought at all times

¹ Acts xvi. 16. εἰς τὴν προσευχὴν : where our translation, "went to prayer," is evidently wrong

² S. Matth. xxvii. 53.

humbly to acknowledge our sins before GOD, yet ought we most chiefly so to do" at particular and appointed seasons. Bishop Cosin has some excellent remarks on the analogy we are noting. The duties, he says,¹ of observing holy times, and reverencing holy places are "both of one nature, and therefore hath GOD also joined (them) together: ye shall reverence My Sanctuary, and observe My Sabbaths."

It was the practice of GOD's people from the earliest times to observe, not only certain days, but also certain parts of the day. The Sabbaths, the New Moons, the Feasts, whether instituted of GOD, as those of the Pass-over, Tabernacles, and Weeks, or of man, as those of Lots and of the Dedication, are instances of the former. Nor do we lack examples of the latter. Elijah, when about to request a signal manifestation of GOD's power, waited for the season of the Evening² Sacrifice, though that Sacrifice was offered in a far distant city. When Elisha had prophesied deliverance to the three kings in the desert, it was³ "in the morning when the meat offering was offered" that the miraculous supply of water was granted: Judith, when about to implore GOD's blessing on her enterprise, waited till "about the time that the incense of that evening was offered in Jerusalem in the House of the LORD". Daniel had been praying the whole day for his people; but the Angel Gabriel did not touch him till *'about the time of the evening oblation*; and this, be it remembered, when no evening oblation could have been really offered. Again, in the New Testament: "S.S. Peter and John went up to the Temple at the Hour of Prayer,

¹ Bp. COSIN's Works. Anglo Catholic Lib. i. 160, 161.

² 1 Kings xviii. 36.

³ 2 Kings iii. 20.

⁴ Judith ix. 1.

⁵ Daniel ix. 21.

⁶ Acts iii. 1.

being the ninth hour. It was at the time of the sacrifice, and in the Temple,¹ that the Angel appeared to Zacharias. It was at midnight,² one of the Canonical Hours, that S. Paul, and S. Silas, being in prison, "prayed and sang praises unto God." It was at the sixth hour,³ another Canonical season, that S. Peter went up upon the house top to pray. It was at the ninth hour that the Angel appeared to Cornelius.⁴

If, therefore, one time of prayer be more acceptable to God than another, why not one place also? When it is objected against us, that we are commanded to pray⁵ every where, that the chamber,⁶ the house top,⁷ the sea-shore,⁸ the garden,⁹ the bed,¹⁰ the desert,¹¹ the mountain,¹² are all named as places of prayer; we answer, that although we are commanded to pray without ceasing, and although there is no hour which could not furnish an example of some favourably answered petition, yet none denies that there are days, and, we may add, hours, in which prayer is heard more favourably than at others.

This may be called the Scriptural argument in our favour: very briefly, indeed, but not unfairly stated. Now let us see what the Scriptural objections are. They lie in two texts, both of which, undoubtedly bear a *prima facie* opposition to our system. But, it must be remembered, *firstly*, that however little any explanation to be given of them may be thought satisfactory, they cannot invalidate the argument which we have just drawn from the whole scope of Bible History; and, *secondly*, that where two principles, the one deduced from a few scattered texts,

¹ S. Luke i. 10² Acts xvi. 26.³ Ibid x. 9.⁴ Ibid x. 3.⁵ 1 Tim. ii. 8⁶ S. Matthew vi. 6.⁷ Acts x. 9.⁸ Ibid xxi. 5.⁹ John xviii. 1.¹⁰ Psalm cxlix. 5.¹¹ S. Mark i. 35.¹² S. Mark iv. 48.

the other, from the whole tenour of Scripture, appear to clash, the probability is greater that the former, than that the latter, should be misunderstood.

One of the passages which our opponents bring forward against us, is, Sir, as you are well aware, the declaration of S. Stephen,¹ “Howbeit, the Most HIGH dwelleth not in Temples made with Hands.” Whatever force these isolated words may have, will quite vanish, if we consider them in the context. “Howbeit, the Most HIGH dwelleth not in Temples made with hands, *as saith the Prophet.*” This declaration, then, was as applicable to Jewish, as to our own times; and, therefore, if proving anything with respect to our present subject, would prove too much; inasmuch as we have just seen that prayer, under the Mosaick Covenant, even if unaccompanied by Sacrifices, was peculiarly acceptable to God, when offered in the Temple.

The other passage is the command of our Saviour, “When thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy FATHER Which is in secret.” I answer, *firstly*, if we are to take these words literally, without reference to the context, they would forbid Publick Prayer altogether. *Secondly*, the similar command of not letting our left hand know what our right hand doeth, has not been thought to preclude all lists of Societies and commemorations of charitable donations. *Thirdly*, that the Apostles, as we have seen, regarded this commandment, as the Church has ever done, in a more general light, as directed against love of ostentation, particularly against that of the Pharisees, who loved to pray standing in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets,

¹ Acts vii. 48.

² S. Matthew vi. 6

to be seen of men. It will be remembered that the Publican, the true penitent, who would not so much as lift up his eyes unto Heaven, and who went down to his house justified rather than the other, had, nevertheless, gone up to the Temple¹ to pray. Indeed, this seems to have been our SAVIOUR's method of teaching, to state a fact strongly, that the impression might be strong; and thus it is that we are commanded to hate our father and mother, to turn the left cheek to him that smites us on the right, to allow him that has taken our coat to have our cloak also.

We may conclude this branch of our subject by a quotation from Hooker,² who, if he does not here take quite so high ground as Andrewes or Montague would have done, must be remembered to be arguing against a Puritan, and to be, therefore, unwilling to say more, or to speak more strongly, than was absolutely necessary for the purpose of his argument;—

“Again, albeit the true worship of GOD be to GOD in itself acceptable, Who respecteth not so much in what place, as with what affection He is served; and, therefore, Moses in the midst of the sea, Job in the dunghill, Ezechias in bed, Jeremy in the mire, Jonah in the whale, Daniel in the den, the children in the furnace, the thief on the cross, Peter and Paul in prison, calling unto God were heard, as S. Basil [Pseudo Chrysostom] noteth; manifest, notwithstanding, it is, that the very majesty and holiness of the place, where GOD is worshipped, hath in regard of us great virtue, force, and efficacy, for that it serveth as a sensible help to stir up devotion, and, in that respect, no doubt bettereth even our holiest and best actions in this kind.”

I do not propose to dwell long on the argument to be

¹ Luke xviii. 10.

² *Eccles. Pol.*, KERLE's Ed. ii., 57, 58.

drawn in our favour from Catholick consent. It is so obvious that from the earliest times, Private Devotion has been, when circumstances allowed, offered in churches or oratories, and that in occasions of great need it has been thought necessary to offer them there, that it were mere waste of your time to furnish you with examples of an undoubted fact. Need I remind you of the extreme sanctity attached, in the earliest ages, to the *Martyria*? Need I remind you, how, when heresy was all but triumphant, and Arius about to be thrust into the Church, the Archbishop of Constantinople, repairing to his own church, and prostrating himself before the Altar, was instant in prayer a whole day, that God would remove either himself or the arch-heretick out of the world, and how Catholick prayers prevailed to the destruction of the blasphemer?—But if this be so, that till the Reformation the system I am recommending prevailed, and does prevail now in almost every branch of the Church, except our own; then, unless it can be shewn from any recognised document, that the Anglican Church is opposed to the practice, it ought to be restored amongst ourselves. But it cannot even be made to appear probable that the Anglican Church does object to it. Neither Prayer-book, Homilies, nor Canons contain a hint against it. I am not aware that among the numerous accusations which the writings of the Reformers bring forward against the Romish Church, this was ever one. On the contrary, we know as a fact, that the system survived the Reformation, and, probably, did not perish till the Great Rebellion. We know that Hooker and Herbert spent many hours in private prayer in their churches. And the heavenly minded Andrewes did the same thing, as his' *Private Devotions* imply. So that, while nothing in

¹ For example, p. 6. *Ald. Ed.* "Aures Tue intentæ sint ad

the formularies of our Church can be construed as disapproving of the practice, those formularies, if interpreted by the custom of the wisest and holiest of her sons, are actually in favour of it.

Let us now examine if the proposed system would have any beneficial effect on our own minds. And, in the first place, we may observe, that in no other place are we so likely to be lifted above the ordinary thoughts and cares of this life, as in a church. We all know that Books of Devotion are written in a style very different from that of ordinary intercourse. We should be shocked, if we were to find colloquial grammar introduced, and familiar phrases adopted, in them. A man kneels down to prayer in the same room in which all the business of the day has been transacted, and all its amusements have been enjoyed;—how is it possible that his mind should be entirely free from frivolous thoughts? The pleasures, and vexations, and anecdotes, and visits, and news, and merriment, and letters, and employments, and domestick occurrences, with which the very walls, and windows, and door, and furniture are associated, will they not almost inevitably rush into his thoughts and distract his devotions? Is there not a class of furniture, pictures, for example, and busts, more especially those of a free character, in the presence of which fervent prayer seems almost irreverent? It is not, be it remembered, with prayer as with other engagements; prayer is not,—at least, with the vast majority of Christians,—a natural and an easy thing; a duty which, once commenced, swallows up every other thought, and puts, as it ought, an end to every other sensation except that of being alone in the presence of the Almighty. We are, also, to bear in mind *orationem quam servus Tuus facit in hoc loco, in quo invocatum est Nomen Tuum.*" Again, p. 117, "*Memento, Domine, fratrum nos cir-*

that the great enemy is only too glad to be able, by outward objects, to suggest wandering thoughts, and to awaken frivolous ideas. A glance at one of the secular objects about us may open the way to a quarter of an hour's idle imaginations, the more, therefore, that we surround ourselves with such things, the more do we facilitate the attacks of the Devil. We put ourselves in the position of a besieged city, which should have without its walls thickets to conceal the enemy, and trees to shelter him, and tenements to house him, and provisions to supply him, and ammunition to arm him. We are, in fact, storing up around us the implements of our own destruction; we are leading ourselves into that temptation into which we beseech God not to lead us. And are we so confident in our own strength, that, like skilful players, we are willing to give our adversary an advantage? Are his temptations so few and so feeble, that we can afford to tempt him?

Nay, I am confident to appeal to the practice of many around us. Many devout persons, it is well known, retire into their own chambers for the purpose of private prayer; because in them they are less likely to be distracted by familiar objects, and every day associations. Some, again, go further even than this: and set apart a particular spot in their chamber for this purpose, and for this alone; a practice, indeed, long ago recommended by Law. Again, at the hour of family prayer, many persons, from a similar cause, are careful to remove from the table, books, and drawings, and work-boxes, and every thing else which refer to worldly employment, or can *remind* one of it. And it is well and wisely done. Only, since such persons acknowledge, perhaps unconsciously, the principle for

cumstantium et comprecantium nobiscum in ista hora sancta." Again, p. 133, "*Pro domo hac sancta, et eam cum fide et reverentia ingredientibus.*"

which I am contending; why do they not carry it out to its greatest and most profitable extent? Nature itself almost seems to speak on my side; we are almost taught by her to close the eyes in fervent prayer. Why is this, but to secure that disturbing ideas may be—

“—— at one entrance quite shut out?”

We despair, it seems, of rendering our eyes assistants to devotion; and we think ourselves well off if we can prevent their being drawbacks to it. How different from this is the Church system! that system so marvellously adapted, and adapting itself, to human nature! Just as the Church, not content with trusting profane sounds, makes the Ear, by her heavenly musick, an inlet to devotion; so, not deeming it enough to banish worldly spectacles, she had, and might have now, the beauty of holiness to render the Eye a help, instead of hindrance, in acts of Prayer.

Once more; we may look at this subject in a point of view exactly opposite. The spots which have been hallowed by Private Devotion, by closer Communion with God, by deeper self-abasement, by more earnest Faith than it has been our ordinary privilege to attain; how can we bear to desecrate them afterwards by frivolous conversation and worldly amusement. There is, thus, a sort of confounding together of holy and unholy, of profane and un-profane, which must,—however little we may wish it,—have a bad effect on our moral sense. It will not throw a religious feeling around our secular employments, but will introduce their worldliness into our most sacred seasons. Just as in the Jewish Law, an indifferent thing, touched by a holy object, did not become holy; but, touched by an unclean did become unclean; persons, in short, might be polluted, could not be sanctified, by contact.

Furthermore, are not our ears, as well as our eyes, most important inlets to wandering thoughts? From the various sounds of daily occupation and family employment, who, in a private house, can pretend to be secure? Let me take an extreme instance. I will appeal to your own experience, whether private prayer is not, on board a crowded vessel, the most difficult of all difficult things? What this is, *more* than any other situation, that every private house, especially every small house, is, in a less degree.

Now a church has not only the negative excellence of freeing us from each and all of these distractions. It is rich in associations the best qualified to raise and purify our thoughts, and to give life and energy to our prayers. The remembrance of those who have gone before us, and are sleeping around us—the assistances and deliverances which our prayers, and theirs, have heretofore, within the same holy walls, obtained—the thoughts of the vow we have ourselves made, and the grace we have received at the Font—of the strength to fulfil that vow, and to make that grace fruitful, which has been given to us at the Altar—are not these things effectual helps to prayer? Looking forward to the supplications, which will, to the end of time, be sent up, from the same temple; to the unborn infants who will there be regenerated; the future generations of the faithful that will there receive consolation; knowing that the prayers of many fellow-worshippers are accompanying our own petitions to the mercy seat, and thus knit into communion with the past, and present, and future generations of the One Holy Church,—how shall we not feel an influence to which we are, and must be, strangers elsewhere? Instead of mementos of worldly vanity, and allurements to worldly thoughts, we have the monuments of the dead to remind us that the fashion of this world

passeth away ; instead of implements and contrivances appropriated to human use, and ministering to human luxury, materials which pander to pomp or effeminacy, and things which are of the earth, earthy, we behold nothing that does not, in an especial manner, serve to promote the Glory of God ; we see Art the handmaid of Religion, and Beauty rendered subservient to Truth ; instead of viewing around us a habitation, in which we may expect, many years, to enjoy the brightness of worldly prosperity, and the endearments of domestic love, we see that home, near which we hope, after a few years, to rest ; from which, after a few more, we shall arise. Many have felt their devotion increased by the contemplation of their own coffins ; much more will it be quickened here. If the Romans could not venture to bring to trial a popular favourite within sight of the Capitol, thereby, rough and iron-hearted as they were, acknowledging the magic, and bowing to the mightiness, of association, shall we, cast in the softer mould of Christianity, attempt to deny, or profess to scorn it.

My assertion then is, that when we pray with fervour at home, we do it in spite of this mighty power ; when we pray in church, we enlist it on the side of devotion. But will you deem another argument, which, I confess, has much influence with me, too subtle and metaphysical ? We know that Catholick ethics gave rise to Catholick architecture ; may we not hope that, by a kind of reversed process, association with Catholick architecture will give rise to Catholick ethics ? On this subject I cannot do more than touch ; its full discussion would require a volume.

“ Thus was Beauty sent from Heaven,
The lovely ministress of Truth and Good,
In this dark world ; for Truth and Good are one ;
And Beauty dwells in them, and they in her,
With like participation. Wherefore, then,
O sons of earth, would ye dissolve the tie ? ”

Many who, perhaps, may own some force in the above arguments, will possibly think that prayer, offered up in the sight of men, would soon become a very different thing—prayer offered up to be seen of men. What then, if I should assert, paradox as it may seem, that, if we take a general view of the case, prayer would be more private in church than it would be anywhere else? And yet this is undoubtedly the case.

To the poor the Gospel is preached. They have the first claim on the care and motherly love of the Church. Now, let us ask what opportunities—I had almost said, what possibilities—have they for private devotion? We, able to retire where and when we will—we, with our separate chambers, when we would be alone—we, with our leisure, which may thus be sanctified—find it easy enough to talk to them on the necessity of praying always; but, truly, it is something like saying, “Depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled,” notwithstanding that we give them not the things necessary for the body. We do not consider the crowded state of their cottages, the smallness of their rooms, the interruptions of their time, the claims of their children, the urgency of their employers, the assistance required by, and given to, their neighbours; the impossibility that an occupation can be carried on by one member of the family, without being shared by, or at least disturbing all; the necessity that, if daily bread is to be earned, it must be carried on at any rate. The cottager's wife, with her large family, her two rooms, her continual interruptions, now scarcely able, morning and evening, to devote her little ones to God; would she not hail, as an inestimable privilege, the open church? The mechanic, pent up all day in the stifling manufactory, returning to an equally stifling apartment, crowded—witness the Sanatory Report of the Poor Law Commissioners—with ten, twelve, fifteen

inmates; are his prayers private? The labourer returning from toil in the sweat of his brow, if to an affectionate, yet to a noisy, family, would not he rejoice to go in, for a few brief minutes, to the open House of God, and there to recommend himself, and his, to his Heavenly FATHER? Can these, and such as these, enter into their closets, and pray to their FATHER, which seeth in secret? Take (if ye do in any case, reason is, in this also), the strict sense of our Blessed LORD's words, and the poor can never pray, save in the congregation. And yet we tell him, and we tell him rightly, he must. Where, when, and how, except it be in the open church?

Again, it is not a common fault, in this age, that it does not get the worth of its money. But, for all that, it is the case with respect to our present subject. We spend large (would they were larger!) sums of money on our churches; we, perhaps, supply them with free seats, and we throw them open four or six hours in the week. So far, so good; but, for the same money, the poor man might have had the privilege of praying in church from twelve to fourteen times daily. When this is done, we may, indeed, call ourselves members of the poor man's Church. Here, for a few minutes, let the poor be certain of the uninterrupted thoughts, and the gracious assistances, which they cannot elsewhere obtain; those poor, who have less power of abstraction, and are more sensible to external impressions, than ourselves; those poor, who have stronger temptations to believe themselves forgotten of God than we have. They who love the poor will be for open churches.

Once more; the very habit of going up to the church, will tend to induce a stricter attendance on Divine Service. The actual trouble of going up, keeps many, especially on the week day, from church. This would cease to be felt

as a trouble, when practised every day. Daily Prayer could not but introduce Daily Service. Some of the worshippers would engage in private devotion before, some after, public worship. They who love the Daily Service will be for open churches.

Further, strangers and travellers would feel the benefit of the system. Where can the man, who is passing a few hours at an inn, retire for prayer? Whereas, were churches open, wherever wayfarers might journey, they would still have the opportunity, in a consecrated place, of joining in communion with the Faithful assembled therein. Yes, of *joining* with them; for what hinders but that the promise to the two or three may be applicable also to this case? The details of their petitions may be different; the sum, Grace and Deliverance, must of necessity be the same. Here then is another argument for us; for none can deny that our dear LORD has promised to be present to the petitions of two or three, as He has not promised to be present to the petitions of one. They who care for the stranger will be for open churches.

Again; what incalculable influence would the proposed system put into the hands of the Church! To Her would the thoughts of the poor, in the hour of their private devotions, be turned; She would feed them as hirelings cannot feed them; She would have treasures for them that aliens possess not; She would have tenderness for them that is not in the heart of a stranger. Then we should see the difference between Her, and those that are not of Her; then would every candid mind exclaim, "Give *Her* the child; She is the Mother thereof!" For allowing that Conventicles would, in imitation, be thrown open—though this I do not think likely—none are more sensible than the poor to the difference between the "Old" Church of Eng-

land, and the new-fangled ways which schism has introduced. This, and this alone, keeps many within the fold ; and God be thanked that this is a feeling which cannot be argued down. The contrast would be the more sensible, when, as in Private Prayer, there was no enthusiastic declamation, no extemporaneous prayer, no false excitement, to bewilder and to mislead.

Lastly ; the sympathy excited for, when we kneel by, others, would have the most profitable effects on ourselves. When we shut ourselves up alone, we are too apt to forget the duty of intercession ; we selfishly confine ourselves to our own wants, or to those of our own immediate circle, forgetting the necessities and claims of the various members of the Holy Church throughout all the world. We need to be called on in the words of a true son of our American sister :—

“ Pray for the victims all
Of heresy and sect ;
And lift thy heart, like Paul,
For all the LORD'S Elect !

Pray for the Church—I mean,
For Shem and Japhet pray ;
For Churches long unseen ;
For isles, and far away !

Our fellowship is One ;
One LORD, One Faith, One Birth ;
O pray to God the Son,
For all His Church on earth !”

And shall we not be quickened in this duty, when we may possibly see some of the very objects, for which we ought to pray, around us ? Shall we not intercede for the widow and the orphan, when the widow and the orphan are before us ?—for the distressed, when the mourner kneels by us ? for the needy, when the poor man is at our side ? The rich and the poor never meet together, without deriving mutual

benefit"; let it be so in the present instance. By finding others engaged, at the same time, in the same service as ourselves, we shall be preserved from two evils, one of which might otherwise befall us; from despondency, if we imagine that we are alone in drawing nigh to God; from presumption, if we fancy ourselves, therefore, better than the rest of our fellow-creatures.

If then these advantages are thus to be attained—and I believe, Sir, that you will agree with me in saying that they are advantages, and that they are thus to be attained—what, in the name of common sense, is to hinder the re-introduction of the proposed system? "Oh," says one, "the damp and unhealthy state of our churches makes it undesirable." Indeed! And who is it that defends one wrong by another? This "is an easy thing for a man to say; but such excuses are not so easily accepted before God."

"But," argues another, "our churches could not be safely left open to all comers; harm would ensue, and irreverence be the consequence." And are our churches then so costly furnished, and so gorgeously arrayed, that it has come to this? Is our exposed Altar plate so valuable? are our vestments so rich, our candlesticks so tempting, our alms-boxes so well filled, that the poor would be led to commit sacrilege? Time has, indeed, been, that these things were so; time, by God's Grace, will come, when they shall again be so; when they were, then the doors were fearlessly left open, and the poor man freely entered. Do any ill consequences arise from the adoption of this system, at the present day, in foreign lands? I trow not. I have seen, Sir, much of the poor, and more of churches; and I am persuaded, that as the consequence of Daily Service is not a looking on the Prayers as a common thing,

but a deeper appreciation of them ; so the effect of constant attendance in the church, would not be the regarding it as a common place, but rather the feeling it to be, as it indeed is, the House of God, and the Gate of Heaven.

But it is, perhaps, our own conveniences and comforts for which we are concerned. Our richly-cushioned pews, our linings and hassocks, our curtains and stuffings, will they not suffer? And is it not enough that the Pusey system should have driven many from the Fold—should have deprived many, who remain in it, of much of its profit—should have been the mother of irreverence, frivolity, and profaneness, but when anything fresh is proposed for the welfare of the poor, it should still interfere with, and oppose it? Its death-warrant has long been signed ; how long will execution be reprieved ?

I am aware that there are many who will look on the proposal which these pages have brought forward with considerable aversion, and who will consider what has been advanced, as to the inherent holiness of certain localities, as an approximation to Romanism. Yet such, Sir, might do well to consider the other arguments which have been adduced ; if a course is manifestly right, the views of its recommenders can matter but little. And I would remind such of the example set them by one, whom, however erroneous I may consider some of his views, I cannot but honour for his warm-heartedness in a cold, and his single-mindedness in an Erastian generation ; I allude to HENRY VENN. He allowed, by his practice, the desirableness of the system ; it being his habit thus to spend half-an-hour daily in his church.

It must ever be remembered that the plan recommended is one which it is perfectly in the power of every Parish Priest to carry into execution. Let him only give notice

of his design ; let him only set forth its advantages ; let him throw open his church, if it be at first but for an hour a day ; let him, above all, himself set the example of worshipping there ; let him patiently, at first, bear with the hindrances which novelty, and English reserve, and false shame, will throw in his way ; and who can calculate the advantages which may, by these means, accrue to his parish ? And herein, Sir, I am but repeating what the Cambridge Camden Society has, in its *Few Words to Churchwardens*, already implied.

It is, then, because the practice of Private Devotion in churches comes recommended by Scripture, by Catholick consent, by the practice of the wisest members of our own communion ; because the effect on our own minds is hallowing and reverential, while the contrary system opens a wide door to frivolity and distraction ; because the analogy derivable from Holy Times pleads strongly in its favour ; because GOD's Blessing seems more especially promised and granted to prayer made in His House ; because our sympathies for our fellow-creatures are more strongly excited, and our better feelings called into play ; because the poor can scarcely pray elsewhere, so as to be free from interruptions, while yet, from their want of the power of abstraction, quiet is essential to them, above all others ; because those who profess themselves opposed to the system, do in effect, though in an imperfect and so far unprofitable manner, adopt it ; because it would tend to introduce more generally the Daily Service ; because it would provide for the spiritual need of the stranger and the traveller ; because it would throw greater power into the hands of the Church, and diffuse a wider sense of Her motherliness ; because the very contact with Catholick buildings is elevating, and wholesome to the mind ; because

these advantages are counterbalanced by no corresponding evil, and might be acquired with perfect ease; it is for these, and for similar reasons, that I would earnestly plead for open churches.

With these remarks, I beg leave to conclude this already, perhaps, too protracted letter, and to subscribe myself,

Reverend and Dear Sir,

With the greatest respect and gratitude,

Your sincerely attached friend, and sometime pupil,

JOHN MASON NEALE.



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OBSERVATIONS

ON

THE PAST AND PRESENT CONDITION

OF THE

EDUCATION OF THE POOR IN IRELAND,

WITH REMARKS

ON THE

LORD PRIMATE AND BISHOPS' ADDRESS.

BY

HENRY NEWLAND, D.D.,

DEAN OF FERNS.

DUBLIN :

GRANT AND BOLTON, 115, GRAFTON STREET.

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CHAPTER I.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

IT is always painful to differ from our clerical brethren on any important subject. It would be more painful still to feign assent to their decisions when conscience does not coincide with them ; sometimes, if one can remain silent with propriety, it would be preferable, for peace would be secured, and personal annoyance avoided. But we cannot indulge in this retreat when our opinion is required and demanded of a series of resolutions adopted at a full and public meeting.

This has been my case. The clergy of the diocese of Ferns have expressed their approval of the address of his Grace the Lord Primate, and the other Bishops, on the Education of the poor in Ireland, and presented "their thanks to these venerable prelates for their most seasonable and important declaration."

I have felt it to be my duty to refuse to sign these resolutions, and I am anxious to state the reasons which have influenced me in coming to this determination.

The conviction has been long growing, and gradually strengthening in my mind, that the present state of the question of Education, and the position of the Church respecting it, could not be maintained with safety to her interests. I have for many years laboured with industry and zeal to promote scriptural education. With God's blessing I shall ever continue to do so. There is no change in my opinion, or even variation, in the slightest degree, of its paramount value. Its most ardent advocate and friend cannot estimate it at a higher value, for I consider it the chief and best element in the cultivation of the mind, and the only one that is capable of influencing the heart.

When the scripture lessons were first issued by the Commissioners of National Education, I had ventured to review them, and published a volume condemnatory of them. I believed that they did not sufficiently represent the truth of God's Word, and betrayed a desire to assimilate the new compilation to the translations sanctioned and approved by the Church of Rome.

I do not seek to conceal that these circumstances have long delayed the announcement of my opinions. I had corresponded and conversed much and frequently with a beloved relative, whom I conceived most capable of entering into my mind on the subject. Of any person whom I have the privilege to know, he best understands all the parts of this much ventilated question ; he has ability to comprehend, wisdom to adjust, and the most sincere and unobtrusive piety to regulate and sanctify the views which he has always

with most disinterested firmness entertained upon it. Yet though I lately canvassed with him anew every part of this difficult problem, and examined it in every aspect, and listened to his arguments with a sincere disposition to be convinced by them, I still felt it impossible to unite with my clerical brethren in the resolutions which they adopted: I could not acquiesce in the wisdom or justice of the Primate's address. In coming to this determination, I foresaw many sources of annoyance and regret; if my judgment had not been calmly exercised, and my opinions gradually produced, these would have been quite sufficient to deter me from my present course; but I had no choice except in hypocrisy, and the one I have adopted. Late circumstances—the publication of the Lord Primate's Address, and the resolutions of the clergy respecting it—have forced me to an announcement which otherwise might, perhaps, have never been made.

Another cause disinclined me to any public declaration. I knew, and deplored, that I should be brought into collision, by the expression of my opinions, with many beloved friends, who had taken the most distinguished part in this controversy. Besides, the most elevated members of the Church, whom I had ever regarded with reverence and esteem, I was now compelled to dissent from. I cannot but hope, however, that the evidence I have ever afforded of attachment and affectionate submission to episcopal authority and station, will be sufficient to manifest that no motive but the purest, namely, the wish to declare with truth

on a most important subject the sincere convictions of my mind, could have induced me to take this step. No feeling, merely personal, could seduce me to be arrayed against the publicly recorded judgment of the bishop of the diocese to which I belong, or overcome the deference and respect which I cordially acknowledge to be due to his authority and opinion. There was an additional source of regret presented to me, not only from the opposition which I am about to record, but also that I cannot escape from the difficult and embarrassing position of commenting upon a document to which his Lordship's name is appended ; and from his acknowledged ability, and ardent, though well tempered zeal in the cause, one which he may be supposed to have largely contributed in preparing.

However desirous I might have been to entertain my convictions in unobtrusive silence, that document, which I was called upon to approve, placed this completely out of my power ; statements are advanced, and accusations maintained in it, to which I never did, and, less than ever, could now yield my assent, or be the instrument of circulating. While no advocate of scriptural education can more highly estimate its value, I never considered that they who conscientiously had co-operated with the National Board, had thereby renounced the distinctive differences between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, or that they departed from the principles, if they were ministers of our Church, which they had professed, and by which they were bound, at their ordination.

How admirable soever such a document might prove in deterring any unreflecting person from giving in his adhesion to the National Board, the line of argument it adopts, charging upon those who differ from it so great a departure from principle, is perhaps rather an adventurous condemnation of the other prelates and clergy who have been disposed to patronize this system of education. But if the statements and reasoning in the address to which I object be well founded, the inconvenience arising from their application to any individual may be considered an unimportant and unavoidable result.

The most careful and patient examination I could bestow upon it, has convinced me that neither in argument or in justice are the allegations which it contains sustained. I shall therefore, though with painful reluctance, hazard the experiment of submitting to the judgment of others, the grounds upon which I entertain my opinions.

CHAPTER II.

REVIEW OF THE QUESTION OF EDUCATION OF THE POOR IN IRELAND FROM THE YEAR 1824, TO THE FORMA- TION OF THE NATIONAL BOARD.

THERE is scarcely any question that can be submitted for investigation that is not materially altered by the circumstances that attend its examination ; doubtless, if positive sin attach to any act, no change of aspect in which it can be viewed, nor any argument by which it can be defended, can remove or mitigate the criminality of partaking in it. The point in dispute here is, whether there be guilt or a renunciation of the principles of the Church, and of our engagements at ordination, in being connected with the National Board.

An examination, therefore, of the circumstances connected with its establishment, and of the question of education generally in Ireland appears necessary and unavoidable, to enable one fully to estimate how conscience ought to guide the judgment in our determinations respecting it. We must view it not only in the state in which it was left by the Commissioners of Education in 1824-27, but also by the eminent prelates of our own Church at that period. Such a rehearsal of these circumstances will exhibit the history of this question to us in the same position as we may suppose those facts or incidents were placed before the mind of

Lord Stanley, when he undertook to legislate upon it. Thus shall we be enabled not only to pronounce with discretion upon his Lordship's policy, but also to decide with prudence and impartiality upon what ought to be our own conduct respecting it.

In the first Report of the Commissioners, signed May 30, 1825, there is a recommendation to the following effect :—" We propose that public schools of general instruction shall be established, one at least in each benefice, in which literary instruction shall be communicated to children of all religious persuasions : that two teachers, to be appointed by the general superintending authority, (the establishment of which we shall subsequently recommend,) shall be employed in each school where the extent of attendance shall be sufficient to justify the expense : that they shall each of them be laymen, and that one of them shall be a Roman Catholic where any considerable number of Roman Catholics are in attendance on the school, and that a Presbyterian teacher shall be provided in those schools where the number of the children belonging to that communion shall render such appointment necessary or expedient : that on two days in the week the school shall break up at an early hour, and the remainder of the day be devoted to the separate religious instruction of the Protestants ; the Clergyman of the Church of England attending for the purposes at once of superintendence and assistance, and the Presbyterian minister likewise, if he shall so think fit, for the children of his communion ; that on two other days of the week the school-rooms of general instruction shall in like

manner be set apart for the Roman Catholic children, on which occasions, under the care of a Roman Catholic lay teacher approved of as mentioned in the minute which we have given, they shall read the Epistles and Gospels of the week, as therein mentioned, and receive such other religious instruction as their pastors (who may attend if they see fit,) shall direct.

“It will be necessary also to provide a *volume compiled* from the four Gospels, in the manner adverted to in our conference with the Roman Catholic Archbishops, together with the Book of Proverbs, and the work containing the history of the creation, the deluge and other important events extracted from the Pentateuch. Such a book may be profitably used during the period of united and general instruction. We by no means intend such works as substitutes for the Holy Scriptures, although we propose that the reading of the *Scriptures themselves should be reserved for the time of separate religious instruction.*”

This Report was, as I have said, printed in 1825. In the November of the same year, Mr. Goulburn, by the direction of the Lord Lieutenant, requested the Commissioners to put their own plan into execution and establish schools upon the model they had suggested. During the years 1826 and 1827, they laboured against obstacles that would soon have overpowered less persevering public servants, to accomplish this object.

I shall repeat some of the causes that prevented the success of the experiment. Dr. Curtis was examined, and gives the following evidence :—“If religious in-

struction is to be given before Catholic children, it must be by a Catholic. We do not wish it should be done at all in the general instruction, but in private instruction alone ; but if it is to be done it must be by a Catholic : it—(any part of the Scriptures)—must not be read to them by any other person, not even the Lord's Prayer. It is a thing we will not permit."

A question was asked if the Roman Catholics might read a harmony prepared from the Douay version, if the Protestants read one from the authorised version ; and the Rev. Dr. Kelly answers—"I conceive there would be an objection to Catholic children listening to a version of the Scriptures which was not approved by our Church."

It was in consequence of the difficulty of preparing such a volume of extracts from the Scriptures as would be satisfactory to the Church of Rome, that the Commissioners were obliged to relinquish their task. For Archbishop Murray, on the 19th of April, 1827, writes to the effect, "that the Board had created for itself a very needless difficulty, *by requiring as a matter of necessity* any scriptural compilation to be used in the schools for the purpose of general instruction."

The Commissioners, therefore, report, in May, 1827,—"It has, therefore, become our duty to represent to your Majesty that in the attempt to effect that object—the plan suggested by themselves in the Report of 1825)—we have experienced difficulties which have not only prevented us from establishing schools in which the experiment might have been fully tried, but

have induced us to desist altogether from any further proceedings in that undertaking."

Now let us observe the concessions that were proposed in this arrangement. There were to be schools of general instruction, *in which the Bible was not to be read.*

There were to be days of separate religious instruction.

The Roman Catholic priest might attend at the school-house on those days.

It was proposed that a book—sometimes called a harmony, sometimes a volume compiled from the four Gospels—together with the Proverbs, and "*the work* containing the history of the creation, the deluge, and other important events extracted from the Pentateuch," were to form the substitutes, in the time of general instruction, for the Bible.

These great concessions were not sufficient to propitiate the approval of the Church of Rome; though they involved the rejection from the school of the Bible, which could not be read even by the Protestant children, for a Roman Catholic would not be permitted to hear one sentence repeated by a Protestant child if it were from the authorized version; and though it was at last declared that the preparation of any such work as a harmony of the Gospels was a needless difficulty to encounter.

We have seen what concessions the Commissioners were willing to make, and what the prelates of the Church of Rome required. It will be an interesting inquiry to ascertain, so far as the circumstances of the

case in their imperfect development enable us, to what extent the present Lord Primate and the late Archbishop Magee were disposed to receive, if not with favour, at least without objection, the proposal of his Majesty's ministers. For it ought carefully to be noted that these proceedings occurred when Lord Liverpool was Prime Minister, Lord Eldon Lord Chancellor, Sir Robert Peel Secretary for the Home Department, Mr. Goulburn Secretary for Ireland, and the Duke of Wellington and Lord Sidmouth members of the cabinet. Concession on education in Ireland did not originate with the Whig party, for they found it nearly in its present state in consequence of the management of their political opponents.

The plan for the establishment of schools, and the regulations by which they were to be directed, as proposed by the Commissioners in 1825, and already detailed, were well known to the Primate and Archbishop Magee. I hope it is needless to remark that of either of these most distinguished prelates I could not surmise or harbour for an instant any thought unworthy of their elevated characters and principles. I conceive that it is not inconsistent with the respect their characters deserve, nay, that it is reasonable and just, to suppose that they would not in the slightest degree have facilitated the execution of the arrangements proposed by the Commissioners, if they had not determined, from the peculiar circumstances of the country, to allow the experiment a full and fair trial. It must have been under the praiseworthy influence of such impressions

that they agreed to assist the Commissioners by the preparation of a volume of extracts from, or a harmony of, the Gospels. Such a book was considered as the preliminary movement in the execution of the design. Indeed, it was a most important step in the proceeding, for it was intended to contain that portion of the Bible which was destined for the general instruction of Protestants and Roman Catholics. In fact, no part of the scheme could have been put into movement without this. The preparation of it, therefore, by the Primate and the Archbishop of Dublin and the clergy whom they employed, involved on the part of those distinguished prelates an acquiescence in the use of the book for which it was designed. The Bible was not to be read at the time of general instruction, but the Harmony was to be its substitute.

Thus it appeared on the face of those Reports, for the instruction of Parliament and the guidance of future ministers, that the heads of the Church, both remarkable for devotion and zeal in her cause, and the deceased Archbishop peculiarly conspicuous for attachment to Protestant interests, had consented to a plan of education in which the Bible was not to be read, except on the two days devoted to religious instruction, and that its place was to be supplied by a volume of extracts or a harmony of the Gospels. And be it remembered that the schools in which this compilation was to be read were not supplemental to the parish schools, as was proposed by the Commissioners in 1812. But in every parish there was to be one such school, and all others that had been supported by the

bounty of Parliament, even those of the Association for Discountenancing Vice, the nearest and most connected with the Church, were to be discontinued.

Again, the concession though guardedly made, was granted that the proposed harmony, the substitute for the Bible at the time of general instruction might be taken from the Roman Catholic, and the authorized versions. His Grace the Lord Primate said, "I would recommend, as the Archbishop of Dublin has done in a case somewhat similar, (Appendix, p. 761,) that a committee of divines be appointed by the heads of the Church to prepare a harmony of the gospels from the authorized version, yet not so exclusively as to reject always the language of the Doway bible, if it afford an apt and instructive meaning."

Again, in a letter of the Lord Primate, in the name of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Established Church in Ireland, dated February 2, 1827. "It may not, however, be useless for us here to remark for the information of your Board, that in the work submitted by us to the Commissioners, the authorized version of the bible has been adopted because it is the authorized version, and because as such it is the medium through which we consider ourselves bound to convey scriptural information to the people. We have also adopted that version from a well founded belief of its accuracy ; still, if the objections to the compilation are confined to its having been taken exclusively and verbatim from the Protestant version, and to the possibility thence arising of passages being found in it at variance with the authentic version of the

Romish Church, (whatever may be the import of the word authentic) we are disposed—so far as our obligations as ministers of the Established Church, responsible to the supreme authority of the state, will permit us—to meet such objections with the utmost candour, and with the largest allowances.”

Again, in the evidence of Archbishop Magee, the question is asked, “is the translation of the New Testament commonly known by the name of the Rhemish version, so inaccurate as to make it objectionable that it should be read in any form, either as extracts, or put together as a harmony of the gospels.”

Answer, “No, I should think not ; I cannot say I have read it entirely through—I have consulted it very often, occasionally, as I have consulted other versions—there are particular points of difference from our translation prominent in it, with respect to *Penance* and the *Church*, but that these occur so frequently as to make it in every part a stumbling block in the way of Protestant readers, is certainly not the case ; large portions of it might be taken without involving this objectionable matter.”

Again, his Grace answers, “With the particular objectionable parts left out, there seems no reason why it should not be made a school-book in those places in which particular circumstances render it advisable.”

Thus it appears that the heads of the Church of Ireland had so far acquiesced in the plan of the Commissioners, as to agree to the exclusion of the Bible from all the schools in Ireland modeled after this system, and to adopt as its substitute a book or books

of extracts from the authorized version, and the Rhe-mish Testament.

The Roman Catholic priest was to be admitted into the school-room on two days in each week, to give whatever instruction he pleased, besides the reading of the gospels and epistles appointed by the Church of Rome ; and schools so conducted were the only ones that the state was to assist.

In consequence of the failure of preparing the harmony of the gospels, the Commissioners abandoned the hope of carrying their plan into execution.

The next step in the progress of Education was taken in 1828. A committee of the House of Commons, to which were referred the various reports of Commissioners of Education, recommended that a system should be adopted which should afford, if possible, a combined literary, and a separate religious education.

The next step in the movement was the letter of Lord Stanley to the Duke of Leinster.

And here it is important to observe, that between the termination of the labours of the Commissioners in 1827, and the report, in 1828, of the Committee of the House of Commons, and the institution of the National Board of Education, the Roman Catholic Relief Bill had passed. The principle of that enactment in no way promoted directly the position of the Church of Rome, nor conferred any privilege that rendered it necessary, by compact or implication, to make any concession to her opinions on the subject of religion. But in defining and extending the liberty

and rights, and in removing the legal restraints of her people, the toleration of her peculiar tenets became an act of duty and necessity, instead of one of favour and voluntary compliance.

When the question of Education, therefore, was to be adjusted, it is impossible to avoid perceiving, that as elements in the consideration of it, the altered character and position of the members of the Church of Rome would obtrusively force themselves into the arrangement respecting it. The difficulty, at least, at the lowest calculation, was increased, of legislating upon the subject. In granting the boon of liberal funds, it was not easy to avoid the desire not to limit, if possible, the generousness of the gift by restraints upon the conscience respecting religious scruples, which had been so tenderly considered in the enlargement of civil rights. And, therefore, in devising a scheme of education, which was intended to embrace all the people of Ireland, the question in connection with its previous history, and the late accession of political privileges to the Roman Catholics, would naturally present itself to the mind in this way ; “ we must afford to all equal facility for literary instruction, we must not infringe on the principles or prejudices of any church or sect—we will afford the most ample means that all may enjoy the blessings of religious knowledge—we shall provide, and encourage all to avail themselves of the privilege of seeking that knowledge from the Word of God. But, while we cannot constrain any to accept our offering, we will not exclude them from mental cultivation, because they are determined to exclude themselves

from the purest source of religious instruction. The legislature has decreed that the false doctrines of the Church of Rome, though they have been supposed to interfere with the allegiance of the subject, are not sufficient grounds for the deprivation of any civil right or privilege, and since it is the duty of the State to afford the means of education to the Protestant poor, shall we determine that the errors of the creed of Romanists must be a perpetual bar to a similar favor to them? On what authority is the duty founded that the State is bound to administer the means of knowledge to the people? Is it the duty of the State to offer and the privilege of the subject to require it? Ought there to be a relaxation of the duty or a deprivation of the right, because conscience, which has been regarded in the gift of every other right, interferes in procuring this? Shall we affix a penalty upon the claim for education, when all other penalties are removed, and must religion be the excuse and punishment of ignorance?"

Whether any observations, similar to these, occurred to the founders of the National Board of Education, it is impossible to determine. Yet it may not be hazardous to conjecture, that on a review of the state of the question, and of the difficulties by which it was encompassed, at the termination of the Commission in 1827, the effect of the Relief Bill did not diminish the favorable consideration of the prejudices of Roman Catholics upon the subject. At least we may imagine that the adjustment of it was entered upon after the passing of the Emancipation Act in 1829, in as propitious a spirit for the interests of Roman Catholi

the patrons of the Reform Bill, as it had been, previous to that measure, by the members of the administration of Lord Liverpool.

These observations may appear to some readers unimportant, but we must remember that it is probable they were items of calculation in the minds of those who have placed the question in its present position. We, as Clergymen, have to deal with it as so adjusted, and in the decision of our conduct respecting it, while we claim, on the ground of conscience concession to our principles, the members of the Government and of the State have to determine whether equal forbearance is not due to the prejudices, as we estimate them, of Roman Catholics.

When Lord Stanley applied his mind to the consideration of this difficult subject he had to decide, whether any further attempt, after the fruitless labor of the Commissioners in 1827, was required or likely to succeed—then to canvass the point whether legislation should proceed irrespective of the declared principles of the Church of Rome, and thirdly, whether such a plan might not be devised as she would receive, and the Church of England might accept without a renunciation of principle, though not so satisfactory as her desire for the spiritual regeneration of the country would demand, if she had the absolute choice of a plan, neither restrained by the State nor fettered by the difficulties which embarrassed the adjustment of it.

Not to attempt the legislative arrangement of this question would be for the Government to abdicate its responsibility and its duty—and yet to attempt it, without a consideration of the prejudices and a tolera-

tion of the false tenets of the Roman Church would be to invent a system, which by the absence of Education, was calculated to perpetuate them. Therefore the third plan remained for judgment, and the experiment was to be achieved to reconcile the Church of England and not to offend the Church of Rome. To effect this most difficult design it was necessary to calculate and observe what had been refused by one party and what had been conceded by the other.

The Church of Rome had expressly declared that her people should not read the Bible at the time of general instruction, though their own version were employed ; but they would permit a harmony of the Gospels, as Archbishop Murray declared " if the matter of the work were abstracted from the Catholic and Protestant versions, when they substantially agree, without the words being taken throughout literally from either."

On the other side, the Church of England had conceded the point that the Bible should not be read at the time of general instruction, provided such a harmony of the Gospels was prepared as would satisfy the heads of the Church. And in the preparation of it they did not object to a judicious use of the Doway and Rhemish translations.

They also, by not dissenting from, may be considered to have consented to, an arrangement, which has often been the theme of complaint and censure. The Roman Catholic Priest on two days of the week might attend in the School-house to afford what instruction he pleased to the children of his own flock.

To adjust these elements and diffuse them through-

out an entire system of Education was the task which Lord Stanley undertook to perform. The execution of it may, perhaps, be judiciously developed by a comparison of the plan as devised by the Commissioners in 1827, and the one arranged, modified, and now in operation of the National Board.

In the plan of 1827 the Bible was not to be introduced into the School where Protestants and Roman Catholics were assembled together.

The Bible may now be read every day in the week by both.

In the plan of 1827 the Clergyman could not, except on the days for religious instruction, put the Word of God into the hands even of the Protestant children.

He may now insist that for one hour, at least, they may read it, and, under certain arrangements, every hour of the day.

In the plan of 1827 no possible provision was made for Protestants and Roman Catholics ever reading the Bible together.

They may now join the Protestants in reading it.

In the plan of 1827, even at the time of separate religious instruction, the Roman Catholic children could never read any translation of the Scriptures but the one which we believe to be unfaithful and false.

They now have the privilege, and sometimes enjoy it, of reading the authorized version every day.

In the plan of 1827, if the harmony of the Gospels had been arranged, as the Primate and Archbishop Magee had agreed that it might, from the authorized version and a judicious selection from the Roman Catholic translation, the Protestant children would

have been compelled to read it as a substitute for the Bible, and thus the minds of children, undisciplined to such exercises, would have been subjected to the conflicting differences of two translations.

At present they have but one version, that of their own Church, which they can be compelled to read.

When the National system of Education was first introduced, the Clergy regarded it not in reference to the scheme of the Commissioners in 1827 which had failed, but to earlier plans, in which the reading of the Bible was made the condition of secular instruction. To this was to be attributed the unabated opposition with which it was received. Indeed, this mode of deciding upon its value was a natural process for the mind to adopt, for there are several points in the present plan preferable to that of 1827. Fully persuaded that the Roman Catholics, by the new system, would be deprived of the blessed privilege of God's Word, they exerted every energy and influence to retain and cherish this precious advantage for them. They remembered that once they had possessed, and they believed that now they had lost this golden gift, and they therefore remonstrated, complained and petitioned. They could not discard the feeling that the political party, which was the parent of the new measure, had not been distinguished for attachment or tenderness towards the interests of the Church in Ireland. They connected the apprehension arising from this cause with the fear of greater and more disastrous invasions of their privileges and position ; they laboured strenuously to remove and destroy this first encroachment, as the safest measure to protect the Church in future.

To such predispositions to receive unfavorably the plan of education thus patronized, other causes were added. Their hostility was not mitigated, when, in the career of popular victories, so great a diminution was made from the power of the aristocracy, in which so strong a defence of the Church had hitherto prevailed. The large addition to the democratic principle in the concessions that were conferred by the Reform Bill, terrified and confounded them. These apprehensions were still further deepened, when the Church itself was attacked, and, as a necessary consequence, her Clergy harassed and persecuted without mercy, and their property so unjustly curtailed and pilfered.

Besides these subsidiary causes to excite and feed opposition, in addition to their more direct conscientious objections to the National Board, the Clergy were animated in their hostility by those who were not less distinguished for ability and knowledge, than for attachment to the Church. They who had been the defenders in every invasion and attack on her Bishops, property and character, were the foremost foes of the new plan of education. The result might have been anticipated that the movement on this subject, patronised by the enemies of the Church, and resisted by its advocates and friends, should experience opposition from the Clergy. They therefore had determined to stand aloof from the Board, and await the period so long and anxiously desired for the return to power of those eminent individuals, under whose direction and guidance, or rather, perhaps, by whose co-operation, they had been assisted and sustained. The fulfilment of their expectations was long delayed, and in this interval the

new plan of education was more fully developed, more generally understood, and gradually less regarded with dismay. It struck its roots deeper and deeper, and rendered more embarrassing any interference with its movements. Year after year the Parliamentary grant was augmented, the number of schools were increased, the list of patrons and advocates were multiplied, the system, like every institution established under the Government, acquired greater power by time, modifications in many parts of the plan that had been considered objectionable were adopted and made known to the public, and were calculated to diminish or remove hostility ; and the Presbyterians who cherish, equally with the Church of England, the Word of God as the sole rule of faith, had placed their multitudinous schools under the protection and management of the Board.

All these changes and circumstances in connexion with the subject of education were forced upon the attention of the present Ministers on their elevation to power. Finding that the system had thus taken deep root—perhaps perceiving the lasting and direful danger of making a separate grant to the Church, as it necessarily involved setting apart for the Church of Rome a grant, also separate and distinct for her own appropriation (which, indeed, some of the more ardent agitators of her communion, ecclesiastical and political, have already claimed,) and equal to the demands not alone of the number of her people, but their more ignorant and poorer condition : calculating too, that as the prejudices or the conscience of one

Church required such an irruption upon a plan that was intended for the Nation, and as it would lead to the same demand by another Church, the Presbyterians, naturally excited by the love of power or the jealousy of concession in which they had no share, would present themselves as a third party requiring equal and similar privileges; and these distinct Educational Societies, thus severed and disjointed, requiring, moreover, a separate staff of Commissioners, Secretaries, and Officers: all these circumstances may naturally be supposed to have influenced the Ministers to refuse to make any change in the National Board. They might fairly have calculated that party spirit more than ever would have been embittered, and the provocation to feed and indulge it supplied from the revenues of the State, over which, by the very act of distinct Boards being necessary to manage these funds, no wholesome controul could be exercised, as the members of them must be of the same religion and party as the one for whose benefit they would be granted.

It is to be remembered also that the position of the education question is not the effect of any sudden cause. It has gradually grown to its present importance and fixedness, piece by piece, movement by movement, one concession following another, some by the Church of England, some made by the Church of Rome, some by the Synod of Ulster; books of the most undisputed excellence in the literary department supplied, buildings of the most costly description undertaken and finished, training and model schools conducted on an immense scale, in full and complete

operation and equal to the wants of all the schools ; and the faith of the nation, of Parliament, and of successive Governments pledged, not only to the conductors and administrators of this vast machinery, but pledged also to that portion of the community that have shared the patronage of the Board on its own conditions, and endured the obloquy, in many cases, of the public and of their own friends in doing so. All these various incidents and causes, while they tend to rivet and fasten the system without any vital change, though, perhaps, with some judicious modifications, as one that is likely to endure as a permanent establishment from which are to emanate the means of education for the whole country, call loudly upon the clergy of the Church of England to re-consider their determinations, and to reflect whether in canvassing the difficulties that must attend the adjustment of this complicated question, though they may not receive the present plan as perfect, nor such as, if choice were given, they would select or have arranged, there is any part of it so irreconcilable with principle, so opposed to any engagements they have undertaken, or to any obligations that conscience would fasten upon the will and judgment, as to render connection with the National Board impossible ? Bearing in mind too that they have adopted their present perilous decision, notwithstanding their duty to the supreme authority of the State, their love of peace, their sense of the dangerous position of the Church, separated from and at variance with the State on the question, next to doctrine and faith, the most important that can engage us, and heedless of the fearful risk of a vigilant and antagonist

Church occupying the position that they thus relinquish and desert, a position which is calculated of itself to deepen and strengthen every other effort and claim of ambition and power.

If there be the loss of principle in reconciliation to the Board—or, even if it be endangered or damaged, let no one for any sense of expediency, or any present gain, or any fear of results, hazard any connexion with the Board. But in the loftiest and purest minds prejudice sometimes assumes the place of principle, and being long fed by a train of thoughts supplied only from a single view of the question, not venturing to canvass the opposite arguments from ignorance of their strength, and contempt of their importance, it often leaves a man, or societies of men, drifted away from the opportunity or the power of doing good, while calmer observers, in other times removed from the excitement or the causes that have administered food to these firmly fixed prepossessions, will decide that what once had been felt and honored as principle might, perhaps, have been not untruly called prejudice.

It shall be my object in the remarks that follow, to examine this part of the question, and in doing so, I shall have to consider some of the statements contained in the Address of the Lord Primate and Bishops. I am, however, under the necessity—arising from the pressure of more urgent duties—of postponing the publication of these further observations for a short time. They shall, however, be given to the public with as little delay as other claims upon my time shall permit.

CHAPTER III.

REVIEW OF THE LORD PRIMATE AND THE BISHOPS' ADDRESS ON THE EDUCATION OF THE POOR OF IRELAND.

I shall commence these observations with the expression of my humble hope that I may not use a word or insinuate a thought that is not most respectful to the high station and higher character of these distinguished Prelates. If I could in any other way, with equal justice to my own opinions, have canvassed the objections which are supposed to exist in point of principle to the National Board, I should most certainly have preferred that course. But as this document is evidently drawn up with diligent care ; as it is the composition of some of the ablest and most learned Bishops that have adorned our Church ; and as it may reasonably be supposed to contain not only the most striking and convincing arguments by which the claim for a separate grant which it advocates, can be supported, but the strongest appeal to conscience and to our obligations as Christians and Churchmen, against the Board ; and also as it is of such recent publication, that to engage in this discussion without reference to it, would be impossible, I have deemed it my most prudent and honest course to examine its arguments, trusting to my admiration, reverence and respect towards its authors to bear me blameless of

offence to them, however weak and inefficient an advocate I may prove myself in the inquiry I have undertaken.

This document passes over what might be considered minor objections against the National Board, and directs its chief power and strength in denouncing "the exclusion of the Scriptures from the schools during the hours of general instruction." "This rule" it states, "was treated by all (the Clergy) as so fundamentally objectionable that while this should continue to be the principle of the system, they could not conscientiously connect their Schools with it, even though all the other grounds of opposition were taken away."

It ought to be borne in mind, though the observation may appear to interfere but slightly, if at all, with the argument, that it was necessary to adopt the rule which is here condemned, when the government had determined to legislate upon the subject. The House of Commons in 1828, to which the various reports of the Commissioners of Education had been referred, had recommended a system of combined literary and separate religious instruction. Of this fact the members of the Church and the opponents of such a plan, could not have been ignorant. Whatever evil was inherent in such a suggestion, no efforts appear to have been made to remove it from 1828 to 1831, the date of Lord Stanley's letter to the Duke of Leinster. I am unable to say, whether it is usual, in direct opposition to such a declaration of a Committee of the House of Commons so appointed, to propose and

adopt measures of vast importance. However if it be, it is surely a very futile experiment to ascertain the course which it is most wise to pursue, and to test its worth by rejecting it. It is not then to the individual who introduces a rule thus recommended that blame belongs, but to the authors of the suggestion which he adopted, and, as I conjecture, without some counter decision, he could not abrogate. At least it was no adventurous or rash policy originating with Lord Stanley. He was only the agent in the execution of a design of the House of Commons, and therefore the representatives of the people had thus by a previous declaration of approval sanctioned the principles upon which Education in Ireland was to be conducted, and these have subsequently been carried into operation by the National Board. It was not a plan introduced by the Government and afterwards adopted by the House of Commons, but legislation proceeded upon the principle of acting in conformity with its declared opinions. And thus it appears that the rule so fundamentally objectionable that the Clergy could not conscientiously connect their Schools with a system of which it is the principle, is one not only patronised by the Government, but one which the Government selected by the direction of the House of Commons.

The address states, "Moreover this great change (the Bible not being read in the time of general instruction) was, avowedly, made as a concession to the unlawful authority by which the Church of Rome withholds the Holy Scriptures from its members."

It is surely a constrained interpretation to put on Lord Stanley's words to allege that he adopted this rule "avowedly as a concession to the unlawful authority of the Church of Rome." His words are, "It seems to have been overlooked that the principles of the Roman Catholic Church (to which, in any system intended for general diffusion throughout Ireland, the bulk of the pupils must necessarily belong) were totally at variance with this principle; and that the indiscriminate reading of the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment, by children, must be peculiarly obnoxious to a Church which denies, even to adults, the right of unaided private interpretation of the Sacred Volume with respect to the articles of religious belief." The act of a Minister of the Crown, on behalf of the Government, carrying out a decision of the House of Commons, by which a principle, indeed an article of the faith of the Church of Rome is permitted to be exercised, is thus not only declared to be the same as making concession to the unlawful authority of that Church, but doing this avowedly on that ground. It may be said with truth that any doctrine that is unsound or false, being taught by any Church, is an exercise of unlawful authority. But when reference is made to the words in which the permission was granted, it might have been more satisfactory to have acknowledged that it was conceded, as it is asserted, to a principle of the Church of Rome. The Address would lead one to believe that Lord Stanley had yielded, not to the observance in a given case of a certain doctrine or principle, but to

the authority, unlawfully exercised of the Church of Rome, and that he had thus sacrificed a great principle avowedly on that account.

It may be alleged, perhaps, as former systems enjoined the reading of the Bible, and this was one that did not make it compulsory, that so far there was a withdrawal of the Protestant principle and an acknowledgment of the Roman one, and in that degree a concession to unlawful authority. Now this plausible objection, as it will at once be seen, loses its force when it is remembered that it is assumed that, because it is the Christian's duty to advocate the reading of God's word and persuade men to enjoy it, it is his right or privilege to require them to do so, and in case of refusal to deny them the advantages of education. Though other systems were conducted upon the principle of all the children of a School being instructed in the Bible, without considering whether voluntarily so or not, it by no means follows, that a plan which did not enforce that rule was essentially a departure from a principle of the Reformation or Protestant liberty. For it must first be proved that it is a Christian's duty to refuse all other instruction unless upon the condition of the Bible being read.

Again. The result of previous commissions respecting education had been a recommendation for such a general system as would unite the children of all creeds in the Schools. Hence arose the necessity of such an adjustment, as in carrying the recommendation into operation, would vindicate that principle. Now the objection, as already stated, asserts that there is

a Roman Catholic principle involved in not reading the Bible. But, on the contrary, there is a Protestant principle involved in its being read. Now surely if the Protestant Clergy refuse to co-operate in a system which prevents, as is alleged, their principle being carried into execution by all who have learned to read, we cannot expect that the Roman Catholic Clergy will unite in one that opposes a principle of their Church. Therefore there must have been either an abandonment of a general system of Education, or, as the consequence of this, if the State gave funds for this purpose an appropriation of them for two distinct purposes—namely, teaching the doctrines of the Church of England, and also the corrupt creed of the Church of Rome, or such an arrangement as the present, which concedes ample freedom to all parties to Educate in religion as their conscience suggests, but obliges them to submit to fixed rules as to general instruction. From hence it would appear that in place of the alteration in the rule respecting the Scriptures being a concession to the unlawful authority of the Church of Rome and avowedly made on this ground, it might perhaps have been more properly designated a permission to Roman Catholics to indulge a prejudice, or exercise their conscience in not reading the Bible, freed from the seduction of the bribe of secular Education.

The Address urges with great earnestness and vigor one argument, which if well founded would involve all who assisted in any National School in an abandonment of principle, and the clergy more particularly

in a relinquishment of the engagements and promises which they undertook when they were invested with their sacred office. No difficulty in this complicated question should warp the mind, or bend it in the least towards the new plan of Education, if the statements made upon this point can be sustained. And therefore if I do not satisfy any reader of these pages that there is insufficient reason to doubt the conclusiveness of the arguments that are advanced, and the inaptitude of the assertions which are mingled with them, there is no request that I could urge more earnestly than that such reader would continue his earnest opposition to the Board. For the view of the case here set forth is distinct the from question that arises out of the injury which Roman Catholics sustain in rejecting the privilege of reading the Bible. It is also distinct from the imputation so freely hazarded, of a departure from the faith against those who consent to assist to teach Roman Catholie children without the condition of Scriptural instruction.

The charge in explicit terms is this—that the Clergy who co-operate with the National Board, are renouncing their obligations to resist the spiritual tyranny and to oppose the errors of the Church of Rome, and that they do not mantain the great doctrine of the Reformation, “the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures.”

Thus—when asserting the importance of this doctrine, “that it is by means of it that truth has “been guarded and handed down to us,” it is implied that the Clergy who assist the Board will be disqualified to be agents in effecting a similar blessing for their posterity.

Again—We are reminded that “it is by means of it, we are to preserve the deposit of truth, and defend and transmit it pure and unmutilated to those who are to come after us.”

Again—“On the other hand, it is by rejecting this principle that the Church of Rome is able to retain and defend its errors, its superstitions, and its usurpations.”

The statement is concluded in these strong words, “And they (the Clergy) could not doubt that if they connected their Schools with the National system, and thereby entered into a compact to dispossess the Bible of the place which it had hitherto occupied in them, they would be, in the eyes of the young and of the old of both communions, practically admitting the false principles of the Church of Rome, and submitting to its tyranny, and abandoning the great principle of their own Church concerning the sufficiency and supremacy of God’s Holy Word.”

These accusations are promulgated without qualification or explanation. How or why the guilt is created is left in a broad indefinite statement. Therefore it is necessary to set down the conduct which only can justify the impeachment, and to specify the act or acts in the performance of which, by connexion with the Board, there is a forfeiture of their most sacred engagements.

In the first place a concession has been made to Roman Catholics by the State, that they may receive secular instruction without being required to read the Bible, though every facility and encouragement to

read it, accompanies that permission. If the Clergy, in connection with the State assist in this enterprise which is supported and recommended by the State, they are pronounced guilty of opposing the great principle of the Reformation respecting the sufficiency of the Scriptures ; of impeding the transmission to their successors of the deposit of truth committed to them ; of aiding the Church of Rome in retaining and defending its errors, superstitions and usurpations, and of practically admitting her false principles, and “ abandoning the great principle of their own Church concerning the sufficiency and supremacy of God’s Holy Word.”

I suppose others have experienced what I have felt, the difficulty of connecting the errors, tyranny and usurpations of the Church of Rome with the act of being Patron of a National School. It might have been prudent to have exhibited the process, when so deadly a charge is made, by which the guilt and manifold enormities of a corrupt Church are thus imputed to and become the property of the Clergy. I shall examine with all the impartiality and sincerity I am able, so important a statement, and so awful an accusation.

“ The sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures,” as it is maintained by our Church, is the doctrine which the Clergy who co-operate with the National Board, are accused of dishonouring and renouncing. All the consequences involved in an abandonment of the long line of important truths which are treasured up in the words “ the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures,”

are attributed to them, without mercy and without qualification. We must therefore inquire what is the doctrine, what are the precious truths which it unfolds, as they are plainly and prominently developed in our sixth article, and in what sense have they ever been interpreted without dispute by our Church. It is a work of supererogation to declare that the sense in which the Church of England holds the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures is, their completeness as a rule of faith, and that they are perfectly and amply capable to prove the articles of faith. The words referred to in the article are "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." The Church of England elevates the Holy Scriptures to this most distinguished position, in contradistinction to the erroneous determination of the Church of Rome, as to what is sufficient to prove an article of faith. She corruptly joins to the sacred word, oral tradition, and the interpretation of the Church upon both, as additional assistants required to ascertain what is necessary to be infallibly believed to salvation. The distinctive and different doctrines of each Church are most easily comprehended, though the distempered piety of the present age has insidiously laboured to confound them. If then the intention of the Church of England be in this article to set forth, in opposition to the Church of Rome, the fulness and completeness of the Holy

Scriptures as a rule of faith and the only means of conveying to us God's will respecting belief and practice ; I confess, without dissimulation and most sincerely, that I find it impossible to comprehend how any one can satisfy himself that there is necessarily any departure from the truths it declares, or abnegation of one's belief in that article, because an agreement is entered into to instruct children who have the opportunity and privilege of reading the Bible, though they may not avail themselves of it. And particularly when constant daily evidence is exhibited of the principle upon which the Clergy impart that preliminary knowledge. It is seen and known that the children of their own flock read the Scriptures. Such is the use to which they apply the ability to read, in the cases in which they can direct it. If they cannot succeed in so holy an application of the information they impart, to others, surely the obstinacy or superstition, or blindness of such persons is the impediment, and not any departure from the doctrine of the Church or coldness as to the value of God's blessed word, or depreciation, or slighting of the Bible as the great charter of the Reformation. And if the principle of the Reformation be abandoned when the Scriptures are not read, though the teacher is willing that his pupil should read them, neither is the liberty of which that glorious revolution was the parent vindicated, when the means of being enabled to read them are denied. If the Clergy, who have consented not to force the reading of the Bible on Roman Catholics, advanced this further and dangerous posi-

tion, and announced as part of the deposit of faith, that there was no necessity imposed by God on them to read it—that it was, in truth, the duty as well of parents as of children not to search for spiritual knowledge themselves, even in the Holy Scriptures, but that all ought to appeal to the judgment of others to ascertain what revelation God had made, to receive without investigation, or liberty of search, the interpretation which their ghostly preceptor declared was the true one, and then blindly, and with prostrate reason, to obey whatever declaration the Church of Rome prescribed, for that she was not merely a safe and sufficient, but the only safe guide ; in such a case there would be justifiable ground to accuse the Clergy of invading and abjuring the truth, and perverting the glorious principle which the Church of England maintains in her doctrine of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures—and which, notwithstanding the deceit and treacherous sophistry of some ascetic and blinded Churchmen in our own days, she must continue to vindicate and uphold, unless she is doomed to merge what had hitherto seemed her peculiar destiny in the absorbing corruptions of the Church of Rome.

The error then, whatever it be of assisting the National Board in their schools does not, according to the sense of the Church, partake of the criminality here unscrupulously alleged against them, nor do any of the statements which are adduced to sustain the imputation justify it. For it cannot be denied that instead of there being a renunciation of the great principle of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures in

the fact that Roman Catholic children are permitted to leave the School without reading the Bible, there is as full a confirmation and vindication of it, on the part of Protestants, as circumstances permit the proof and exhibition of. For to the children who depart and to their parents it is known that those who remain are engaged in an exercise which the Church of Rome condemns and abjures, and that thus in contradiction to her tyrannical assumption of power in abridging Christian liberty, the Church of England trains her children in the way they should go, by making the Bible the book from which the whole treasury of divine truth is to be extracted. For on every occasion, when one party retires and the other remains, is there not a distinct and public declaration made of the estimation with which the Word of God is regarded, and thus an evidence afforded of the doctrine of our Church, as well as a testimony against their's, of the advantage of which Roman Catholics are continually deprived in the cases in which there are no Protestant children in the school on account of the opposition of the Clergy to the Board. For at the time and in the place, when and where, they are accused of abjuring the sufficiency of the Holy Scripture, they exhibit evidence, the fullest they can command, of the estimation in which they hold them, as the most valuable element in Education, "thereby maintaining the Word of God in the high place our Church has placed it," and declaring this important fact continually to every child who attends the school. Thus, in strict truth, in the words of the Address, "in the

eyes of the young and of the old of both communions" instead "of practically admitting the false principles of the Church of Rome," they testify that they exercise to its extreme limit the freedom and opportunity they enjoy to refute and deny them. And in this way their belief and ardent support of the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures receive the repetition of continual proof of their eagerness to uphold "this fundamental principle of most momentous importance" and "to preserve the deposit of truth and to defend and transmit it pure and unmutilated to those who are to come after them."

If the interpretation set forth in the Address of the sufficiency of Holy Scripture be well founded, and consequently that it is slighted and rejected by the Clergy who approve of the National Board, when the Bible is not read at the time of general instruction, and on the contrary, that it is asserted and honoured in the schools in which it is read, it follows that when Roman Catholics consent that their children shall read the Scripture, they become by that act vindicators, so far, of the great principle of the Reformation, and necessarily abjurors of the doctrine of their own church. For, it is alleged, that insisting upon the reading of the Bible in a school by all the children, is the testimony which the Clergy who join the Board, refuse to give to the truth of the article as interpreted in the Address, and on the contrary, that they would be maintainers of it as explained by the Prelates, if they would not give literary education, to those who refused to read it. With such an interpretation of

what the Church of England intended to establish in opposition to the Church of Rome, by the Sixth Article—and that it is maintained when all the children in a school read the Bible—while, at the same time, that and other articles testify, as they distinctly do, to the false standards which that church establishes for ascertaining what is necessary to be believed to salvation, how can it be expected that she will grant permission to the children of her faith to read the Bible, as in that single act, she is thus distinctly informed that she repudiates her own creed; or, if the State is to estimate the true position of this controversy respecting the reading of the Scriptures, by the interpretation of the Prelates as to the meaning of the Sixth Article, how can it be conceived that in granting funds for the education of the people, a condition would be imposed, which if obeyed, would be a public and daily repeated abnegation of the creed of the majority of the people, and a confession that the Church of England, who carried out and insisted upon the opposite principle was the fountain of purity and truth. Surely to urge this defence and this explanation of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures, is an intimation to the Church of Rome, not to permit her children to read the Bible, so distinct, that she has forgot her cunning, if she does not profit by it.

I can well conceive that a popular objection may be taken to the reasoning here adopted, and it may be stated, that Lord Stanley made the rule respecting the Scriptures, because the Church of Rome declares that the Bible is not what the Church of England asserts it

to be, the sole rule of faith, and therefore if the Clergy assist in carrying out that rule, they adopt the principle on account of which the rule was made, and that is the principle at issue between the Church of England and the Church of Rome.

The rule made by Lord Stanley, leaves the question between the churches as a doctrine, from which either party have departed by any countenance the one has shown the other, exactly in the position in which they stood before it was made. The rule maintains a different principle from the one advocated by the Church of Rome. It does not enjoin, as it is acknowledged she does, prohibition upon the reading of the Scriptures, on the contrary it permits and encourages their being read. The formal rule of the National Board is, "We allow religious instruction to be given, and of course the Scriptures to be read during any of the school hours, provided such an arrangement be made, as that no children shall take part or listen to any religious reading or instruction to which their parents or guardians object." Here then is permission to read—that is the rule of the Board. On the part of the Church of Rome, there is prohibition to read. That is the rule of the church. So that the law of the Board is at variance with the authority of the church. If the rule of the Board had been that the Romanist children shall not read the Bible, then the principle of the Church of Rome, would to that extent, have been carried out. And this partial prohibition would have been in that degree a vindication and execution of the law of the Church of Rome, even though Protestants

had been permitted and encouraged to read the Bible. And if the rule had been that neither Protestants nor Romanists shall read the Bible, then there would have been a thorough development and carrying out the principle of the Church of Rome. But when the rule declares that all have the privilege of reading the Bible, there is clearly no new law made which abridges Christian liberty, though there be no compulsory enactment which makes the reading of it the condition of other and different privileges.

But it may be still further alledged, that though these statements are a vindication of the National Board in not having made a rule in accordance with the Church of Rome, yet if the Clergy assist that Church in preventing the encouragement to read the Scriptures, so far they assist in carrying out the principle of Romanists that they shall not be read. This objection proceeds upon the admitted acknowledgment that the rule of the Board does not constrain any Patron of a school in connection with it to do anything opposed to the principles of our Church. The accusation is, and any accuser must adopt this mode of urging it, that the Clergy by co-operating with the Board, assist the Romanists to disobey an injunction or recommendation of the Board, that the Scriptures ought to be read. To place this objection in a tangible shape, we shall imagine an agreement entered into to place a school under the Board in which there shall be children of both Churches. The Scriptures are to be read by Protestants, and may be read by Roman Catholics but not necessarily. If the accusation

that the Protestant Clergyman assists the Roman Catholic Priest to prevent his children from reading the Bible—it is equally true that the Priest assists the Minister that his children may read it. It is a mere question of toleration. There is mutual forbearance, equal freedom, no new principle is ceded by our church, nor does she in this instance extend an old one beyond the permission to Roman Catholics to adopt in the School-house what the state has allowed her to enjoy elsewhere—nor can there be justifiably, any imputation of guilt or of abetting the Church of Rome in the inculcation of her doctrines, beyond what the legislature is liable to in the permission granted that the Church of Rome may exercise, without restraint, her worship of the Virgin Mary—nor is the act of the Clergy thus assisting, more criminal than that of a magistrate who is bound to protect the members of that church from molestation or insult in the observance of any of the ceremonies we condemn.

The difficulty arises in the view taken of this question, from the limitation which the clergy conceive they are justified in imposing upon the principles of toleration, and that these privileges are limited to localities. If the admission be made that united education is to be the rule of education, a restraint is at once placed on us not to introduce any practice which infringes the toleration of the peculiar tenets of the Church of Rome. The question is not how false or unsound these tenets are, but if coalition in any common object is the condition of our association with her, it must be entered into on the previous stipula-

tion of the full indulgence to her of freedom from the observance of any practice which is contrary to the articles of her creed. We unite with her on general education, because there is no opposing principle at variance between us. We will also unite with her in the reading of the Bible, and joyfully and thankfully aid her in the holy occupation. But if in this she separate from us, we leave her to God and her conscience. We are not involved in her sin, and we exhibit, continually, our estimate of the Bible by teaching its blessed truths to all whom we are permitted to instruct.

In drawing to the close of this Chapter and this part of the subject, it is impossible to avoid alluding once more to the Commission of 1824-27. If the interpretation which the authors of the Address have given to the sixth article be the correct one, the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures was, certainly, not always maintained with such stringent exactness or comprehensive latitude.

We have seen that a plan had been proposed, by which the Bible was to be excluded during every day of the general instruction. It was, I affirm from the most attentive examination of the records of this commission, the intention of the Commissioners to use extracts and not the New Testament or the Bible as "the reading book" in the school. And I affirm, and court contradiction, if it can be given, that the heads of the church at that time coincided, however reluctantly, in the adoption of the measure by which a harmony of the Gospels or a compilation from the Scriptures was to be the substitute for the Bible.

But, lest any misunderstanding might possibly arise by my statement of the circumstances, it is more prudent and my duty too to give the decision of the Commissioners in their own words, as well as any declaration made by the Bishops which bear directly on the point. If it shall be proved that I have omitted one single statement which, if given, would have placed the argument in a different light, I shall in the most public manner acknowledge my error, and thank my informant. But I shall not be turned aside by any declamation from the full announcement of the truth and the justifiable inferences that may be drawn from it.

On the 30th of May, 1825, the Commissioners reported "that it will be necessary to provide a volume compiled from the four Gospels," and having mentioned other parts of the Scripture from which compilations were to be made, they state, "We by no means intend such works as substitutes for the Holy Scriptures, although we *propose that the reading of the Scriptures themselves should be reserved* for the time of *separate* religious instruction."

The books from which religion was to be taught in the general School, are thus detailed in the School Regulations: the book entitled Selections from the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon, the Book of Ecclesiasticus, the History of Joseph, and the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt, to which is prefixed the History of the Creation and of the Patriarchs, the History of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ extracted from the Gospels. "No Catechism

or religious instruction, other than *the mere reading* of the above books, is to be admissible into the general school."

On the 31st January, 1826, in the following year, the Lord Primate quotes from the 98th page of the first report, the passage referring to the harmony which it was necessary to prepare. His Grace recommends the plan for proceeding in the work.

On the 8th July, in the same year, the Archbishop of Dublin writes as follows : " In pursuance of the desire of the Commissioners of Education Inquiry that the sanction of the Bishops of the Irish branch of the United Church should be obtained for some work in the nature of a selection from the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, to be used as a common reading book in poor schools for children, a tract is herewith sent for the consideration of your Board." " The Scripture lessons thus formed have not yet been submitted to the Bishops at large, nor can their judgment as a body be collected until the time of their assembling at the First Fruit's Meeting in October. But I hold myself authorized to say, that I entertain no doubt of their giving their consent to the use of the book, for a common reading book, in *mixed schools*, should the Commissioners approve of it. I should do injustice, however, to many (perhaps I might say all) of my brethren, as well as to myself, were I to leave the Commissioners under the impression that in our opinion any abstract from the New Testament can be a sufficient substitute for the New Testament itself as a reading book in a Christian School. This tract is sent merely at the request

of the Commissioners, as one which, if any modification of Scripture must be used in schools, may be considered as little objectionable as any other."

In ten days afterwards, on the 18th July, 1826, the Commissioners state to the Lord Primate, in order to correct any mistake that might possibly have arisen, "your Grace will excuse me *for RECALLING to your recollection*, that, according to this plan, the children of the different religious persuasions, though united for the purpose of receiving general literary instruction, *are to be separated for the purpose of reading the Holy Scriptures.*

On the 22nd February, 1827, his Grace the Lord Primate "in the name of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Established Church," thus declares their unanimous opinion respecting the harmony of the Gospels or Extracts which, when prepared and if approved, all the Bishops must have known, after the announcement made by the Commissioners to the Primate, was to be used as a substitute for the Bible at the time of general instruction. "You will be pleased to observe that the point on which we mainly insist is an adequate representation of revealed truth being exhibited to the youthful mind in the way of National instruction, a representation not resting for its basis on the declaration of any particular Church, or set of men, but on the warrant of the written Word of God. This, Sir, is the ground taken by the Bishops of the Established Church. These are the fundamental principles upon which alone can be formed *a compilation of Scriptural instruction* worthy of being adopted in a system of

National Education which the Lord Primate seems to have endeavoured to enforce in his letter of the 28th August, 1826."

There is in these references, in the first place, the declaration of the Commissioners that the Holy Scriptures were *not to be used in the school of general instruction*.

Secondly. A reference to the book that was to be the substitute for the Bible by the Primate.

Thirdly. The production of such a book by the Archbishop of Dublin, with a protest that any abstract from the New Testament cannot be a sufficient substitute for it—which can mean no more than that if his Grace and the other Bishops could have had a system of education according to their own views, the Bible should not be displaced for any extracts from it. But they submitted to the necessity of the case under a protest. For if their determination had been not to submit, why be the agents in preparing the means by which the Holy Scriptures were to be excluded. They occupied themselves and employed others in the preparation of this book while this sentence of the Commissioners was before their eyes, "We propose that the reading of the Scriptures themselves shall be reserved for the time of separate religious instruction."

Fourthly. After this declaration of the Archbishop of Dublin, the Commissioners recall the Primate's attention to the fixed rule that the *Scriptures were not to be read in the general school*.

Fifthly. After being thus reminded, both the Primate and the Archbishop continued their exertions

for the production of this harmony, with the undeniable and irresistible knowledge that it was to take the place of the Bible.

It is but just to suppose that the views so ably expressed in this document (the Bishops' letter), would have been fully carried into execution, if the arrangements had proceeded to maturity. Still further, that care and attention, even beyond the expressions in the above extract, would have been employed in the preparation of the harmony, and in the effort to procure the largest amount possible of Scriptural instruction from the Word of God itself. But surely it must be conceded that such a desire must be subject to the regulations, and in compliance with the plan announced by the Commissioners, by which their future arrangements were to be regulated. And although a harmony entirely in conformity with his Grace's approval and sanction had been adopted, still the Bible, as the Book of God, was not to be introduced into their schools. Even this harmony was merely to be read, and never explained. Thus the most marked distinction was made between the Bible, as the book for separate religious, and the extracts for general instruction.

"We by no means intend such works (the various compilations mentioned) as substitutes for the Holy Scriptures, *although we propose that the reading of the Holy Scriptures should be reserved for the time of separate religious instruction.*"

If words can convey any meaning it is quite evident that the Commissioners intended to exclude

the Bible from the schools ; and that the reading of the Holy Scriptures, as such, notwithstanding the fulness and completeness of any book of extracts, was to be the employment of the pupils at the time of separate instruction. This was the acknowledged principle of the plan constantly repeated and enforced. The Prelates so far acquiesced in its propriety or necessity as to provide the book to be used instead of the Bible. Their own unanimous declaration, even after their attention was specially called to the unalterable rule of the exclusion of the Scriptures, asserted no claim beyond this, that the extracts contained an adequate representation of revealed truth not resting for its basis on the declaration of any particular church, or set of men, but on the warrant of the written Word of God. They themselves thus characterise, in *the very last document* that proceeded from any of our Prelates the work or works which were to be the substitute for the Bible, in these words, "*a compilation of Scriptural instruction, worthy of being adopted in a system of National Education.*"

From reports* of the speeches at a late meeting, I am justified in supposing that Dr. Singer intended to refute or deny statements made by me in the former part of this publication. I know how imperfect a representative newspaper reports sometimes are of a speaker's words. But in such a case as this, where

* Dublin Evening Mail, March, 28, and Evening Packet, March 29.

circumstances are mentioned with precision and documents quoted to verify them, there cannot be much doubt as to the general accuracy of the record, particularly when two different reports contain the same statements.

Dr. Singer says he had the honour of being one of those clergymen who were employed to make a harmony from the Gospels, for the purpose of being introduced, as the Commission of 1825 proposed, into the schools as a reading book, and he did aver that their instructions were "that it should be solely in the language of the authorized version of the Scriptures, to the exclusion of any change whatsoever."

I have no remark to make on this statement but that I believe it, for I know that the harmony was in the words of the authorised version. I have not said it was not. But I repeat, what Dr. Singer cannot deny, that the concessions made by the Primate and Archbishop Magee, as detailed by me at p. 15-16, appear in the Reports of the Commission. If they are not to be found there, I ought to be convicted of falsehood. If they are, surely, the object for which I adduced those statements is fully established. That object was, as it would appear in the Reports of the Commissioners on Education, that the Primate and Archbishop Magee had acquiesced in a judicious use being made of the Doway and Rhemish translations, and that therefore the Government in the arrangement of any future plan might adopt this as an acknowledged concession of our Church.

Doctor Singer continues, "likewise before they

put their hands to the work, they received the most satisfactory assurances that it was not intended to substitute the harmony so drawn out of the Scriptures in any possible way." The private assurances that Dr. Singer received are nothing to the purpose, while the public documents verify my allegation that extracts were to be the substitute for the Bible.

The quotation from Archbishop Magee that no abstract from the New Testament is a sufficient substitute for it, is a general truth—for it cannot mean that unless the New Testament were admitted into the schools along with the harmony, he would not consent to be an agent in the preparation or adoption of it. For the Commissioners repeat, after the receipt of his letter, that the Scriptures were not to be read in the general school. And yet his Grace proceeded in facilitating the progress of the substitute, while he and all the Bishops in an unanimous letter, never once protested against the declaration of the Commissioners, but insist only on an *adequate representation of Divine truth* and the *compilation of Scriptural instruction*, but never even allude to their being used in connexion with the Bible.

Dr. Singer states "That the Primate and the late Archbishop, it was insinuated, were friendly to a less stringent plan, and a harmony of the Gospels drawn under their direction, was put forward as a parallel to the extracts of the National Board."

If this passage allude to any statement made by me, I answer I never compared or intended to com-

pare the two compilations, nor have I used one word that could be tortured into the supposition that I did so compare them.

Dr. Singer continues "If they had the extracts as a reading book, they would have the Word of God sanctifying their schools, and they would have their Clergy entering their schools and opening the Word of God *wheresoever* they would, and giving instruction *whenever* they were disposed to do so. These were their principles and the principles which in 1827 *their Revered Primate put forward as his own views and as the views of his brethren.*"

If the Clergy could have entered the schools and thus used the Bible, one of the chief objects in arranging the harmony would have at once been superseded. The Roman Catholic Prelates declared that the children of their faith would not be allowed to hear or read one verse of the Bible, as from the Bible except in their own version, and that they never should be taught any religious truth except by a Roman Catholic teacher. To prevent the injury arising from hence, by the total deprivation of Scriptural knowledge, a harmony was to be provided in which there was "an adequate representation of Divine truth." This not being considered or delivered as the Holy Scriptures, the reading of which as such was specially reserved for the separate religious instruction, might therefore be indiscriminately read or learned under the tuition of any teacher.

Surely if the Clergy, as is here declared, could instruct all the pupils in a school, opening the Word

of God *wheresoever* they would and giving instruction *whenever* they were disposed, the object of separate religious instruction and the use of the harmony were perfectly nugatory. Besides, if such unlimited power was still continued to the Clergy, what was the object of the special rule that "no catechism or religious instruction, other than the mere reading of the above books (namely, the extracts from the Scriptures) is to be admissible into the general school, *religious instruction* being reserved for the occasions when the children are separated." Still further, what was the need of any arrangement, if the power, and the opportunity to exercise it, of giving instruction by the Clergy to Roman Catholics could be so happily exhibited, and would be submitted to.

Dr. Singer misinterprets my argument derived from the Commission of 1824-27.

"They were told in a recent publication that they were better off than if the plans proposed by the Commissioners of 1825 had been adopted. Now neither of these plans had been adopted by the Government, neither of them had been deemed advisable, and yet they were told to connect themselves with the National Board, because plans in themselves absolutely impracticable, &c."

I will not dispute the question, though I might, whether Lord Wellesley and the Government had approved and therefore so far adopted the plan of 1827. But the object for which I referred to the comparative advantages of that plan and the present have been overlooked. I shall therefore now mention

it. The Address of the Prelates objects against the Clergy who co-operate with the National Board, that they abjure their ordination engagements—deny, in practice, the articles of the Church—renounce the grand principle of the universal duty of reading God's Word, and aid the Church of Rome in her tyranny, usurpations, and enormities; and therefore that the Bible is not now honoured as it was in previous systems of education, by which it was made a necessary medium of Scriptural instruction. These unmeasured accusations are expressed in these emphatic words: "And they (the Clergy) could not doubt that if they connected their schools with the National system and thereby entered into a compact to *dispossess the Bible of the place which it had hitherto occupied in them*, they would be in the eyes of the young and of the old of both communions, practically admitting the false principles of the Church of Rome, and submitting to its tyranny, and abandoning the great principles of their own Church, concerning the sufficiency and supremacy of God's Holy Word."

If I have not misstated or misquoted the documents of the Commission of 1824–27, I believe that an admission was made by the Prelates connected with it, which, if the interpretation now given to the sixth article be just, equally involves them, or, perhaps, in a greater degree, in all the censure so mercilessly cast upon the approvers of the National Board.

Dr. Singer has said "looking to the pamphlets on the subject that they were compelled to wade through, he had been really surprised to find the little originali-

ties which the advocates of the National Board had recently been able to bring forward, &c."

Therefore the answer to the foregoing statement can with greater readiness be supplied, and I shall feel as much indebted to Dr. Singer's ability as any other person in the Church, if he can satisfy me that I have in the slightest degree misrepresented the transactions referred to. And if it is an old accusation he may tell me who has refuted it. If the plan of 1827 had succeeded "the Bible would have been dispossessed of its place," every day, in the school for general instruction, and never presented on any day, even when religion was the end in view, except when the Protestants were assembled for the purpose of reading it. And for these reasons, I repeat, that the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures would have been vindicated in an inferior degree in such schools than in those of the National Board; since now the Protestants can read the bible every day, while under the other system they never could do so, except at the time of separate instruction, and Roman Catholics, though they may retire, may also remain to read it. And we have ample evidence to establish that they do avail themselves of this great privilege, from which, under the other arrangement, they were tyrannically excluded, for particular instances have been specified where this happy consummation, so devoutly to be desired, has been achieved.

Because the plan for the execution of which such a great concession was unsuccessful and impracticable, Dr. Singer will not permit me to use the admission made by the most distinguished, most

generous and devoted friends of the Church as an exculpation, or a shelter from the pitiless storm of hard words now mercilessly dealt out to those who act in conformity with that admission. Surely any statement ever made by his Grace the Lord Primate for the adjustment of a plan which has failed, must ever remain as safe a principle for those who revere him to adopt, as if that plan had succeeded. It may have been impossible from other causes to have established the proposed system, but the value or worthlessness of any declaration that has proceeded from his Grace, in which a principle is involved, never can depend upon any contingency of success or failure; and, therefore, until Dr. Singer from the public documents of this commission prove that I have drawn false inferences from or misrepresented them, I shall seek my chief consolation from the reproaches and denunciation of the Bishops' address in his Grace's example.

CHAPTER IV.

PARENTAL AUTHORITY.

The following statements are made in the Address, "that parental authority derives all its force from the authority of God," and "therefore can possess none when it is exerted in opposition to the Divine authority on which it rests." .

Again—"That a parent has no right to require others, who clearly perceive this opposition and understand its effects, to be his instruments in enforcing an unlawful authority over his child."

From these, and similar statements, it is assumed that the Clergy who co-operate with the National Board are implicated in the guilt of those who do not permit their children to read the Bible.

A candid view of the subject is often impeded by indistinctness as to the relative position of one part of a question to another. To use one's influence that the policy of the Church of Rome shall be carried out as to her prohibition of the reading of the Scriptures is a different matter from co-operating with Roman Catholics in the management of a National School, in which their children may exercise an option in reading them. The law of the Church of Rome is, no permission to read, without license. The law of the

National Board is permission and encouragement to read. In not refusing education to the Roman Catholic who uses the rule so as not to read the Bible we certainly permit him to exercise a choice, but we neither approve of his selection, if it accord not with our own, nor do we assist her in making it, though we are witnesses of its exercise when it is made.

The admission is, in general, willingly acceded to that a parent ought to have controul over his child respecting religion. But there is not equal willingness not to interfere in the execution of that authority. If there be a denial of any privilege when the authority of the parent is exercised in a manner different from what we believe conducive to the spiritual happiness of the child, there is so far an interference with parental power. Education is a civil privilege which the state is bound to bestow. If the parent cannot permit his child to receive it on a condition which he believes, however falsely, injurious to him, they who insist on the condition do not allow the exercise of parental power to be displayed and carried into execution. "Our Clergy," it is said, "would and ought to abstain from any direct efforts to excite resistance." Now education is the only means of improving the condition of the humbler classes, and therefore they ardently desire it. Yet if it will not be given except on terms which induce the child to resist his parents' injunction, how can it be said that efforts are not employed to produce resistance. "The parent" we are told "has

no right to require others to be his instruments in enforcing an unlawful exercise of his authority over his child." And surely the Clergy have no right to require that the parent will be their instruments in relaxing his authority over his child in obedience to a Protestant Minister and in opposition to his own. If the Clergy have good grounds for regarding the resistance of a child to a parent as intelligent and conscientious, they may encourage that resistance. Yet the rule which is sought to be applied in a school respecting the reading of the Scriptures cannot be, nor is intended to be, limited to such cases. For there is a wholesale contempt of that authority in the iron rule that all children that can read shall read the Bible. There is no selection made of conscientious disobedient children, for all are required to be disobedient, and the tenderness of conscience is exhibited in the uniformity of resistance.

Education being a civil right is to be administered in conjunction with, at least not in opposition, to other privileges. The constitution of our country has permitted the exercise and avowed the toleration of the Roman Catholic creed. One of the tenets of that faith is, that the Bible is not to be read without the interpretation of the Church. In assisting in a school in which the civil right of education is conferred, we are no further implicated in the responsibility of the Church of Rome denying the Scriptures to the people, than that we do not interfere in the exercise of that toleration as it is applied to a rule of their Church respecting the Bible. And therefore there is no more

guilt in the Clergy in not impeding the free enjoyment of that privilege in a National School than in the members of legislation and the Sovereign who permitted the worship of the Roman Church.

The chief object of the state in devising a system of education is to prepare and arrange the means of literary cultivation. To the clergy of the various denominations of Christians they must fairly suppose the duty of inculcating religion peculiarly to belong. If they afford opportunity to them for doing this, and aid them in the performance of it, they contribute all the assistance that justly can be required. Therefore connexion with any system of education patronised by the state in Ireland must proceed on the principle of literary instruction on the one hand, and of the free exercise of all religious scruples in sharing it on the other. If our religious opinions are invaded in the education of our children, the liberty that others claim is denied to us. And in the degree that we insist in inculcating on others any tenet of our faith, as, for instance, that all are bound to read the Word of God, we deprive them of the privilege which we assert and enjoy ourselves, and thus there is an infringement of the condition of receiving the civil right of education, which, if accompanied with impediments that enjoin its rejection, cannot be said to be conferred. We therefore are not the instruments either of the parent or the Church of Rome, for the right of education without the necessity of reading the Bible is already acknowledged and legalized, and we cannot be instruments in a purpose that is secured without

our instrumentality, or agents in effecting what it requires not our agency to accomplish. The mockery of such a charge is developed in our daily practice. Would the youngest child in a school be taught to believe that we were such examples of contradiction as to labour for the spiritual knowledge of our flock by teaching them the Bible, and yet be partners in enacting a law which deprived others of a similar blessing. When we can exercise a choice, and develope our faith we teach and love to teach God's Holy Word. When we are restrained by the influence of the Church of Rome on her own people, we mourn over their blindness and infatuation, but we tolerate in them the exercise of their delusion. And, in truth, are not bodies or societies of men compacted together on this principle ; except in a church, whose articles of faith are measured out in the accurate precision of nicely balanced words, there cannot be an approach to unanimity of purpose in all the parts of a system. If interests be complicated and theories diverse, even on the same subject, one man will wish a stringent law and another prefer the pliancy of an unsettled rule. There is a concession of interests and opinion for universal harmony and good. And even in the case of the Church are we without evidence, that articles, and creeds and liturgy, and authority and Bishops and law to enforce uniformity according to a fixed standard cannot, and has not, produced union in faith and similar discipline in men bound by the same obligations to the same church and in the same country ; and so fruitless is such an experiment,

even in a case like this, containing all the elements and motives to unity, that the position has been most ably maintained that the reconstruction of an assembly of judges to determine upon these opposite opinions and adjust differences just as momentous within the bosom of the Church as the one now in dispute between the National Board and the Clergy, would terminate in the expulsion of one party and the victory of the other, and therefore that it was better and wiser to act upon the principle of mutual concession and forbearance than to attempt, by compulsion, to subdue what toleration might overcome. Is not the whole frame-work of society bound together by an involuntary agreement that admits co-operation to the extent of what we approve and rejection of what we condemn. What legislator refuses assistance in the preparation of laws which he sanctions because others are enacted which he dislikes? Is not this more remarkably true as to the separate parts of the same law? Are not the elements of dissolution of all engagements at once forced into operation if there must be agreement in all the items of our obligations? What national contract could ever have been effected, if each ambassador had all the advantage on his own side? Even the closest connexions must admit of conciliation by reciprocal sacrifices, or our homes would cease to be asylums of peace? And to refer to a very recent instance, surely it will not be attempted to accuse the Lord Primate of a sacrifice of principle, such as is charged against the Clergy who

co-operate with the National Board, because his Grace, from a high sense of duty, has consented to act as one of the Commissioners of the Board of Charitable Bequests? If a Clergyman be assured in his conscience that he perpetrates no guilt in assisting in a school in which the Holy Scriptures are not read, though he may anxiously desire that they should be, he may experience some consolation under the allegation of dereliction of principle asserted in the Address, in knowing that the Lord Primate co-operates with the Prelates of the Church of Rome, in an equal degree, in the appropriation of money bequeathed either for the erection of Roman Catholic Chapels or the deliverance of souls from Purgatory, objects as little in unison with the principles of his Grace, as the refusal to the people of the Bible by the Church of Rome is to the Clergy of the Church of England who join the Board of Education. The corresponding features of these two cases are most striking. Is one of these institutions the creation of the state, so is the other? Is there co-operation between the Prelates of both Churches to effect purposes perfectly distinct and opposite, as the reading and the not reading of the Bible, and the application of funds to objects exclusively Protestant and exclusively Roman Catholic? Does an objection exist that the Archbishop of Dublin consorts with Doctor Murray at the National Board? The analogy is more than fulfilled in the Lord Primate and the Archbishop Murray presiding at the other Board. In one case Doctor Murray simply administers funds

for the education of the people of his Church. In the other he is not only acknowledged as an Archbishop, but civil power is conferred upon him because he is one. He can receive and transmit property in succession for the promotion of the false faith and ambitious designs of Rome, and he is invested with this controul because he is a Romanist—it is not toleration of error, notwithstanding his religion, but a vast accession of power on account of it.

It may be convenient to remove the force of such observations as these, by the assertion, that there is no difference of opinion as to the inspiration of the Bible between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, that it is an admitted principle of uniformity in the foundation of each, that, in fact, it is common ground and therefore that the children of each creed might proceed thus far together in the attainment of religious knowledge. Unfortunately such an argument is unsound. In our Church, the Bible is the sole rule of faith. In that of Rome it is only a part of the rule of faith, and without the accompaniment of the other part, tradition and the interpretation of the Church, it is opposed to her practice and authority to allow its use. Therefore the Bible is not truly common ground, except to the extent that a part of anything is the whole.

If then the parent be not only acknowledged to possess, but in reality be permitted to exercise control over his child—if the toleration of the erroneous doctrines of the Church of Rome is not to cease because it is enjoyed in a school-room, as well as

other places—if education be the civil right of the subject, which our Governors are bound to provide and administer, it is not easy to perceive how guilt is incurred by assisting in a National School, unless parental authority, toleration and education are placed on a different ground from that which they now occupy. Parental authority must be abandoned, toleration withdrawn, and education denied, or the principles avowed in the Address cannot be put into execution.

I am aware that most sedulously the assertion is made, that coercion to read the Bible is no part of the policy of those who advocate its universal use ; but coercion has different properties, and its force may be differently employed. Corporal degradation, I am satisfied, would not be vindicated as the punishment of disobedience for not reading. But banishment from the school would be justified. It is then the application of force, though of a different kind, to refuse a privilege which, indeed, is a right, except on conditions which annihilate it. For instance, it is assumed in the Address, from certain indications of some Roman Catholic parents having a desire for the Scriptural Education of their children, that all parents were animated by the same desire, and then it is boldly declared, that the state ought to have aided the resistance of the parent to ecclesiastical authority. I am happy I have not so learned my theory of liberty nor can I comprehend, except on the imitation of the Star Chamber decrees, how any such notion of toleration can be vindicated ; but it is clear from this declaration that if the authors

of the Address could execute their own design, the state should grant no aid for education except on the condition of the Bible being read, that is, it ought to be denied to Roman Catholics. If this be not the application of compulsion to effect a desirable object, I know not a name for such policy. How can such a design be upheld without interference with a parent's right over his child. Is it asserted that all parents were anxious for the Bible, though their spiritual rulers forbade it? If so, they have full power to exercise their choice under the National Board. But have we any authority to depend on that such resistance was universal. If it were, the authority of the Roman Church must be shaken to its foundations. And where in our day have we seen even the slightest indication of such a revolution? How again can such a project be maintained in connexion with the assertion that men are free to select their creed, or, that the people have the right to be educated on the ground of being subjects of the Sovereign without discrimination for their religious opinions, when the doctrine is admitted and vindicated, and a censure passed upon the state for not acting upon it, that Roman Catholics ought to be compelled to submit to the Protestant principle of reading the Bible, or as the punishment for non-compliance that Education ought to have been denied to them.

It may be judicious to connect the statements put forth in this chapter with the original formation and present position of the National Board. The inconclusiveness of branding the clergy who assist in one

of their schools as agents of the Church of Rome in denying the Scriptures to the people, will, then perhaps, appear still more striking. The clergy were not instrumental in the original construction of the present plan of education. The State determined upon it under the force of circumstances as already detailed, which restricted their choice, unless education was denied to the Roman Catholic people, or a system adopted from which their principles revolted. It was then determined that one or two or more schools should be established in every parish, in fact that their number should be commensurate with the demand for their creation and the want to be supplied. To a large extent this design has been accomplished. In a few years it will be completely carried into effect. Practically or theoretically, the plan may be described as in universal operation. When the clergy therefore apply for aid from the Board, they simply avail themselves of National funds for the education of their own flock. They are not the authors of the plan. If it be unsound, or too conciliatory, or not affording such machinery as they calculate to be required for the spiritual advancement of the people, the weakness or want of prudence, or even the guilt which its rules involve, rests upon the State. If the church had once been the administrator of the education of the people, she has either abdicated the charge by not having co-operated with the Board, or, the State having once conferred, has now withdrawn that privilege. Therefore she now stands simply in the position of having a claim for the education of her people, and if she can

obtain this, without detriment to the faith she cherishes in her members—if their education can be as perfect as the zeal and knowledge and piety of her clergy can render it—if the Bible, the corner stone of her faith, and the mighty moving power in the glorious Reformation, is not mutilated or adulterated—if under the regulations of the Board, it can be studied as much and as often as experience has taught her is needful—if every day and under certain arrangements, every hour of the day she can use it as the medium of religious knowledge, what is the ground of her complaint, or where the justice of the charge that the clergy who have adopted this plan are the instruments of the Roman Catholic Church? For, whether the clergy continue to feed the excitement which the collection of Eleemosynary bounty creates in order to perpetuate hostility to a system which is the creature of the State, and of the government ; or co-operate in working the machinery of this great institution—whether they unite with or stand aloof from the Board—whether they oppose or second the policy of the legislature, the result is precisely the same as to the Roman Catholics who will be educated under its auspices and according to its plan. How, then, are the clergy instruments in effecting a purpose, which is independent of their existence or their power, and which neither their hostility nor alliance can modify or change?

But have the clergy sufficiently calculated upon the value of their co-operation, or how far it may be instrumental in effecting the very objects that now

separate them from the Board. How much is the probability increased that Roman Catholic children will read the Bible, when their Protestant play-mates so regularly and assiduously are taught to profit by it. Has example no influence? Is there no guilt incurred by not permitting its powerful sway to be developed? Is the inquiry likely to arise in a child's mind, "Why do the Protestants read the Bible, and why am I prevented doing so? Why do they persevere so regularly in the pursuit of knowledge in that holy book, which I am taught to believe divine as well as he? Why, then, are its pages continually open to him, and always closed against me." Besides, in the instances wherever they exist of a parent's desire that his child should read the Word of God, opportunity for indulgence is probably denied in the school where there are no Protestant children, while, on the contrary, the motive to study and the means of doing so, receive the most exciting inducements under the influence of example and friendship. Therefore whatever evil results now arise from the separate education of Roman Catholics, the clergy certainly assist in producing them. They have the highest assurances that the National Board will continue to be administered on its present basis. Are they prepared for the dangerous resolution of continued hostility to the State by opposing it?

CHAPTER V.

CONSIDERATION OF THE SCRIPTURAL ARGUMENTS AGAINST CONNEXION WITH THE BOARD.

A large proportion of the opponents of the National Board have founded their sincere objections to it on Scriptural authority. Whatever arguments from necessity or prudence or the value of that institution its advocates may adduce, they conceive that in the Bible they find ample materials to refute them. Strongly impressed with this conviction, they esteem as weak and insufficient to determine the controversy, an appeal to any other tribunal or judge.

Therefore it is necessary to examine the arguments that are deduced from this divine source. If the slightest intimation appear in God's Word calculated to determine the question in discussion, it is worse than sophistry, or any other censure of the kind, for it would be premeditated insult to the Holy Scriptures, to seek for other authority to decide it. But we must carefully keep in view the object we hope to attain by reference to the Bible.

If it be to determine the value of that most blessed book—the importance of its revelations—the obligation on all to study it—the guilt of those who neglect it—the duty of prayer to understand it—that it may

feed our faith and guide it to shine forth in a holy life—and that all, whether churches or people, are responsible to God in the degree in which they do not estimate and employ this most blessed gift—the only source of spiritual knowledge on earth—if these be the objects of reference, there is no need of search to develope those precious truths or magnify their worth. Wherever the countless value of the Holy Scriptures is most thankfully acknowledged and described—the unpardonable offence of rejecting or neglecting them most strikingly delineated, and the duty of all to read and study and profit by them, most powerfully set forth and advocated—there I claim the privilege of writing my humble name.

While, therefore, I deny the application of the passages from the Old Testament, for the purpose for which they are adduced, I am most willing to confess and rejoice in the acknowledgment, that they are amply sufficient to vindicate, without other aid, and justify our great Reformers in their secession from a corrupt church, as being satisfactory evidences that the Bible is not only the inheritance of mankind, but a treasure that each is to enjoy by examining for himself, and that all are responsible for the neglect or use of so precious a privilege.

It is needless to multiply references, and I shall select one passage that is frequently adduced for the purpose I have stated—“And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart, and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine

house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down and when thou risest up." (Deut. vi. 6, 7.)

It is at once admitted that if the dispute to be determined was the necessity incumbent on all to be acquainted with divine truth or the duty of parents to teach it, or the guilt of those who, as the Church of Rome, withhold it from the people, the authority of this passage and many similar is decisive; and there ought to be no appeal to any other jurisdiction, or the indulgence of human speculation upon the matter. The duty is conveyed in plain and forcible language, and according to its simplicity and strength is their sin who neglect and disobey it. But the question in dispute still remains without authority to decide it. That question is, whether we are justified to leave without the means of knowing the bible those who refuse to know it now, from whatever cause that disinclination arises; whether in fact we shall deny literary instruction to such as are not permitted, or who do not choose to read it.

The obligation to study the word of God and the authority to force compliance on the Jews, were characteristics of their peculiar position as an exclusive people under the sovereignty of Jehovah. The Scriptures teem with injunctions that they should constantly read and even laboriously study them. Their Kings and Prophets and Priests were enjoined continually to facilitate access to them, and to command the people to hear and read them. Now while the duty to read that divine law continues the same on all mankind, the power to enforce that obligation by punishment or

penalty has ceased to exist. It was a line of demarcation that marked an exclusive system for a peculiar people which the freedom of the Gospel has blotted out. The directions in Deuteronomy and others of similar character, as well those addressed to the people as to the Priests, were divine commands to God's servants specially under his own immediate government. Wherever there was laxity of will or slothful faith to cherish and enjoy these high distinctions, power was put forth to strengthen the one and invigorate the other. To the rest of the human race, however responsible different theories may render them to Jehovah's will, it was not His pleasure at least, to authorize his consecrated servants to adopt for the general illumination of mankind the means he had approved for the instruction of the favored race. The gates of spiritual citizenship have now indeed been opened to the Gentile world, and heralds have been commissioned to invite us to full partnership in all the privileges of the chosen people. Those passages, therefore, which enjoin the love and the study of the Holy Scriptures, speak to our faith in a voice that gives no uncertain sound that our duty to know the Lord's will in his own revelation is as binding on us, as on the Israelite when Moses read and the people hearkened. The principle remains the same with respect to those who are to be taught, but it is perfectly changed as to the teacher. Under the Jewish policy Moses did not command that they who had not the privilege of being of Abraham's seed should hear the words of the law. The stranger that was within the gate of the true

church did enjoy this blessing. But it was a voluntary acceptance of the Heavenly gift. The necessity to hear and learn, and the punishment for disobedience arose out of the privilege of being under the sovereignty of Jehovah. This necessity and its consequences had no principle of action to call them into play in the instances in which other nations were not so governed. For the power and the duty to enforce punishment for not learning the law were strictly limited to the theocracy. The change of divine for human sovereignty introduced toleration for error, and difference of opinion. The duty to know, and the responsibility incurred in ignorance of God's word, continue unchanged. But the absence from the earth of any infallible tribunal of truth has rendered necessary the abandonment of any effort to enforce them, even by the denial of a single privilege, as of education, beyond the means of injunction and holy admonition. No one, I suppose, will attempt to prove that when the wrath of God had nearly exterminated any of the Canaanite tribes, the remnant either as captives or slaves in their conquerors' houses, were forced to listen to the message of truth from a Jewish Priest. The command imposed by God respecting the teaching of the law had no commission of this kind in it. Willingness to hear, grounded on the desire to learn, or excited by the privileges enjoyed in consequence of submissiveness to know the will of God, induced the Israelite to hearken. And if he did not, the power to compel him was in the vicegerent of God, and he was to be punished. Those who advocate, without regard to circumstances or the

resistance of the people, that Roman Catholics shall read the Holy Scriptures, or as the consequence of refusal be deprived of education, maintain this position from the desire that they should be thoroughly furnished from the source of truth with the knowledge of salvation. Such an argument in defence of the obligation to teach, and enforce teaching by a penalty for non-compliance, is more binding still in the case of the Canaanite, in the degree in which his darkness and idolatry were more ruinous than in the members of the Church of Rome. Yet we find not a trace of any such injunction to teach him against his will, nor of power, in any way applied, to compel him to learn, when he refused. It may be averred that Roman Catholics belong to the true church, though to a corrupt branch of it, whereas the Canaanites were aliens from the covenant of grace. But it may be replied that they reject the blessings of the true church by the act of refusal, and have thus cut themselves off from the privileges of their birthright, and reduce themselves, so far, to the position of the Heathen. But still more, no matter in what light they may viewed, the passages in the Old Testament which command the servants of God to teach the people, can now in no degree be binding further than there is willingness to receive instruction, and if it be rejected, authority derived from such texts there is none, to compel men to learn, or to punish them if they do not.

From these statements it would seem that the positions of the Clergy now and the Jewish Priest or Ruler formerly are not analogous. For while the

willingness to teach is the duty of both, the authority to effect submission to the exercise of that duty existed only in the latter. The nearest approach we can make to the inculcation of divine truth is to qualify the mind to receive it. It may be assumed that the Jews made all learning subservient to, and administrative of divine knowledge, inasmuch as their teachers had power to direct its application to that end. This assumption, however, would not justify us to refuse human learning, because we cannot be assured that it will be employed in the acquisition of holier wisdom ; but the contrary ; for as we cannot compel the reading of the Bible, as the Jewish Priest who had this power as civil magistrate, the nearest step we can approach towards it is to enable men to read it ; and the most disastrous difficulty by which we can impede them, if ever they should desire to attain Scriptural knowledge, is to shackle their mind with ignorance so that they are incapable to acquire it. If there be liberty, by the law of the land, to read or not to read the Bible, we adopt the surest course to prepare them to read it. Independent of the different way in which this question must now be considered, at least acted on, from the changes by the law, in the extension of the privileges of the subject—the diminution of the exclusive rights which formerly appertained to the Church of England, and the full growth of toleration, yet if we argued it merely from the premises presented to us in the case of the Jews, it is plain that compulsion to read the book of truth was not employed, even when the most extreme severity was exercised as to the person and

property of the Idolater. And, therefore, now when divine authority no where sanctions such a practice, and human laws condemn and even punish persecution for religion, how much less forcibly can the position be maintained that we have any moral right to refuse education to the Roman Catholics, that is to punish and persecute them with intellectual darkness, unless they consent, against their conscience, against their parents' authority and their church's mandate, to read the Bible. Shall their choice of darkness be our vindication for imitating their example—because they shut out from the mind and heart, the light of God's Word, shall we defend the position that all knowledge is to be excluded? If they refuse to do themselves good, shall we abandon them also? If they have determined upon a course of conduct which we cannot reverse now, shall we exclude both ourselves and them from the opportunity of ever reversing it hereafter?

These references are derived from the Old Testament only. But the evidence and authority from the New is more decisive and striking. The exclusiveness of the Jewish polity was not to be maintained under a system that was destined to comprehend the human race. Any direction in it respecting God's holy word is a universal law for the instruction and guidance of the church in all ages. These are not arguments obtained by inference, but are positive enunciations sufficient to found a satisfactory judgment upon. As in the Old Testament, the injunctions are numerous and decisive as to reading of the Holy Scriptures, and the responsibility of neglecting them. In truth, the

Great Light that ruleth in the kingdom of God on earth is extinguished by the church or people who refuse to behold Him in his blessed word. But the privilege or power of punishing man for shutting his eyes against this marvellous light is a very different thing from sorrow for his slighting it. For surely it is punishment, and not the least afflictive in the code of tyranny, to refuse knowledge to him who will not read the Bible, however deep his guilt in disregarding it. For by such an act we may have issued an irrevocable warrant of perpetual exclusion from its blessed truths, though repentance for early neglect should come at last, and yet, no matter how the eyes may strain for light and knowledge, the Book of Life is closed, and darkness must remain for ever.

The declarations against those who refuse the message of God, either orally or otherwise delivered, are as awful as they are manifest. A remarkable peculiarity belongs to the punishment of this sin. It is retained, at least as to its most extreme severity, by Jehovah, as a prerogative which he gives a commission to none of his apostles to execute. Their duty is to deliver the message, but never to punish, as he takes vengeance, though they may warn and mourn over and perhaps sometimes afflict the body* of the transgressor.

“Whosoever shall not receive you nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city, shake

* A judicious examination of 1 Cor. v. 5; 1 Cor. xvi. 22; Gal. i. 8, 9; 1 Tim. i. 20, will shew that these texts do not contradict this statement.

off the dust of your feet. Verily, I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for that city.* The duty of God's servant here is not even reproach or rebuke, but the silent censure of a significant action. And when is the punishment, and who the Executioner! The day of judgment and Jehovah.

Again, "when the Jews were gone out of the synagogue, the Gentiles besought that these words might be preached to them the next Sabbath. Now when the congregation was broken up, many of the Jews and religious proselytes followed Paul and Barnabas, who, speaking to them, persuaded them to continue in the grace of God." In the 46th verse we are informed, "Then Paul and Barnabas waxed bold, and said, it was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you; but seeing ye put it from you and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles."

Here an audience is graphically described of willing and unwilling hearers of God's word. A part reject—a part receive it. There is the exercise of free judgment permitted to all—the absence of any forced repetition after rejection—the emphatic and ominous shaking off the dust of the feet against them, and the consequent punishment of spiritual darkness and future retribution.

At Corinth, too, when opposition was exhibited by the Jews to the delivery of his heavenly message, the apostle

* Matthew x. 14, 15.

at once left them to perish in the sin of rejecting it. "When they opposed themselves and blasphemed, he shook his raiment, and said unto them, your blood be upon your own heads. I am clean—from henceforth I will go to the Gentiles."*

Our Lord himself declares, "He that rejecteth me and receiveth not my words, hath one that judgeth him: the word that I have spoken, the same shall judge him in the last day."† And precisely in the spirit of this declaration the apostle Paul leaves Alexander, who had greatly withstood his words, to the Lord for judgment.‡

It is needless to multiply examples. In these passages God preserves in his own hands the prerogative of punishment against those who reject him or his holy Scriptures. With equal distinctness in other passages he displays the holy preciousness of his blessed word by jealousy of its being dishonoured if forced upon unwilling hearers. "Give not that which is holy to dogs. Neither cast ye your pearls before swine."§ What meaning can these significant words convey other than this, that there is the highest guilt before God in the unprofitable and therefore profane exposure of holy things? And what so holy as his most sacred word, and what neglect so long and publicly displayed—so notorious and so reproached, which has blackened for more than six hundred years|| the Church of Rome throughout the universe, as her

* Acts xiii. 42, 43, 46, 51.

† John xii. 48.

‡ 2 Tim. iv. 14, 15.

§ Matthew vii. 6; xiii. 46.

|| Council of Toulouse, A. D. 1229.

obstinate denial of the Holy Scriptures to the people? And though we would gladly avail ourselves of every symptom of an inclination on her part to break from this iron bondage, yet, we must remember, when her members object to read the word of God, they act under the influence of a system that has governed them for centuries, and, therefore, we are less justified in the indiscreet exposure and probable contempt of the precious pearls of our Master's kingdom.

Keeping these statements in our view,—the guilt of those who reject the Bible and that the punishment for rejection is with God alone—and then remember,* “that we are to do good unto all men,” “that we are to love our enemies, and do good,” “that we are ever to follow that which is good both among ourselves, and to all men,” what conclusions can reasonably be drawn from these statements taken in connection with each other, than these :—

First—That we have no right to deny or withhold even the worldly advantages that may arise from education, as it would be a temporal punishment for a spiritual sin, for which God has prescribed the time of its infliction, and the judge who is to decree it.

And *secondly*, we have even less justice to plead for such a determination, on account of the probable or even possible chance of such attainments being instrumental at some period of life in leading those at last to be humble and converted readers of the Bible, who once when reason was unexercised, or their will shackled by the authority of parents or the mandate

* Gal. vi. 10. Luke vi. 35. 1 Thess. v. 15.

of their church, had rejected the privilege of being acquainted with its precious truths.

The State, however, has determined that they will not fetter education with any condition on account of religion, that may prevent its enjoyment and possession. In fact they will not persecute for conscience sake. For surely if persecution be a penalty on opinion, it is inflicted upon such as are refused, on account of the exercise of religious scruples, a civil right, and one which produces worldly advantages, while others not under the influence of any impediment of the kind, can secure them. A majority of the Clergy of the Church of England, in opposition to the State, continues to aver that she ought not to co-operate, even on some occasions, in the concession of human without divine knowledge, although the children of her own communion can be educated to the fullest extent as her conscience may dictate. The Church of Rome on the other hand is united with the State in the principle of non-compulsion, although it is permitted to invite her children to read the Holy Scriptures. Now what higher privileges—what greater power did the Apostles of our Blessed Lord himself possess, than our Clergy can now exercise even with the limitation in the permission that all are not bound to read the Holy Scriptures. The Apostle Peter,* it is true, declares that “he cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard.” And St. Paul “Woe is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel.”† But they could not con-

* Acts iv. 20.

† Acts v. 1. 1 Cor. v. 5. 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

strain the people to hear, nor punish them when they did not. Against hypocrisy and moral turpitude, their vengeance was occasionally displayed, but not for the rejection of their message. They who were willing to hear, received the word gladly, while on other hearts, the heavenly seed fell where but little nourishment aided its growth, and sometimes was not received at all. Even our Lord himself experienced the same sad results. He who could have compelled all to hear and profit by the word, though he might punish, yet he permitted the exercise of the judgment by which his divine ministry was rejected. The Apostles' commission was one of persuasion, except when accompanied by miracle, as when they prayed "that signs and wonders may be done by the name of thy Holy Child Jesus."* Even with miracle, the judgment was sometimes not constrained to yield assent, and without it, their commission had no other power than the same they have bequeathed to us. They had been commanded not to expose the precious treasure to unholy handling and they uniformly acted in obedience to the rule. Their zeal was not temerity, nor did they allow the freedom of the Gospel to degenerate either into a licentious provocation to receive it, nor be accompanied with the perverting seduction of any temporal advantage. Although men's hearts were not naturally disposed to receive it, yet if they were not made so, they ceased to scatter the seed upon the rocky soil, or the beaten path of the public highway.

* Acts iv. 30.

Moses, indeed, because he was a civil magistrate and the vicegerent of God on earth, could "command the people to be gathered together that they might hear and learn the words of the law." Ezra "when the people gathered themselves together as one man" for the holy purpose of Scriptural instruction "read in the book of the law distinctly and gave the sense, and caused them to understand." Here was the will on the one side and the power on the other. Jehoshaphat sent to his tributary princes and "ordered the Levites to go with them throughout the cities of Judah and teach the people."* The command was obeyed by the magistrate and the priest and the people. Unless, therefore, there be the same combination now, the injunctions respecting the reading of God's Word, issued under such circumstances, cannot in an equal degree, be binding on the teacher of, and those who are to be taught, the Word of God. When, therefore, we have not the power to enforce the will, and the people may exercise the responsibility of not reading the Bible, to visit them with the denial of a great temporal good on account of opinion, is surely to affix a penalty on the freedom of it, and is, therefore, to persecute. For if the plan of education now approved by the State is not one in which the Clergy can co-operate, and another were established according to their conscientious opinions, the reading of the Bible would necessarily become the condition of receiving instruction. The result, therefore, would be, so far as the State was to supply the means, no education for

* Deut. xxi. 10—12. Nehemiah viii. 1, 8. 2 Chron. viii. 7.

the people. Would not, therefore, the principle of such schools be, compulsion to read the Bible, if education were received—or, persecution if it was not read, by the denial of education. The church unless under theocratic government, or retaining within herself all legislative authority, has no power or privilege to insist on such an adjudication of this question. The State has made the decree, and the church being unfettered in the ability to educate her own children as freely and entirely as she pleases, is bound to submit in conscience and prudence to the secular government.

Every influence which we can command ought to be exerted that the Bible should be read by all. It is the principle of our church and of the Reformation. For the Holy Scriptures are not only the fountain from which truth flows purely, but the only means by which it can be kept pure. But not to succeed in this blessed design, against the will and the prejudices of others, and yet to educate those who resist, is the renunciation of no Christian or Protestant principle. The observance of our duty in every case, is our first great care. To induce others to imitate our example is the next. But if God have determined that our labours though righteous, and sanctified by the end in view shall not prosper, there is no loss of principle in want of success. Either from habitual disinclination or ecclesiastical power, the Holy Scriptures are not permitted to be read by Roman Catholics. Our willingness and zeal to attract them to these sacred treasures is so well known to them, that it is made the subject of reproach and ridicule against us. And

do we stand discharged from the performance of other duties because we cannot and are not permitted to accomplish this ? For instance it is the Christian's privilege to be fervent in prayer, and to pray continually. It is also the Christian's duty to receive the blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. But our belief in the necessity of the one, and our estimation of the value of the other is not relinquished, nor underprized, because both duties are discharged without the additional enjoyment of our admonitions and example inducing those who unite with us in other religious acts, to participate in those means of Grace, by which we are enlightened and enriched. Shall we be justified in refusing to them the privilege of so much of religion as they are satisfied to accept, because they are unwilling to accompany us farther on the road to Heaven ? And shall we likewise refuse to Roman Catholics the blessing of that preliminary knowledge which is introductory, and may be the means of leading them, to the richer treasures of eternal life in the Bible ?

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

BEFORE the establishment of the National Board expectations were entertained that the reading of the Bible would be the condition on which the State would grant funds for the education of the poor in Ireland. No such hope can now be indulged. The religious cultivation of Roman Catholics founded on a knowledge of the Holy Scripture, can only be promoted through the instrumentality of the National Board, or the Church Education Society. My own conviction is that as large a proportion at least, of Roman Catholics would attend the National Schools if the Clergy of the Church of England superintended them as are at present under their care, and as great a number would read the Bible in the cases in which freedom of choice might be exercised, as where it was the necessary qualification for secular instruction.

In the cases in which the Clergy stand aloof from the Board, the vast majority of Roman Catholics will continue to attend the schools under the National system, because they are permitted the exercise of their conscience without restraint. But if they become the Patrons of National Schools, in which necessarily the same permission is conceded, the children will unite with the Protestants in receiving education. The

difference in the two cases is most striking. In the Schools of the Clergy under the Board, even if all the Roman Catholics refuse to read the Bible, they have nevertheless continually presented the daily repeated practice, that the Protestants are scrupulous in adhering to the custom of reading the Holy Scriptures, and at the same time, they cannot but observe that they are prohibited either by their parent or their priest from enjoying a privilege to which they are invited by the Board. In some instances this distinction in the education of the two classes will, doubtless, suggest an inquiry into the cause of the difference as well among the parents as the children. They will ask why zealous exertion and continual labour are employed for the inculcation of knowledge from a book which the Church of Rome admits to be divine, and yet exercises equal activity and incessant injunctions that its pages should be closed against the children of her communion? The inducement to such an inquiry is more likely to be promoted when children are gathered together for the attainment of so many objects which they have in common, and separated only on account of the Holy Scriptures which they both believe to be from God. Under such a combination in a school, kindly feelings are more probably maintained and promoted, and the barriers of bigotry removed, than by the arrangement which classifies children by creeds. Placed in different schools, the children knowing that they are opposed to each other, indulge the pride of maintaining the peculiar principles of each educational society. The result of such em-

bittered feelings is to deepen dislike to all that marks the difference between the two parties, and therefore the Word of God itself forming so remarkable a contrast in their respective creeds, will be visited with a share of the rancor which they entertain for each other.

It is assumed that if the Clergy co-operated with the National Board, the Roman Catholic children now in attendance upon Church Schools, and reading the Bible, would at once be deprived of this great advantage. It is possible that this opinion may be hastily adopted upon the supposition that the children are to retire when the Bible class commence reading. This is not the rule of the Board. No child is bound to depart, unless his parent shall have made an objection to his remaining.

I shall not delay a moment to canvass the alleged treachery that lies concealed in the arrangement about this lately adopted rule. To suppose that a plan has been concocted to entrap the public, and when the stratagem has duped the Clergy, the Commissioners, like adroit swindlers, will pounce upon them, and laugh at their own delinquency and the triumph of their deceit, is too base a conspiracy to degrade one self by refuting.

It is most probable that in a considerable number of instances in which Roman Catholic parents now send their children to Church Schools, they would continue to do so, if these schools were placed under the protection of the National Board. As the objection that some feel to allow their children to read the Bible

would not be mitigated by the change of the Society, so the desire that is felt by others that the privilege should be enjoyed, would continue to be equally strong. If this were the result, it is clear we should not experience any diminution of the number of children that would read the Holy Scriptures.

But to this statement, we may conceive this objection taken—Roman Catholics now receive Scriptural instruction from the Clergy not because they love the Bible, and on account of that attachment resist the authority of the Priest, but because they can obtain a better secular education, than other systems as yet enable them to procure elsewhere—that, in fact, it is not a preference of the Church Schools because the Scriptures are studied daily in them, but notwithstanding that rule, the literary advantages counterbalance the objections that would otherwise prevail against such a condition. Whereas, if the same school were placed under the Board, and the reading of the Bible were discretionary, and not compulsory as now it is in Church Schools, the children by objecting to read it, would be relieved from a practice which though hitherto submitted to, was never cordially or voluntarily assented to, and, therefore, all the advantages of the best secular education would be attainable without compliance with a stipulation, to which the force of circumstances and a selfish and wordly bias induced them to yield.

To test the value of this argument and its probable operation, I shall divide the Roman Catholic population into three parts. One consists of those who really are

attached to the Word of God, and who have hitherto insisted and will continue to insist, under every variety of system, that their children shall enjoy the privilege of instruction from the Word of God. This portion of the people, if there be any such, the Clergy would still retain in their schools if they were placed in connection with the National Board.

The second class are they who are decidedly adverse to the reading of the Bible. These we have not hitherto had in our schools, and our continuing not to have them, would be no loss contingent upon a change of Society. Yet though not as readers of the Scripture, we should have a great number of them in our schools if under the Board. They would be educated, with the exception of Scriptural instruction, according to our habits of order, morality and discipline. Thus there would be the certainty of a diminution of sectarian bitterness, and this might possibly be introductory to the reading of the Scriptures, and at least we should have the advantage of the daily repetition presented to their attention of the Bible as an essential part of the religion of Protestants.

The third portion consists of those who value a good secular education above all other considerations, and will select the school whoever its Patron be, in which it can be procured. At present they attend those under the care of the Clergy because it is considered there are none so good or better, and they read the Scriptures on condition of obtaining that which they estimate so highly. But if our schools are placed under the Board, they will at once avail themselves

of the part of education they so zealously cherish, and reject that which they never cordially submitted to. But let us keep in view the whole case. If the Clergy place their schools under the National Board, we should retain all our Protestant children, and all the Roman Catholic children now in attendance, and many more who would gladly participate in the secular education, as they would be relieved from the constrained condition of reading the Bible, and we should only lose the religious instruction of some Roman Catholics. While on the contrary if the Clergy stand aloof from the Board, whatever results may exhibit themselves to our observation for the present, in a few years we shall lose the education of all the Roman Catholics, because our secular education, which has been the great object of attraction to our schools, will become vastly inferior to that afforded by the Board. We shall have no funds, while every advantage which the possession of them so extensively confers, will in a degree, much greater than we ever enjoyed them, be at their full disposal. And moreover, we should never lose sight of this most certain consequence: the worldly motive of obtaining the best secular education, which influenced the Roman Catholic in times past to sacrifice, as the only condition of obtaining it, the cherished principles of his creed, will soon manifest itself in the Protestant parent. He never will submit to have his child educated in an inferior degree to his rival neighbour. For our schools from want of funds must rapidly retrograde. Those of the National Board will improve as quickly. We have no

means to supply the place of our present masters. They were educated when we had funds which could be devoted to that purpose. In the absence of them we are deprived of the possibility of procuring successors to them. And in fine all the advantages we have hitherto enjoyed, and in a great degree still possess in the power of attraction on account of the excellence of our schools in all their departments, those of the National Board will now have, because in truth, with much more liberal funds than we ever possessed, they will change places with us.

I have now concluded the observations I wished to make in connexion with the important subject, which circumstances have led me to discuss in the preceding pages. These observations have extended to a much greater length than I could have supposed possible when I commenced, and I shall not therefore now add to them, except by a single remark. Archbishop Usher has left us a lesson on record which we ought to profit by. He devised the body of Irish Canons for the Church, in opposition to Archbishop Laud and Lord Strafford, having altered some and omitted others of the English, to accommodate them to the peculiar habits and circumstances of this country. He was well aware that the Church of Rome, and her people were in a vastly different position from the few and scattered Recusants in England. And in an age when the word toleration was unknown as indicative of a principle of liberty, he rejected those canons in reference to the punishment of Recusants, which, however other laws might deal with them,

would have entailed interminable toil and difficulty upon the church and eventuated in a fruitless display of power. He retained the 40th, the counterpart of the 66th English Canon, which refers solely to the duty of a Preacher and the milder means of conviction and persuasion in reclaiming Roman Catholics. But he omitted the 65th, wherein "Ministers are commanded solemnly to denounce Recusants and Excommunicates;" and the 114th, "Ministers shall present Recusants." In this canon children above the age of thirteen years are subjected to all the severity of the law, "who though they come to the church, do refuse to receive the communion." In discarding from the ecclesiastical law of Ireland the penalties that either the state of the church, or unenlightened times were supposed to require in England, at a period when power might have crushed conscience, that great and illustrious man has bequeathed to us a lesson, which I hope may be the harbinger of moderation in the church. This lesson, I believe, and I speak with humility though with fear, we shall unwisely neglect, if we continue to make what is declared to be an invasion of conscience the condition of education, when he, in an age of spiritual tyranny, refused to punish children for not attending the communion of a church, whose faith and discipline they had rejected.

THE END.

REMARKS
ON
THE NECESSITY AND ADVANTAGES
OF
IMPROVING THE MIND,
BY THE
STUDY OF WHATEVER SERVES TO SET FORTH
THE WISDOM AND GOODNESS OF GOD,
OR RELATES TO THE
NATURAL, SOCIAL, AND CIVIL HISTORY OF MAN,
READ AS AN INTRODUCTION
TO A SERIES OF HISTORICAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND MISCELLANEOUS
LECTURES,
TO BE DELIVERED
IN THE SCHOOL ROOMS OF ST. GEORGE'S,
WOLVERHAMPTON.

BY THE REV. W. A. NEWMAN, M.A.

"Les hommes sont comme les plantes, qui ne croissent jamais
heureusement, si elles ne sont bien cultivées."



WOLVERHAMPTON:
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1845.

PREFACE.

THE subjoined remarks, which can scarcely deserve the name of a Lecture, were hastily put together, without any intention of publication, and delivered as the first of a series of Lectures. The intention of this introductory paper was to awaken an interest in the subjects purposed to be considered on after occasions, and to bring a few at least to see the wisdom of the choice in preferring intellectual to mere trivial pursuits and amusements. On account of the little publicity given to the Lecture, numbers were not present, upon whom the following observations, however feebly set forth, might have had some influence,—at their wish, and I trust in some measure for their advantage, the present pamphlet is published. But this is not the only reason,—it is wished through this medium to call the attention of young persons to a course of Lectures and a Literary Society, set on foot simply for their improvement. If the attempt be encouraged, it may eventually be made to assume a more important character; if it fail, the promoter will at least have the consciousness that the intention was good.

W. A. N.

Deanery, Wolverhampton,

February 16th, 1845.

INTRODUCTORY LECTURE.

"ON THE NECESSITY AND ADVANTAGES OF IMPROVING THE MIND BY THE STUDY OF WHATEVER SERVES TO SET FORTH THE WISDOM AND GOODNESS OF GOD, OR RELATES TO THE NATURAL, SOCIAL, AND CIVIL HISTORY OF MAN."

MY FRIENDS,

IN attempting to introduce a series of Instructive Lectures among you—lectures whose design is not merely to enlarge the understanding, but to control the heart—it is well, that at the outset I should endeavour to prove not only the *advantages*, but as it seems to me the absolute *necessity* of a higher cultivation of the mind than the generality seem contented to attain.

I will acknowledge at the very opening of this design, that I enter upon it with a sense of duty. I feel with all the professed seeking after enlightenment, that that seeking should be turned into the right channel; and that no knowledge which professes to be *useful knowledge*, in the highest sense of the word, can be separated from moral culture, nay, more from spiritual improvement.

Convinced as I am that Christianity is God's plan for ameliorating mankind—convinced as I am that in the sacred doctrines of the Gospel we have the foundation of all that can enlarge the intellect, improve the judgment, rectify the passions, and purify the soul—it seems clear to me that no perfect plan of morals can be devised, unless they be strictly Christian morals—and that no attempt to diffuse learning can be sound nor lasting unless it be commenced and based upon, and go hand in hand with revealed religion. For while there is a knowledge which

puffeth up—a “wisdom of the world which is foolishness with God”—we have marked out for us a knowledge which purifies—a knowledge which humbles even while it exalts—a knowledge, in truth, which from the wide views it gives us of the goodness, the wisdom, the inconceivable greatness of God, serves to cast down *mere self-pleasing* “imagination, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and to bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.” The tree of knowledge bears fruit for good and for evil; but it is the Gospel alone which controls and teaches us to avoid the *evil* and to choose the *good*.

Let us only consider the origin, the nature, the capabilities of man, and we shall arrive at the conclusion at once that he was not so fearfully and so wonderfully made—that he was not endued with such excellent wisdom—that he has not been redeemed at so high a price, and gifted with such exceeding precious promises, merely to pass through a short and painful existence—to drift as a thing of chance upon the world’s waters—to toil and eat the bread of carefulness—to fritter his time away in pursuits which neither elevate nor satisfy—or to spend almost exclusively his talent of time, or the talent of his energies, in heaping together that wealth which being once dug out of the earth is so greedily coveted that it cannot return thither with its once possessors. Oh, no! Man is born for a higher purpose, redeemed to a better calling, promised the divine help to fit him for pursuits and prospects as far above man’s ordinary toils and cares as heaven is above the earth; and whatever reminds him to what he is called—whatever tends to set his affections upon things above—whatever encourages him still to be thirsting after real knowledge, though here he knows but in part, with the hope that hereafter he shall “know as he is known”—whatever tends to this—whilst it enables man to bear with happier spirit his condition and his ills upon earth, also works with God’s blessing to prepare him for a more exalted and intellectual state above.

We are made up of body and mind,—the material and the immaterial,—the mortal and the immortal; the one part of us—the corporeal—is easily injured, soon becomes diseased, grows old, and dies; the other part of us—the intellectual—is capable of continual increase, fits us for communion with heaven, belongs to that within us which is eternal, and will form a part even of our glorified nature in the world above. Now as beings made for

eternity,—as heirs of never-ending glory, to which I would ask should we yield? of which should we satisfy the appetites? to which should we deliver up our energies? to the body which is dying daily? which is carnal, sensual, earthly? which we must soon lay down wearied with labour and tainted with disease?—or to the Soul within us? the mind which thinks? the reason which exalts? the eternal spirit which craves eternal things?* which must have that which is lasting to satisfy it, and hopes which lie beyond the reach of time to entertain it? We need not answer the question; our own consciences must loudly give the answer, and tell us how lowly we are sunk, when all the pleasures we pursue are the pleasures of sense, while the mind is unimproved, and the heart only frozen and unfitted for that which is intellectual, spiritual, and good.

All knowledge is progressive, growing with our growth, and strengthening with our strength; all knowledge of what is good needs to be cultivated, to be strengthened, or it soon withers and dies; and instead of a well-stored mind, we shall have a wilderness which sluggish ignorance will soon render barren, or the evil spirit soon choke with tares. Almost every thing about us, rightly viewed, will increase this knowledge. It is to be gathered not only from books, but from experience, from our intercourse with men, from the insight which every reflecting being must have into his own heart. The mind is as an immense receptacle, and a thousand tributary streams may all pour their riches into it. Go with the miner into the earth's hidden places, and knowledge is to be obtained there. Go with the hardy mountaineer to the highest Alps, and you shall read knowledge in the breathless stillness. Go down to the sea in ships where the deep utters its voice, and you shall find that voice speak of wisdom, and of Him who has said to its waves, “thus far shalt thou go and no farther.” Well has it been observed “in the pursuit of knowledge, follow it wherever it is to be found; like fern it is the produce of all climates, and like coin its circulation is not restricted to any particular class. We are ignorant in youth from idleness, and we continue so in manhood from pride; for pride is less ashamed of being ignorant than of being instructed, and looks too high to find that which very often lies beneath it.”†

* “Non queste fragili membra, ludibrio della morte, sono la tua essenza verace, ma quella facoltà per la quale ragioni e senti, e ti attristi e godi, e brami, continuamente ingolfarti in una eccelsa felicità.” *Alessandri Ferri*.

† Colton's *Lacon*, ccxiii.

The Universe in which we live is plainly meant by God to lead us to reflection, to conduct us from creation to the Creator, from nature up to nature's God, from the innumerable living things preserved, to the one great and wise and good Preserver. The things about us—the wide kingdom of animate and inanimate things—the exalting scenes of nature—the region of beauty and wonder which Creation spreads before us, all and each of these are not chance work and disorder, growing out of necessity, and held together without government and superintendence; but they are all stamped with design, all manifestations of the wisdom that framed them, all created for an harmonious purpose. Not one is complete of itself; each, it is true, is beautiful in its province, but it is the whole—the perfect work—the almost boundless sphere of life and existence, which we comprehend under the term Universe, which speaks its full design, its perfect harmony. All things are linked together, one subordinate to another, but each necessary for each; in fact, however, differing in their provinces,

“ All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
“ Whose body nature is, and God the soul.”

Yet in this scene of order and design man is too often his own tempter and his own tormentor; he makes the world in which he lives first his snare, and then his prison. He turns from the lovely with which he is surrounded, which would lift up and purify his affections, to that which glitters and corrupts; which deceives and then enthrals; which insinuates into his bosom's secret, and there twines its deadly coils, and stings.

But let me only instance a few sciences or studies within the reach of all, which either serve to tell us most strongly of the wisdom and goodness of God; or else serve as landmarks in life's desert, or beacons on life's sea, to warn us where others have fallen, or on what rocks or shoals they have suffered shipwreck.

1st. I will instance the study of ASTRONOMY.

The Psalmist tells us—“ The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handiwork.” If we gaze up into the heavens as mere children, we see what we may consider diamonds in the sky, or little twinkling gems we may wish to possess, but nothing more; but when we *consider* the heavens,—the work of God's fingers, the moon and the stars which He has ordained, how are we astonished?—what wonders every where surround us, what depths behind depths in the far recesses of heaven, tell us of the almost boundless stretch of the universe?

The sun, "whether he cometh out of his chamber rejoicing to run his course,"—or whether, knowing the time of his going down, he gilds the glorious west, tells of Him who sets His circle in the heavens to give light upon the earth, and make it very plenteous. The "moon walking in brightness," and the silent planets, tell of Him who made them in their ordered revolutions, to be "for signs and for seasons and for months and for years." The stars which shine peacefully in heaven's blue depths, where they have given light since at creation's birth "the morning stars sung together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy," tell of Him who, in the words of Job, "binds the sweet influences of Pleiades, and looses the bands of Orion, and brings forth Mazzaroth in his season, and guides Arcturus with his sons." Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge, and tell of Him who divideth the light from the darkness, bidding the morning to appear, and in their turn the bright glories of the day to go down. And the seasons, each in turn, call upon us to bless Him who appointed them, "to praise Him and magnify Him for ever." In short such wonder, such reverential wonder, does a study of the heavens awaken in us,—so bright are they with glory,—so ordered in wisdom,—so regular and so harmonious,—so simple in their arrangement, and yet so mighty in their operations,—such blessings do they pour upon us from the hand above, filling us with joy, lighting us with their brilliancy, making the earth put forth and bud, and crowning the year with fatness,—that we feel at once,—go distant as we may,—far as to the remote depths of the firmament where those worlds are shining, that still God is there, that there His wisdom rules, that there His glory shines, that we can nowhere flee from His presence, since "if we climb up into heaven he is there, if we go down into the depths he is there also;" yet still, though His presence is so far off, that He is *every where* present and near to every one of us.

Next let us turn to nature generally, and we have as it were a wide and glorious volume opened to us. There we hear and see in every direction the witnesses of God. It is His glory which shines in the heaven,—His breath which whispers in the gale,—His life which gives and sustains life; from the height to the depth it is written,—on every rock and mountain, on every hill and vale, on every stream and torrent, on every tree and simplest flower, *we are of God*. Every insect that wings in the breeze, every tiniest worm that crawls,—every bird that cleaves the air,—every beast from the half-reasoning elephant to the low

creature in the living scale,—bear witness to the wisdom, the love, the goodness of Him that created them,—of Him “who openeth his hand, filling all things living with plenteousness.” To the right-thinking mind the wide world is God’s sphere of operation. The laws which, (forgetting the great first cause,) we foolishly call the laws of nature, are His will, and nature’s self is His work and government. It is at His command that the spring unlocks the frozen waters, and calls the first flowers from the loosened earth; at His command that the summer months are active with all the stir of innumerable living and growing things; at His command that the wild west wind begins the dirge over the dying year; and at His command that the winter scattereth “the hoar frost like ashes,” “that the waters are hid as with a stone, and the face of the deep is frozen.”* Creation in every part of its dominion demands our contemplation, and should awaken thought. It every where presents a rich mine, where intellect may search and find treasures. Wherever the eye can turn, or the ear listen, or the foot wander, there is abundance to entertain, to claim our wonder, and to teach.

But not only is there in nature much to teach, but there is also much to enlarge, much to elevate. The mind which holds pious communion with the manifold works of God, expands itself beyond the mere narrow limits of perception. It not only feels but lives—enjoys the intellectual life—and not only lives, but in its creative imagination imparts life. It is no longer an isolated faculty—just a power to think, but is a part of a wide-extending life—associated with innumerable things—entering into all, and drinking from all with the deepest joy—it feels a sympathy, a fellowship with all—knowing that *it* is of God, and that *all* are of God.†

* Job xxxviii, v. 30.

† Wordsworth appears to have been influenced by some such feeling when speaking of the scenery on the banks of the Wye; he describes such spots as awakening:—

“That blessed mood
In which the burthen of the mystery,
In which the heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world
Is lightened:—that serene and blessed mood,
In which the affections gently lead us on,
Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living soul:
While with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things.”

And believe me, the mind which can thus feel itself linked by a sacred tie to nature, which can look upon every work of God as associated with itself as being the manifestation of the wisdom of the same Lord, enjoys a delight which none others can feel. Even the aspect of nature appears doubly beautiful in his eyes; and every thing which presents itself becomes in one sense of the word his own, as it is the work of Him on whom he depends, "in whom he lives and moves and has his being." He, says Cowper, speaking of such a mind:—

He looks abroad into the varied field
Of nature, and tho' poor perhaps, compared
With those whose mansions glitter in his sight,
Calls the delightful scenery all his own.
His are the mountains, and the valleys his,
With a propriety that none can feel
But who, with filial confidence inspired,
Can lift to Heav'n an unpresumptuous eye,
And smiling say:—"My Father made them all."
Are they not His, by a peculiar right,
Whose eye they fill with tears of holy joy,
Whose heart with praise, and whose exalted mind
With worthy thoughts of that unwearied love
That plann'd and built, and still upholds a world?*

TASK BOOK 5.

The truth is we are surrounded with much that is lovely, much which should awaken in us deep emotions, much that should call us off from pursuits which blunt our feelings, communications which contaminate our hearts, and examples which soon powerfully influence us; and yet though we have so much to learn, so much to tranquillize, so much to make us wiser and better, we cast about and weary ourselves for excitements which raise at first a feverish anticipation, and when they are past deliver us over to the listlessness, and languidness, and lifelessness, which all intoxicating vanities leave behind them. The pure mind—the active mind—the cultivated mind—never wearies for employment. Langour and slothfulness never approach it. It has ten thousand associations in every section of the living and breathing world. There is a kindred language ever addressing it. Its enjoyments are those which never tire. Its reflections those which leave no sting behind. In fact—

* Quoted by Brown, in his *Philosophy of the Human Mind*.

In each breeze that wanders free,
 And each flower that gems the sod;
 Living souls may hear and see,
 Freshly uttered words from God.

Had we but a searching mind,
 Seeking good where'er it springs;
 We should then true wisdom find,
 Hidden in familiar things.

Shells and pebbles on the shore,
 Buds and leaves by nature wrought;
 All contain for evermore,
 Food for high and holy thought.

God is present and doth shine,
 Through each scene beneath the sky;
 Kindling with a light divine,
 Every form that meets the eye.

Nature with eternal youth,
 Ever bursts upon the sight;
 All her works are types of truth,
 Mirrors of celestial light.

Thus far we have seen to how great a degree the study into God's works operates for the improvement, nay even for the spiritualizing of the mind; and it does more still; it fits us for the right and humble study of God's word. For God's word is a record of what God is—that He is glorious in holiness doing wonders—in short that *God is love*! Not merely that love is one of His attributes, but that He Himself is love, pure, self-existing, all pervading love! and His works are but a commentary on this, they echo back the testimony in one concordant voice, and answer, *God is Love*!

But let us also show how the mind may be improved by a different branch of study, by the history of man, whether that history be *natural*, *social*, or *civil*. If we are ignorant of what the pages of history unfold what the better are we for the labours of all those wise, and we trust good men, who have sought to counsel and instruct mankind, by the faithful record of what was done, and what was doing in their own day and generation, and in the times that preceded them? History is not written barely to amuse, but to instruct—to warn. It tells us of man's gradual advancement from period to period; how he first became humanized—how he left his native woods and savage life, and joined in society for mutual comfort and protection. It shows us man as the growing child of the ages of the world; advancing from his early state to

the first steps of what was civilized; instituting laws; discovering the different arts as his necessity prompted them; bringing in by slow degrees various refinements; working out through the energies of master spirits—through the labours of men who were in advance of their times—wisdom which could improve and adorn; grappling with and overcoming debasing habits, and enthralling prejudices; sweetening by the growth of social endearment the toils of life; at times falling back to inactivity and mental sloth; and then at some awaking freedom-call bursting forward in the renewed pursuit of what was high, what was noble, what was useful, what was ameliorating, what was good. It shows us and bids us heed the lessons, how states became corrupted, how wealth brought in effeminacy—effeminacy, luxury—luxury, vice—vice, idolatry—idolatry, neglect of God, and neglect of God the heavy scourges of plague, pestilence, and famine. History shows us what is the true strength of states—not restrictive laws—not wide-extended commerce—not the wisdom of senates—not the conquests of armies—not navies sailing triumphantly around all seas—but the fearing God, the taking Him for their shield and their defence, and His will controlling and rectifying all—exhibiting itself in every law—giving a tone and an influence to all commerce—making more wise the wisdom of the elders—restraining the lawlessness of war, and only suffering its standard to be unfurled in the cause of right, and at the call of justice.

Nor is the study of History only useful in this respect, but in another and that a very important manner, as it connects with it the study of *Biography*—of which it is often difficult to say whether it more interests or entertains. If we read of the actions of the great, or of the wise, or of the good, we feel a desire to know something more of them than the mere running heads of history will unfold; we are anxious to follow into their more private lives, to know something of their origin, of their path unto distinction, what were their thoughts, their habits, how they lived, and how they died. In History they seem to pass over the stage of the world as in an exhibition; but when we read their lives, faithfully written by those who knew them and conversed with them, we seem brought nearer to them, to mingle with them in the same scenes, and to live almost in the times in which they flourished. It is incredible the influence which the account of a good, or of a wise man's life will have upon us; it makes us zealous to imitate him; it reproves us often, for our own comparative uselessness; it excites us to be more earnest and

unwearied in well-doing; it stimulates us to higher wisdom or greater piety; it serves to draw out and even to decide our characters, as it shows us that others have met the same difficulties, have experienced the same feelings, and were actuated by the same impulses which perhaps, though faintly, stir within ourselves. The lives of Howard, the philanthropist; of Herbert, the divine; of Newton, the philosopher; of Nelson, the hero; of Cowper, the poet; of Schwartz and Martin, the Missionaries; of Bruce, Belzoni, and Anson, the explorers; of Franklin, the philosophic discoverer; of Goldsmith, the moral writer; of Wilberforce, the friend of man; of Rennie, Brindley, and Watt, mechanists and engineers; and of Bishops Jewell, Andrews, Ken, Watson, and Heber, as scholars and men of piety, with many others who were honourable in their lives, and who now "though dead, yet speak to us," give not only a stimulus to our energies, but also a tone to the pursuits of those who study them, which cannot easily be counteracted, and perhaps never effaced. Never shall I forget the perfect greediness with which I read years ago a simple book, which is now re-published, "The Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties;" the interest it excited, the encouragement it afforded me, and the impression, the fixedness of purpose which it left.

Another branch of History of the very highest importance to us is that of Ecclesiastical or Church History, including the Government of the Church from the beginning; the miraculous manner in which the Apostles and those who came after them were supported in the midst of persecutions; the testimony to the truth of our faith from the sufferings of the "holy army of martyrs;" the manner in which the light of the Gospel was first brought to our shores; the preservation of the Scriptures, the dangers, the darkness, the corruptions through which the Church of Christ passed, and by which it was long obscured; the various heresies which have sprung up; the glorious Reformation; the Bible when and in what manner translated; the price at which it was once bought; the peril with which it was once read; the interregnum of fanaticism; in fine, all the struggles of the Church militant from the resurrection of its Lord until now, with the witness which the whole bears to the truth—"That the Lord has built His Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it."

But I need adduce particular branches of useful study no further, but show as closely as I am able in what manner studies of this nature are necessary. What, let me ask, was the high

purpose for which "God breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life that he might become a living soul?" Was it not that he should continue in the image of God? That he should contemplate His greatness, His goodness, His benevolence, His love? That he should hold converse with what is pure and good? That he should aim at intellectual, at moral, at spiritual advancement? and that with fixed and steady purpose he should follow after those things which remind him of his immortality? And shall all the highest capabilities of his soul be unemployed and neglected? Shall the celestial spark, lit from heaven's fire, be quenched, or only be enflamed to sin? Shall those better principles which should call him to what is exalting, what is spiritualizing, be untried and unappealed to, whilst the opposing and evil powers have full sway and grow daily more powerful by action? Shall the sensual appetites, and evil passions, and narrow self-love, and still-grasping covetousness, and each heart-idolatry, and mere animal instincts, and every carnal propensity and the impulses of restless ambition, and overweening pride, and the poor desire to imitate, be all yielded to? and there be no aiming to bring into action the better powers, those which are far from above? The thirst for what is good—the seeking of what is true and lasting, purity of mind, simplicity of purpose, the regulating sense of what is duty, high and holy principles, unaffected piety, a conscience void of offence, benevolence and love, gentleness and faith, and springing out of this every Christian virtue?

But what it may be asked will call forth, will awaken all these? Will science? Will learning? Will mere mental and intellectual exercise? Not of themselves, but as means, as adjuncts; they will enlighten, though they will not christianize; and made subservient to the teaching from above they will wean us from what is earthly and trifling, and kindle in us a love for what is lofty, what is spiritual, what is eternal, what is divine.

Another reason why such studies are necessary is that we must be solicited to what is wise and good, or we shall fall an easy prey to what is destructive and bad. The author of *Pilgrim's Progress*, by early bad example was at the point of ruin. Richard Baxter was near being a gambler, and both were only rescued by timely check; whereas Savage, with all his intellectual powers, and Moreland, with the richness of his genius, and Colton, with his deep thinking, were undone, for want of some timely restraint, some warning voice, some friend to prompt them to shun the evil and to choose the good. Nar

who shall tell, (for there is no record of numbers who walk within the quiet paths of religious peace, and of the greater number, who are hurried into irretrievable destruction)—who shall tell what numbers by an early and a right bias have been led to what is great and good, and what numbers, from an early temptation unto evil, have hastened through all the gradations of crime and disgrace, and sunk to a wretched grave, cut off by diseases the effects of their intemperance, or perhaps worse, by a suicidal hand. The early example often takes the first prejudices and fastnesses of the heart, and moulds and directs and fastens on it either for good or for evil.

But let us also show the advantages of intellectual improvement. It is said, *knowledge is power*, and so it truly is; it is a mighty engine, and if rightly used furnishes the most important results. It not only entertains us, but it arms us against much idleness, and from much temptation. It is a lever in the hands of a good man, by which he is made instrumental in stirring and shaking the power and the kingdom of darkness. "Look upon water, how peaceful it seems: who would suspect there were any wonderful force sleeping there? Bring fire, and behold that thin mist which gently rises and passes away. Who would imagine there were force there? Yet give that thin vapour wise direction, and with what terrible energy it flies over the land, bearing ponderous masses in its swift career; how it ploughs against wind and tide, with super-human majesty the surges of the deep"* So it is with the mind of man; it slumbers in the infant, and is amused in the child; but it thinks,—it acts,—it achieves in the man; and so is knowledge, it seems to many but a dull and heavy and silent acquisition, but mighty are its operations; it transports us from the present to the past; it wakes from the dead the by-gone spirits of past events, and bids them, with solemn utterings, tell us what to do and what to avoid.

Knowledge serves to remind us what we are; it serves to elevate the soul, to call it from what is little and degrading to what can give it moral energy and spiritual life. And is not this important? is it not a truth of more concern than just to strive to make so much wealth, or gain so much power? "Man is not to live by bread alone;" he has not only bodily appetites: there are high and immortal cravings in that within him which is immortal; these cravings may be deadened and stupified, but just let them be awakened, and how eagerly the spirit longs for what is

* Vid. a small but able volume "on Moral and Spiritual Culture."

spiritual; how intensely the soul hungers for the bread of life, "for every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." And true knowledge—knowledge rightly pursued will lead to this as to the well and fountain of all wisdom and truth; for as the poet Milton well observes;—"The end of learning is to know God, and out of that knowledge to love Him, and to imitate him."

Another advantage to be derived from the study of what is useful is, it teaches us the advantage of time. It is scarcely possible to believe the days and years which the great majority of persons waste, in mere fragments; hours and half hours, and a few minutes. But not so the man whom study,—whom a thirst for knowledge,—whom activity of mind teaches to husband every moment. To Him every interval of five minutes is precious; nay, whole books have been read, and some particular study perfected by economically using little remnants of broken time which most men would deem not worth their notice. Thus we know that Judge Hale, in his moments of broken time, laid in much of those deep stores of learning that he possessed; and that by redeeming his time, he found opportunity not only for his private devotions and study of God's word, (to which he most scrupulously devoted himself), but when his duties and engagements for the day, as Lord Chief Justice, were ended, that he also found time for his own studies in almost every walk of useful literature, and to write those Contemplations which reflect such honour to his name, and such a blessing on his memory. In the same way Locke and Burnet and Clarke, and others, great and good men in their generation, by putting together every shred and remnant of time, acquired that deep learning, that fund of knowledge, that insight into things, that acquaintance, with passing events, which enabled one to write the *Essay on the Human Understanding*; another the *History of the Reformation and His Own Times*; and the third his *Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion*.

But in all we have said we must particularly beg not to be mistaken; in speaking thus of knowledge and its advantages, we speak not merely of knowledge—as knowledge—as a certain amount of acquirement or information, but as a *means* to an *end*; and *that* the one great end of our being "to know God and Jesus Christ, whom He has sent," and by His help to grow like Him, to imitate His example, to know His will, and to be more and more meet daily by pureness, by meekness, by knowledge, by love unfeigned, by the word of truth, for that high calling whereto H

hath called us. The tree of knowledge should be planted in holy ground; whatever improves,—whatever purifies,—whatever makes us humble because of the little we know,—whatever animates to holy love should be administered for its growth. To bear fruit unto life it must be strengthened by the continual dew of the blessing from above, and be matured by the life-giving influence of “that Sun of Righteousness which rises with healing in his wings.” Thus planted, and thus nurtured, its leaves will be for the healing of the nations—thus rooted it will not only live and flourish, but it will impart moral life. But growing elsewhere, and nurtured from other sources, it will not only in time become shrivelled, and wither and die; but like the Upas tree its leaves will be deadly and its shadow will destroy. Merely to *know* is as nothing, but to *know* so as to train and fit the mind for what is better and holier—this is the true wisdom—this is the object of our being—the great purpose of life;—without it the mere man of knowledge is learnedly ignorant—but with it the ignorant in this world is privileged to hold communion with God. Outward knowledge may attract, but it is the inward knowledge, the wisdom which is unseen that purifies.*

Thus have I endeavoured, my friends, however imperfectly to set before you the necessity and the advantages of improving the mind by the study of whatever serves to set forth the wisdom and goodness of God, or of whatever concerns us in our relation to our fellow men. We are born here for *work*, not for *indolence*—to increase in knowledge, not to waste in ignorance—that our minds might be as some pure lake reflecting Heaven’s image, not as some stagnant water sullen and dead, which is neither pure nor fertilizing. If we were here as plants only to vegetate, if we were here as the orders of the brute creation to live our little hour and then be annihilated; if we had nothing but our limbs and five senses—no reason, no understanding, no conscience, no soul, no portion of that which is from above and

* “Theoretical knowledge (standing by itself) being but a false knowledge, is but a weak and dead thing, able to put forth no vital or spiritual action; just as a flash of lightning in the night, it makes all the way plain, but before one step can be taken all is in darkness; such a vanishing vapour is mere notion which puffs up the head, but penetrates not the heart. But practical knowledge being true knowledge, hath strength and life in it; it puts forth vital and spiritual actions. Hence Christ calls it no less than ‘eternal life.’ John xvii. It brings forth the blood and vital spirit of the new creature; strengthens him with spiritual bones and sinews, and sets him in motion towards the crown of life in Heaven.” *Things New and Old*, by J. Spencer. London, 1658.

eternal, we might content ourselves with just living, just labouring, just satisfying our passions, and then dying to give place to others. But when we know that our connection is with God, when we believe that our fellowship is with the Father and the Son, and the Spirit; when we know that "the path of the just is as a shining light which shineth more and more unto the perfect day," we see and we acknowledge that it is man's province and man's privilege to *begin* here that knowledge which, though now attainable but in part, will probably, in its full acquisition, form a portion of the business of eternity!

Now some of you may ask what can individuals do? They can improve *themselves*, if not others; they can spend in the attainment of what is useful those means and that time which others squander in what is idle, unprofitable, and prejudicial to all high and holy things. If we cannot get others to join in our pursuits, we can forbear to join in theirs. Though but individuals, yet by pursuing whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever are of good report, we can give a tone to all within our influence. Let us only set ourselves to the great work of labouring for whatever can lead to and spread moral, intellectual, and spiritual culture, and our work will not be in vain.

We only want resolve for what is good—firmness to break through the trammels of habit,—sufficient independence to swerve from the influencing maxim of doing what others do—a spirit wrought up to that measure of holy zeal, that it will toil through many a labour of love for the interests, for the improvement of mankind,—and we shall find then that working in humble hope we shall effect much. Let us only see the necessity of a more intellectual bias being given to the pursuits and amusements of society in general—let us only consider that man has a high, moral, and spiritual work before him—a work which requires his best and unimpaired energies—not his disappointed and half-irresolute powers when he is jaded and world-weary,—let us remember, and be influenced by, the striking saying of Lord Bacon, "that in this world only God and the angels are spectators"—and that man should be working to fulfil his high destiny—struggling with "weapons, not carnal but spiritual" beneath *His* banner under whom, as *His* captain, he is enrolled—panting, and pressing forward, and "reaching towards the mark for the prize of his high calling,"—and then much of the time, which perhaps we now waste, we shall use as a talen'

committed to us for a purpose. Nor shall we thus only redeem the time ourselves, but we may be instrumental in exciting others;—for the stream of society is like the surface of the ocean; on the latter we see how one wave excites and impels another;—and so it is with the former;—the very stir is influencing;—as wave excites wave, so thought excites thought, and one urges on another, till the low wave-line is overswept which indifference or prejudice had left on the strand of human life.

The beginning is the great step,—the first movement is half the task,—the declaring hostility is half the encounter; and I feel we need but a beginning,—the after progress is certain, and the results clear. A little calling up of fixed purpose,—a little girding up of our minds,—a little firmness to that well-tuned principle which should characterize and sway every Christian, and our humble efforts will not be without their influence. We shall have at least the satisfaction of having desired the benefit of others; and more than all, in due time, we shall see the harvest if we faint not,—we shall see the triumph of substantial pursuits over mere empty trifling, and things of real interest engaging the attention and rooting themselves in the thoughts and actions and prospects of man.

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ANALYSIS,

BY

A STUDENT OF PROPHECY,

OF

“THOUGHTS ON THE APOCALYPSE”

BY B. W. NEWTON, OF PLYMOUTH.

LONDON:

LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS,

‘PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1845.



The following arrangement of events is presented *in order of time*, according to the interpretation of prophecy set forth in "Thoughts on the Apocalypse," by B. W. Newton. Hamilton, Adams, and Co., London. Originally published in twelve separate lectures, but now forming one volume.

NOTE. — The angular brackets [] contain remarks which are *not* Mr. Newton's.

The curvilinear brackets () are in the text of Mr. Newton's work.

The matter within the angular brackets is added, either as a necessary explanation, or to point out some circumstance contained in the Book of Revelations, not noticed by Mr. Newton, though bearing on the events there described.

ANALYSIS

OF

THOUGHTS ON THE APOCALYPSE.

THE sixth chapter of the Book of Revelations strictly begins *the prophetic part of the Book.* (69.)

From the sixth to the eighteenth chapter, the Book treats of evils which are brought to pass during the time that the throne of God is acting for Christ. It describes *the last forms* under which the energy of human evil will display itself in contrariety to God, first in Babylon, and then under Antichrist. (70.)

The Book of Revelations gives neither the history of Popery nor Mohammedanism. (83.) In other words, it passes them over altogether.

It places us between two contrasted periods, commencing with the times when the Gentile Churches were standing in the earth, in the days of John; and ending with a full delineation of the moral features of Babylon and Antichrist, as also of their outward characteristics. (84.)*

From the eighteenth chapter to the end, the Book of Revelations treats of events that occur after Christ is sent forth as King of Kings and Lord of Lords. (69.)

There *will be* two great cities, around which the activities and interests of the world will be concentrated at the closing hour—namely, BABYLON, on the Euphrates, and JERUSALEM. (122.)

Jerusalem will be again in dignity and greatness; its temple re-established, and itself will become a centre for the busy concourse of many nations. (123.)

[When the destruction of Babylon is accomplished in Mr. Newton's scheme, he incidentally remarks of that city, that "*it had been the great result of the wisdom of ages.*" (322.)

That city, therefore, not yet in existence, will reach its grandeur by the average process of national increase; it will be a process *going*

* Corollary: all ecclesiastical and political history between the days of John and the last days of Babylon (which is not yet in existence) are passed over in the Book of Revelations.

on for ages before it is accomplished. When, therefore, the city is built, prophetic students will, after that, have to look forward to the *lapse of ages* before the last days of Babylon, which are those of Antichrist, will appear. This is a point particularly worthy of notice, *Ages yet may elapse* before Babylon is founded; and *ages will elapse* Mr. Newton assures us, before it will reach its period of ultimate greatness.]

The habits and civilisation of western Europe will be planted in Jerusalem, Babylon, and the connected Asiatic regions. This will form the great theatre on which the closing events of this dispensation are to be displayed. (80.)

Mr. Newton sees the signs of these future events in the fact that "Missionaries of the religious principle of Europe, and political emissaries, are *spreading over* the districts of Babylon and Nineveh." (80.)

The French consul in Mesopotamia has lately been appointed by the Pope Bishop of Babylon. (80.)

And the Bishop of London has sent out a clergyman, a semi-papist (Puseyite), to Mosul, the ancient Nineveh. (81.)

The spread of adulterated and spurious Christianity, and of worldly civilisation, in those eastern regions, will dispel the cloud of barbarism, and spread a fair and delusive brightness over the renovated scene. (81.)

It will be an era in the history of the world, but the change will be *silently and gradually effected*. (82.)

Here the unhindered progress of human greatness will reproduce, in the land of Shinar, Babylon. (82.)

Belgium (not Holland), Spain, Portugal, the North of Africa, Egypt, Greece, Turkey and Syria, will be united by similarity of governments and institutions, and Babylon will become their head and centre. (178.)

The woman, that is, Babylon, will possess the whole of the Roman earth or empire. (239.)

Babylon will be the metropolis of the Roman earth. (290.)

Babylon will have the control of all the influence of the renovated Roman earth — its political, military, civil, religious, commercial, and educational systems. (239.)

It will have the jarring elements of the human mind, touching these things brought under effectual control. (240.)

Mr. Newton well remarks that this is a wonderful prospect, as "we cannot but confess that such a spectacle has never yet been presented in the history of human things." (240.)

The whole Roman earth will be divided into ten kingdoms, but there will be a unity of system throughout the whole. There are indications of the changes likely to take place; as, for instance, Greece and Egypt separated from Turkey and from one another. But there will be other divisions; and, in the mean while, a PECULIAR SYSTEM is beginning to give these kingdoms a likeness to one another. (241.)

The BABYLONISH SYSTEM has for its elements constitutional monarchies — commercial enterprise — the manufacturing system — and the subjection of art, science, and taste to utility; the standard of utility being productiveness of wealth. (241.)

In the *Babylonish system* the ecclesiastical is every where to be controlled by the civil power, and the authority of government itself controlled by capitalists, manufacturers, and merchants. (241.)

Popular monarchy is not more characteristic of the Babylonish

system, than is the alliance of the ecclesiastical with secular power; the latter being supreme. (291.)

The democratic elements prevail in the Babylonish system, or the rights of the people much check the government. The aristocracy of wealth is ultimately the great feature of the **BABYLONISH SYSTEM**. (243.)

Commercial greatness is another form of it. (242.)

It is in England that this **SYSTEM** is now *chiefly* exhibited. (243.)

Our manufacturing cities, which are against God, and militate with his intentions towards man, are of the Babylonish system. (292.)

Its avowed principle is to buy at the cheapest and sell at the dearest. (247.)

God hates covetousness and *accumulation*. But gold and silver were appointed by God as the medium of exchange, of which HE would have supplied enough, and not too much, if men would have obeyed him. (293.)

In the Babylonish system kings *cease to lean upon themselves*. When monarchy began to decline, the monarch began first to lean on his nobles, and then upon his generals, and then upon his people. In Babylon's system, worse than all, the monarchs lean on the aristocracy of merchants. (242-3.)

It is no longer the nobles, the church, nor the people, but the exchange that secretly guides, and will guide, the wheels of government. (243.)

Latitudinarian principles, and the protection of different religions, Hinduism, Popery, Mohammedanism—an indifference to their blasphemies and sins—this is the policy of England, for the object of sustaining its commercial interests; and thus has she become the main-spring of the *system of Babylon* that is arising in the earth. (244.)

A remarkable and most important feature of the Babylonish system is, that governors do not act as individuals *on the unbiassed judgment of their own minds*, [that is, as irresponsible despots,] but as the organs of a system. (250.)

We see not this system as yet developed; we see only rudiments and samples of it, as in England. Its manifestation before the eyes of men will not be until it shall be set up in the land of Shinar as its own base. (251.)

The woman, whose name is "Mystery," in the Book of Revelations, represents not a system merely, but one connected with an especial city, and that city is Babylon, to be rebuilt on the Euphrates. (251.)

The literature, the philanthropy, the government, and often the real Christianity of the day is advancing—and that with most successful efforts—that system which God has named **BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH**. (253.)

Her name is **MYSTERY**, because none but those who are taught of God to understand, will see into the real character of this **SYSTEM**. (236.)

The May meetings of the religious world in London unconsciously betray an entire ignorance of this great secular system that is arising around them, and often vindicate those very principles which are giving to that system its strength and greatness. (286.)

The Reformation has been one cause of this system: before that, men were sinning in the dark: they struck off the fetters of super-

stitution, to set the hands free for worldliness, and they have succeeded. (249.)

[Compare with this some of the celebrated sentences of Froude's *Remains*.]

When Antichrist is about to arise, Babylon will be in the height of its glory. At that time the horns are not crowned, whilst the Beast carries the woman. The crowns will, at that period, be on the heads of the Dragon, *i. e.* on those systems by which Satan will order (just as he is now doing) the affairs of the Roman earth. (286.)

The crowns are on the systems now rather than on the monarchs who are virtually subserving those systems. (286.)

[Thus the crown of England is really worn by the merchants, manufacturers, and Stock Exchange, constituting, in England, *the Babylonish system*. This, if it were in the prophetic time not yet developed, would be one of the horns of the Beast: it is so in principle now.]

This is a mercy to the individual who rules; for no one could possibly be saved who wears a diadem after it has been transferred from the heads of the Dragon. (286.)

[Constitutions, charters, and codes of law, and all those institutions of states which inhibit pure despotism, and do not allow monarchs to "lean on themselves alone," are, coupled with the commercial system, the crowned heads of the Babylonish æra.]

Revelations, xvii. 10, 11. This is explained thus:—The native monarchy of Nimrod—the theocracy of Israel—the systematic despotic monarchy of Nebuchadnezzar—the aristocratic monarchy of Persia—the military monarchy of Alexander—the monarchy of the Cæsars arising out of democracy—the constitutional monarchies of modern Europe. These are the seven *kings*. The sixth was existing when the Revelation was given; the seventh has since come, *but has not yet been perfected*; the eighth (Antichrist) closes the scene. (288.)

[These extracts have displayed the prophetic picture, according to Mr. Newton's interpretation, ready to produce Antichrist, and just before that great event takes place. We must, however, notice two others, the persecution of the saints in Babylon, and the driving away of Christians from Jerusalem: the former takes place indefinitely in time; the latter immediately before the production of Antichrist by the Devil.]

The persecution of the saints in Babylon, or by its power. Rev. xviii. 24. "In her was found the blood of prophets and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth."—xix. "Alleluia: true and righteous are his judgments, for he hath judged the great whore which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and *hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand*."—xvii. 6. "I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus."

To account for this description of the mystical Babylon, Mr. Newton says, that, in the deathlike silence which will prevail as to the truth under the system of Babylon a few will be called out for the Lord in the very heart of the prophetic earth. (279.)

They will testify of the coming of the Lord, of the grace in the blood of Jesus, &c.; and their testimony will be with power, and Satan will crush it by means of the ten kingdoms over which Babylon will reign. (279.)

Babylon will be a fierce persecutor before its course is run. (286.)

These martyrs seem to be Protestants; and through Protestantism [somewhere to be in the regions of Babylon] there will arise SOME

whose aggressiveness will disturb the quiet of the Babylonish system, and thus furnish an excuse for persecution. (286.)

And thus Protestantism, which has always, even in its best days, sought refuge in the secular arm rather than in God, will be made to prove that they who lean upon any thing instead of God, lean upon a broken reed, which is sure to run into the hand and pierce it. (286.)

The liberalism also of that day will dislike *real* Christianity. (286.)

[The Babylonish persecution will then be against some Protestants; and though the persons so persecuted will be martyrs, yet they will, in that particular, have to learn a lesson of their own errors, and to be chastised for them.]

The persecution of Christians in Jerusalem. This is an event which is to take place immediately before the exhibition of Antichrist; and this is the true explanation of the twelfth chapter of Revelations. (137—154.)

The woman clothed with the sun, crowned with twelve stars, and having the moon under her feet, is Christianity, *such as she will be exhibited* when she will stand forth before the nations, in the power of the presence of the glory of Christ, and the unearthly glory of the risen saints. (139.)

Christianity will be found in Jerusalem at the time when the ten kingdoms of the Roman world will be reaching the zenith of their glory. (144.)

It is evident from the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew that Christianity will, at that period, be found in Jerusalem. (144.)

These Christians will be chiefly converted Jews. (144.)

Seeing how the Gentile Christians have become wise in their own conceits, and have betrayed the truth of Christ, it is not credible that the closing testimony in Jerusalem should be entrusted to them. (96.)

They will be the great object of the Devil's hatred and dread. (144.)

The Devil will be holding (just as he now does) the full control of the Roman earth. (144.)

The Christians in Jerusalem will be rejected and persecuted; and, like Stephen, they will be taken to have a better glory than the mere glory of earth: they will be taken into the glory "to rule all nations with a rod of iron." (145.)

"The man-child," in the twelfth chapter, is an emblem of individuals born to inherit a certain portion of strength in Jerusalem. (146.)

Satan will bring the power of the ten kingdoms of the Roman earth against the "man-child" born in Jerusalem. (147.)

Who would have thought that a few poor Christians in Jerusalem were to be the child of a parent so glorious? Who would see, in the movement of the ten kingdoms to persecute these Christians, Satan directing the power of these haughty diadems? (140.)

It is this act of Satan in bringing the power of the ten kingdoms of the Roman earth against the man-child born in Jerusalem, that causes the first act of Divine vengeance to be executed against Satan. (147.)

On account of this persecution Satan is banished from heaven for ever. This will be through the instrumentality of Angelic power. (147 and 153.) It will be done by the angel Michael. (153.)

Satan, being cast down from heaven, sets about exalting his servant Antichrist and persecuting *the woman*. (148.)

Before this he persecuted Christians, now he seeks to drive away Christianity itself from the earth. (148.)

But Christianity will flee away from the Devil ; it will leave the refined regions of the Roman earth, and seek a refuge amongst uncivilised nations. (149.)

These nations for their own sakes, that they may preserve their institutions and their laws, will arise and shield persecuted Christianity from destruction. (149.)

Just before the manifestation of Antichrist the nations deny or are about to deny the creative power of God — [*i. e.* turn Atheists.] (201.) On this, men are sent to every city and village in the prophetic earth to give warning, and preach the everlasting Gospel. (202.)

Another mission of warning will then be given against those who are inclined to submit themselves to *Antichrist*. (203.)

After the Dragon (Satan) had in Jerusalem, and the land of Israel, persecuted Christianity, and had driven the woman out of Palestine into the wilderness, he will go down to the Mediterranean Sea, and *standing on the shore, with the countries of the East behind him*, will call up from the Western sea, into the great countries of the East, one whom he will make Lord of the East and the West together. (163.)

Some suppose that Antichrist will be *a person restored to life from the invisible world*: but on this Mr. Newton *expresses no positive opinion*. (287.)

[It is understood at Plymouth that Antichrist may probably be Napoleon restored to life from the dead.]

Satan will not call up from the sea *an unknown stranger*, but one *already fitted* for the place for which Satan designs him to be his associate. (162.)

"We find in Napoleon also the same habit of putting down kings, setting up others in their stead, and then taking the supreme place over them." (178.)

Satan will glorify with all his glory an individual man. (159.)

In him will be combined the majesty and outward glory of ancient empires, the perfection of worldly intellect and knowledge, supremacy in arts and arms, and all the varied splendour of oriental and western monarchs. (159.)

All varieties of intellectual power, and all diversities of outward greatness will be combined in one man. (159.)

He will be the greatest wit, poet, statesman, conqueror, and king that ever lived. (160.)

He will possess the savage fierceness of conquest. (165.)

Satan will make it his object to exalt this mighty monarch: the hearts, tongues, and energies of men will soon be directed by Satan, around this object of his choice. (161.)

Powers of working miracles will also be given; and thus in every way man will be deceived and fascinated. (161.)

Infidelity (to Christ) will, like a flood, even as in a moment, spread over the whole face of the Roman earth, and all of it will addict itself to Antichrist. (205.)

This is the great ruler of the Roman earth during the time that the two witnesses of God are prophesying in sackcloth. (161.)

[Though Antichrist may be one restored to life from the dead, yet] he will appear before the world as from Greece; for in Greece alone the refinements and elegancies of civilisation have found their birth-place and home. (163.)

We cannot doubt that Antichrist will be of Grecian origin. (178.)]

At the time of the rising of Antichrist all plenitude of authority and influence will be possessed by Babylon. (253.)

The first exhibition of Antichrist, or his advance towards his final greatness, will be as a minister of Babylon. He will become executive agent of all her power. (253.) [This perhaps means that he will be prime minister of BABYLON.]

Antichrist at first sustains Babylon, in a somewhat inferior place; he is then only the servant of Satan, and subordinately to him holds the authority of the political and moral system of Babylon. (162.)

At this time Babylon is the head of the Roman empire divided into ten kingdoms, and in them all constitutional monarchy and commerce prevail, as already explained. (253.)

A system, however, like that of Babylon, will ill suit the individual ambition of Antichrist. (257.)

He will have no taste for constitutional monarchies: he will not submit to be legislated for by the classes of the wealthy, nor any other classes. (257.)

As soon as Antichrist arises into his greatness, he will sweep away the ruling systems of the great Babylonish æra, and establish individuality *again*: (152.) [*i. e.* He will put down constitutions, parliaments, trade, and the monetary influence, and establish himself absolute king.]

[The system of the Stock Exchange, the influence of the monied classes, and the merchants, and the aristocracy of wealth, as already explained—all these Antichrist will set aside, to exalt himself.]

As Antichrist throws off the influence of the BABYLONISH SYSTEM to exalt himself, the ten kings of the ten kingdoms will gladly own him as their Lord. (258.)

The yoke of the Babylonish system is a hard yoke upon the ten constitutional kings; and besides this the democratic pressure, perpetually increasing, could scarcely be resisted finally, even by Babylon itself. (258.)

All the ten kings will concur in giving their glory to him. (162.)

The ten kings will gladly take refuge under the arm of Antichrist as set up by Satan, and will join with him in destroying THE SYSTEM which has really made them slaves, and in many things left them less liberty than the meanest of their subjects. (258.)

[The Devil, Antichrist, and the ten kings will unite in putting an end to the Babylonish system. They will destroy the constitutional forms of government, annihilate trade and manufactures, and put an end to Christianity as then existing in the ten kingdoms.]

"The ten kings will hate the whore (Babylon) and make her desolate and naked, and burn her flesh with fire," *i. e.* they will put an end to the system: they will not destroy the city. (258.)

The Devil will raise up out of Palestine one who is to be the great High Priest of the worship of Antichrist. (168.)

He will stand in the presence of the King, and will exercise this mighty monarch's power. It will be the first time in the world's history when there will be a strict union between the ecclesiastical head of religion and the secular throne. (170.)

The general religion will be idolatrous, and will be sustained by miracles. (170.)

The Priest and Prophet of Antichrist will place the image of Antichrist in the temple of Jerusalem, and will miraculously give life to the image, and enable it to speak.

He will cause all who do not worship the image to be put to death. (170.)

This is the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel and our Lord. (170.)

The time of this persecution, and the duration of this power, is twelve hundred and sixty days. (171.)

Immediately before the twelve hundred and sixty days, Jerusalem, then restored to dignity and greatness, with its temple in grandeur, will be resting under the shadow of the great chief of the Gentiles (Antichrist). (123.)

The people of Jerusalem will for a little season be deceived by his flatteries, and then be suddenly grasped for destruction. (123.)

But when the 1260 days begin, by planting the image of Antichrist in Jerusalem, Christians withdraw from Judah and Jerusalem. (124.)

At this time the two witnesses clothed in sackcloth will in Jerusalem begin their testimony. (124.)

Mr. Newton in pages 124-5 circumstantially describes the topics which constitute the subject-matter of their preaching:—

They will *not* preach the remission of sins. (133.)

They will *not* preach salvation. (125.)

Fire will wait upon the word of their lips, and will consume their enemies. (125.)

The witnesses are two individuals, and perhaps Moses and Elijah brought again upon earth. (126.)

During their testimony, which lasts 1260 days, Antichrist will glorify himself in Jerusalem, where he and his image will be worshipped. (127.)

His throne of glory will be in Jerusalem. (233.)

The two witnesses will testify in vain amongst the apostate Jews, and at the end of their testimony they will be put to death. (127.)

For three days and a half their bodies lie unburied in the streets of Jerusalem. (127.)

Their natural bodies *revive* at the end of the three days and a half; they are not changed and glorified. (135.)

Before however they are put to death the two witnesses succeed in making some converts amongst the Jews—these are the 12,000 sealed out of every tribe of Israel. (98.)

These converts only understand repentance, they are not acquainted with salvation and remission of sins. They are objects of persecution, but in it all have no present rest in God. They cannot say, "The Lord is my shepherd." They are not delivered from persecution and distress till the Lord comes. (134. 112.)

During these events, that is, during the 1260 days, the plagues of the eighth chapter of Revelations take place. The earth, the sea, the fountains, with the rivers and the heavens, will be smitten. (104.)

This will cause great consternation in Tyre, Jerusalem, and Babylon. (105.)

Malignant devils, though not visible, will come forth out of the pit, and will horribly torment the apostate empire of Antichrist. (107.)

There will however be another plague in the reign of Antichrist; four angels will be let loose from the Euphrates, and with them [two hundred thousand] devils invisible, who will slay a third part of men. (109.)

In addition to these, during the last days of Antichrist, there are also the visitations of the 6th chapter of Revelations, which will be

war, famine, multiplied destruction by the sword, hunger, and wild beasts. (78.)

[These destroy a fourth part of the earth, vi. 8; so that this, added to the destruction brought about by the two hundred thousand invisible demons, makes the destruction amount to pretty nearly two-thirds of the inhabitants of the earth.]

There will also be the visitations of the sixteenth chapter of Revelations, which will be "minutely fulfilled." (227.) The sea will become as the blood of dead men, the sun will scorch unusually, and the whole kingdom of Antichrist will be full of darkness—the subjects of Antichrist will be smitten with sores. (227.) [In addition to this, the fountains will be turned into blood.]

Notwithstanding all these desolating plagues, the nations that have apostatised from God will be eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage—manifesting a character of profanity and riot. ("End of the Age," 17.)

Much about this time, towards the end, and apparently just at the end of the twelve-hundred and sixty days of Antichrist's reign, after a warning* had been given that the fall of Babylon was near at hand, the Son of Man will descend on a white cloud to reap the harvest of the earth. (204.)

"The earth" does NOT mean here the prophetic earth, as interpreted in all the previous passages by Mr. Newton (205-6), but is to be understood of all professing Christendom out of the confines of Antichrist's dominion; India, America, Australia, Africa, Holland, Ireland, Russia, Germany, Sweden, and Norway: in these places the angels will separate the tares from the wheat, and gather in the wheat into heaven. (207.)

This also is the coming of the Son of Man in his glory, as described in Matt. xxv. 3. He will come on the throne of his glory, which will be in the air, and the saints will not be with him. ("End of the Age," 21.)

"Before him shall be gathered all nations." This does not mean all nations, but only those nations that have professed to be Christian. Neither does it include the Roman earth, which is then in a state of apostasy. ("End of the Age," 22.)

The sheep and the goats are *evidently* words of profession. (Id.)

This scene, however, in Matt. xxv. is *not* one of judgment. It is pronouncing their award, and recognising the fact that certain nations have been long known to be goats and sheep. In principle it differs nothing from the way in which the righteous and the wicked are treated now, when from day to day they are cut off by death. ("End of the Age," 23.)

The scene is NOT one of judgment. ("End of the Age," 22.)

It is only in the fourteenth chapter of Revelations, from the 14th verse to the end of the chapter, that Christendom is mentioned. (213.)

[The reaping will not take place in England, which will then be worshipping Antichrist, but it will take place in Ireland, at that time professing Christianity, and in Holland also, but not in Belgium.]

The reaping of this great day, in which the Son of Man will appear in his glory, does not reach any part of Antichrist's dominions. Antichrist, on the contrary, and his Prophet, will begin to gather together

* The warning voice in Rev. xviii. 4., "Come out of her, my people," is addressed to a remnant of Israel, who are thus summoned to quit the city of Babylon. (289.)

all his great armies from the Euphrates to England, to fight against the Lord. (220.)

The coming of the Son of Man into *Christendom* (not into the prophetic earth), and the taking of the saints to meet him into the air from thence, is an event of which no duration is fixed by Mr. Newton: it begins certainly in the reign of Antichrist, apparently towards the end of it: how long it lasts is not stated; but as soon as the saints are taken into the clouds, *at that moment* does the Lord give the final blow to Babylon. (298.)

The fall of Babylon is effected by barbarous myriads of central Asia. (228.) The river Euphrates will be dried up in order to allow a passage for those fierce Eastern nations to attack Babylon. (227.)

The gathering of the Asiatic nations against Babylon will be contemporaneous with the gathering of the nations in the dominions of Antichrist, that is, in the Roman world, to Armageddon. (234.)

The capture of Babylon by the Asiatic nations will not be its destruction; for before they shall have settled themselves in the enjoyment of their conquest "the day of the Lord" supervenes, and destruction falls upon Babylon and those that had captured it, from the Lord himself. (233.)

The stars will not give their light at that time, and the sun and moon will be darkened: the heavens will be shaken, and the earth removed out of her place. (234.)

[About the time of the muster, great hailstones, each weighing a talent, fall on the heads of Antichrist's subjects, and every island flees away, and the mountains are not found. England therefore disappears. Mr. Newton omits these circumstances. See Rev. xv. 21.]

The finale of Antichrist is after he has mustered all his empire to fight against the Lord. His muster takes place whilst the Asiatic nations are mustering against Babylon. In order to bring together all his armies, spirits* of devils working miracles, by the immediate bidding of Satan, Antichrist, and his High Priest, and commissioned also by God, will from England to the Euphrates bring together all the regiments in the dominion of Antichrist to Armageddon. (228.)

There is no battle in Armageddon, neither is there any destruction there. It is the place only of muster. The great battle between Antichrist and the Lord takes place in the valley of Jehoshaphat, close to the walls of Jerusalem. (234.)

After the mustering at Armageddon, the great armies of Antichrist encamp against Jerusalem. Part of the tribe of Judah will be without the walls, leagued with the invading Gentiles in fighting against Jerusalem. These will be first saved [converted] during the siege, and strengthened, and then after that the house of David and the inhabitants of the city of Jerusalem, and they shall destroy their enemies. (289-90.)

[Thus, after the great review of his troops in Armageddon, and the mustering of all the kings there, Antichrist marches to Jerusalem to besiege it. The Jews are in his army, but during the progress of the siege they are converted, and turn against Antichrist.]

The Lord, the Heavenly Bridegroom, is now invested with power to meet the great enemy. The saints join him, and fall into the train of his glory. (299.) Angels also accompany them. (316.) In the

* [These spirits of devils who undertake to march the armies to Armageddon, are THREE in number. Rev. XVI. 14. They are also like frogs, omitted by Mr. Newton.]

valley of Jehoshaphat the great victory takes place. The day of the Lord comes upon Antichrist's armies as they are surrounding Jerusalem. (234.)

[In the matter of the siege of Jerusalem, we find many things which we are unable to explain. It is, indeed, described in this scheme as a siege; but who it is that is besieged, and by what power the city is held so as to be an object of siege to Antichrist and all the Roman world, we are not informed. Jerusalem had all along been the seat of Antichrist's government and glory, nor do we hear of any event that had dispossessed him of the city. Nevertheless, he comes with the ten kings against Jerusalem; and England, Mr. Newton assures us, will be one of the nations that will come to the siege. ("Day of the Lord," 7.) But all this gathering and this preparation for besieging the city seems to be the calling into play a vast machinery without any definite object. It cannot be said that the two witnesses hold Jerusalem against Antichrist, who is continually described as a persecuting tyrant in that locality, all the days of his reign, which terminates *simultaneously*, that is, on the same day with the testimony of the two witnesses. "Antichrist will be Pharaoh and Ahab in one person, and those who are around him will be like their king. The servants of God (the two witnesses) will testify in the midst of them; but their testimony will be in vain. They will complete their testimony and fall." (127.) "The Gentiles tread under foot Jerusalem 1260 days." (131.) "The testimony of the witnesses, the times of the Gentiles, and the reign of Antichrist, end *simultaneously*." (131.) These are the statements to be considered; they represent the two witnesses as martyrs rather than successful opponents of Antichrist, and fix the dates precisely. We repeat, therefore, there is no assignable cause for the siege. If "the Gentiles tread under foot Jerusalem 1260 days," they do possess it all the time of Antichrist's reign; or, in other words, he, the Lord of the Gentiles, actually possesses it to the end. The siege therefore is against himself and his own power. We cannot possibly come to any other conclusion, according to the statements that are laid before us.

We have also to enquire, seeing that the testimony of the two witnesses and the reign of Antichrist end on the same day, where we are to place the following events: "And they that dwell upon earth shall rejoice over them, and *make merry, and send gifts to one another*, because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt on the earth." xi. 10. The day on which the witnesses finish their testimony is the day of Antichrist's fall—they are "simultaneous events." On that day (a day of twelve hours—so Mr. Newton says,) the Lord himself will come into the scene, and there will be general destruction in the Roman earth. How then can they who dwell upon the earth—a space defined for us in this place to "be from Nile to the Euphrates"—(135.) "*make merry, and send gifts to one another*?"

Mr. Newton has in part endeavoured to meet this difficulty in his notes; but it is only in part, and serves only, as far as it goes, to shew his perplexity: "I do not doubt that the three days and a half during which the witnesses lie dead are to be included in the general period of their testimony; *just as if*, speaking in general terms of our Lord's sojourn on earth, we should include the whole period from his birth to his ascension, and not make an exception of the three days during which he was in death. *Indeed, this must be so*, if the identity of the forty-two months and the 1260 days be admitted; *for I suppose no*

one will say that the period of exultation over the bodies of the two witnesses was after Jerusalem had ceased to be trodden down." (131.)

The illustration here introduced of the period of our Lord's ministry is wholly irrelevant. We have no data from Scripture to fix the duration of that ministry with any thing like certainty; it is a notorious subject of dispute which has never been settled — the variations of time being considerable, according to the several plans proposed. But in the question of the two witnesses we have a definite date of precise days numbered to us, both in months and in days; and as Mr. Newton is so well acquainted with the circumstances of this scene as to fix "the very moment" (125.) when the witnesses begin their testimony, and as the days of their testimony are accurately numbered to us in the text, we cannot by any means allow this latitude of interpretation in order to escape from a difficulty. Thus then that very thing which Mr. Newton "supposes no one will say" is the truth that cannot be concealed. It is plain that, according to his own plan, the three days and a half of the exposure of the bodies of the witnesses is *after* the fall of Antichrist. For they fall and he falls on the same day: and though this opens to us a vista of endless difficulties, yet it must so stand, and many days beyond must be allowed in order to give time for those that "dwell upon earth to make merry, and to send gifts to one another."]

Other events at this period are here introduced from "The Day of the Lord," a recent publication by Mr. Newton. The nations that will be gathered against Jerusalem to battle will take it, prostrate it, and divide the spoil. ("Day of the Lord," 8.)

The Lord himself will really go forth and fight (8.): this will be much more plainly than when of old he fought for Israel. (9.)

The proud Gentile nations gathered together at that time will have their tents full of gold and silver and rich apparel. (13.)

The Lord will stand upon the Mount of Olives (10.), and the mountain will then instantly cleave asunder. (11.)

Upon the mountain will stand with him all the saints that have been from the foundation of the world. From Abel down to the last saint taken into glory. There will not be one absent. (12.)

Christians are particularly called upon to believe that they will stand upon the Mount of Olives: "Take care that you remember, it is the place where you are soon to stand." (13.)

Israel, at that moment, instead of being prepared to receive the Lord their God, will flee away in terror and dismay. (13.)

In the day that the Lord stands on the Mount of Olives, it will be literally one day of twelve hours. The sun will be entirely darkened, it will be utter and complete darkness. Nevertheless there will be lightnings which will illuminate the scene. It will be a day of destruction. (14.)

In the evening it will be light again. The natural sources of light will be peacefully and quietly restored. There will be a peaceful sunset that evening. (14.)

Some Jews will be spared through the destruction of that day, they will be dealt with in grace, and will be converted. (15.)

There will be messengers sent to preach the Gospel with power in the millennial day. (16.)

Antichrist and his prophet or priest are taken, and are cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone: and the rest of his mighty armies are slain, and the fowls eat their flesh. (301.)

The Jews who have been converted during the siege will also have a hand in this slaughter, as already stated. (290.)

Satan is now taken prisoner, and shut up in the pit. (301.)

Now begins the period of the "Morning Star." It is of considerable duration, in which many nations will be judged.—Moab, Edom, and the nations occupying the districts in the centre of Asia north-east of Persia, Bokhara, &c. (317.)

Between the coming of the Lord to punish Antichrist, and the commencement of the Millennium there is an interval in which the Lord *retires into Heaven with his Saints*. In this interval, whilst judgments are pouring upon Edom, Moab, and others, the Jews who had been brought to repentance by the two witnesses, are left upon earth, a mourning remnant, in the midst of the general desolations. When he returns, he pours upon them the Spirit, and converts them. (134.)

[These are the Jews who dwell in Jerusalem during the Millennium: their number seems to be 144,000; and to these we may add the Jews who had been converted during the siege of Antichrist.]

The MILLENNIUM will then begin; which is, however, only a step onwards to a more blessed period, the dispensation of the fulness of times. (304.)

The Lord with his risen saints will be in heavenly glory and in divine power; they will also share with him his lower glories, as when seen standing around him on Mount Zion, and in a *still lower* sphere sharing the power which he will exercise on the earth in Jerusalem. (304.)

They who are counted worthy to attain that age and resurrection, are freed from all earthly character, and are made like the angels. (305.)

The twelve Apostles will set on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. (304.)

The raised saints will be for purposes of government in Jerusalem; but the inhabitants of Palestine, who, not having died, and not having been raised, will be strictly in an earthly condition, will be able to meet the raised saints without terror, owing to the help of the Spirit which will be poured out from on high. (305.)

The raised saints will give aid and counsel to the earthly rulers of Jerusalem. (305.)

Angels also will be there—that is, in Jerusalem. This will be a government of peace and moral rest in Immanuel's land. (306.)

There also the lion will feed with the kid. (306.)

The nations will cease from war. (306.) The earth will be peopled from pole to pole; the population will be *children* of persons who perhaps all of them have known and feared the Lord. (309.)

The earth will be freed from the curse which now rests immediately upon it. The sun will not scorch, nor the tempest destroy, nor man toil with the sweat of his brow. (307.)

Creation, however, will not yet be brought into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. Death and corruption will exist, but be *repressed*, and this in men, trees, plants and animals. The necessity of repression will argue the presence of evil. (307–8.)

The glory of the risen saints upon Zion, and the brightness and holiness of the heavenly city above [visible in the higher regions] will be before men's eyes. (309.)

The heavenly city in the Millennium descends so as not to be in Heaven, neither upon the earth. [It is aloft, but visible.] (195.)

Mount Zion's summit will be miraculously exalted above the hills, as if to meet the heavenly city suspended above it. (196.)

The earthly Jerusalem will be builded around its base (192.); and on the top of Zion the heavenly glory will be made visible to the eyes of men. It will be emphatically *the citadel* of Jerusalem. (193.)

At the end of the Millennium the population of the whole world, headed by Satan, then let loose from the pit, will come up in battle array against the beloved city and the camp of the saints. (309.)

Men, in multitude as the sand of the sea, will be gathered in confederacy against God. (310.)

On this *the judgment** of the great white throne takes place. Earth and Heaven flee away, and no place is found for them. The dead, small and great, are judged: Death and Hades are cast into the lake of fire. (310.)

The heavenly Jerusalem which had been apart from the earth (and yet visible) during the Millennium now descends into it. (310.)

The Bride is *not* introduced into the Millennial earth. (300.)

The New Jerusalem is a cube in dimensions. (329.)

There will be no more sea on the new earth after the Millennium. (318.)

All things will then be made new: new spheres will be opened for the exercise of the power of those who shall reign in life. (311.)

The new earth will be the CENTRE of the economy and order of creation. (311. 335.)

The tenth verse of the 21st chapter of Revelations speaks of the New Jerusalem descending at the commencement of the Millennium *towards* the earth; the second verse of that chapter describes it descending *into* the earth. (335.)

After the Millennium flesh will cease to be; and all will be brought into a suitableness of condition to Him who is the Lord from Heaven. (318.)

* The judgment after the Millennium is of the many millions who were converted to God during the Millennium. Mr. Newton does not state that any of the wicked will be judged at all on that occasion. (318.)

[The day of judgment, as generally understood, takes place a little before the overthrow of Antichrist, but reaches not the prophetic earth. There is no day of judgment for the prophetic earth at all. The wicked are punished and trampled to death upon the earth there by the Lord himself in the collision with Antichrist.]

NOTES

ON

THE ANALYSIS.

SEEN is the picture of events in the future history of the world as delineated by Mr. Newton in *his* interpretation of the prophetic book of Scripture. It is indeed such a picture, that it might be safely left to itself to prove its own mistakes. Arguments cannot be wanting to detect them; they are too glaring and of too gigantic proportions to escape the notice of even the feeblest student of Scripture. They are an aggregate of romantic improbabilities ranging far beyond the limits of the most capricious fancy, and leaving, not only faith, but even imagination far in the background. That a mind so sober as Mr. Newton's, aided by more than an average portion of talent, should have invested such speculations with even a temporary reality is a surprising phenomenon; and still more surprising is it, that other minds of varied calibre, and of widely different peculiarities, should have been so far influenced as to yield their assent to this system of prophetic interpretation. Mr. Newton has several followers, but surely none of them can have given themselves the trouble to draw up a *Tableau*, such as is here faithfully represented in this analysis, of that which they have adopted. It is indeed one thing to present a series of events in irregular order, or rather, we should say, in systematic disarray,—whilst each change of scene, in time and place, is ushered in and dismissed with eloquent words, which for the most part avoid all tangible specifications, and another to put those events in the plain succession of time; to compare collateral circumstances, and to place in juxtaposition contemporary actions, avoiding as much as possible all rhetorical dress; and reducing to the *ledger* form the graceful and airy descriptions of a poetic style. But this is the process to which every prophetic system must be submitted. Prophecy is, after all, an historical anticipation. If we contemplate prophecy in Scripture, it is concealed in symbolical language, or abruptly inserted without notice in the midst of events then present in the lifetime of the prophet; but, if we attempt to decypher those symbols or to separate the future from the past or the present, we must be content to do so in a plain and intelligible form. Our statement must be such that it may be read as future history as a relation of facts to come: the success of our interpretation must in no way depend on management or on the ornament of language. Mr. Newton in some of his other writings has shewn himself eminently successful in detecting the errors of shallow thinkers, and in exposing the fallacy, or, it may be, the disingenuousness of their syllogisms: he can be cool, considerate, and cautious in the examination of words, and can ably point out their use and abuse: it is therefore to be expected that his own statements should be well weighed, carefully an-

alysed, and considerably examined ; and we should expect that they would come forth from the examination so tested as to pass current.

It is surely therefore a service done to the students of prophecy to present to them Mr. Newton's system in an intelligible form, and purposely divested of the fascination of words : it will enable them not only to comprehend what they believe, and either to detect the illusions which they have been following, or altogether to disprove their existence. And truly the starting point of these erroneous hermeneutics is to be sought for in the peculiarities of Mr. Newton's own mind. It is his own mental idiosyncrasy which is the parent of the system now before us. In his interpretation Babylon is every thing, and Babylon is clearly the embodying of his own private feelings, which, having been first nurtured in the cloisters of Oxford (owing, doubtless, a good deal of their first form to the external impressions of that antique abode of study, but since that modified by some religious mutations of the deeply pensive order,) have at last come forth into that perfect form of maturity which excite our astonishment in the "Thoughts on the Apocalypse."

Without the Babylon of Mr. Newton's feelings no part of his system could assume form or consistency ; it enters into every scene of the tragedy which he has composed ; all the rest is but subordinate, and is of necessity proceeding from it. What then is Babylon ? The embodying of Mr. Newton's private opinions on the political and social tendencies of the great European community. The antecedent pages will have sufficiently explained his sentiments, and will have exhibited the interpreter as deeply imbued with those political ideas which are now scarcely any where to be found, but which used to be too well known in that sorrowful æra when the Stuart dynasty was waging its long war of treachery or violence against the English Constitution. Mr. Newton's feelings about Government are not *Conservative* (according to the modern phrase), they are the antique ultra-Tory of the closing days of the House of Stuart, such indeed as the Oxford Convocation* avowed in the reign of Charles II., though that learned body

* The decree of the University of Oxford, which was published in the year 1683, after calling that miserable reprobate, Charles II., "the anointed of the Lord, and the breath of their nostrils," proceeds to select several sentiments published within the last twenty years by the advocates of civil and religious liberty. Some of these sentiments are as follows : "The sovereignty of England is in the three estates, king, lords, and commons ; the king has but a coordinate power, and may be overruled by the other two."—"It is lawful for subjects, without the consent, and against the command of the supreme magistrate, to enter into leagues, covenants, and associations, for defence of themselves and their religion."—"There lies no obligation upon Christians to passive obedience, when the prince commands any thing against the laws of the country."—"It is not lawful for superiors to impose any thing in the worship of God that is not antecedently necessary."—"We decree, judge, and declare all and every of these propositions to be false, seditious, and impious, and most of them heretical and blasphemous."

The University of Cambridge, at the same period, thus published its political creed : "We believe and maintain that our princes derive not their title from the people, but from God ; that to him only they are accountable."—"That it belongs not to subjects either to create or censure, but to honour and obey their sovereign, who comes to be so by a fundamental hereditary right of succession, which no religion, no law, no fault or forfeiture can alter or diminish." This, in other words, is the political creed of Mr. Newton. It is to be seen, *passim*, in his Lectures

and ample opportunity, in the reign of his successor, themselves ractically to contradict and confute this creed of servility, which they ad thus consecrated by a solemn decree. Wherever there is a constitution, or wherever the plenitude of arbitrary dominion is checked by any safeguard of any popular law or charter—wherever the rights of the people are protected by any legal provision, so as that the people may recognise their *rights* and feel an interest in them, there Mr. Newton sees criminality and corruption, and a provocation of the wrath of God. His favourite pattern of government is the gorgeous imperial sovereignty of the mighty Nebuchadnezzar, to whom, as to a sort of representative of all Gentile kings, he imagines was intrusted the form, and order, and license of all other governments. To rule like that leviathan of the Chaldean empire with absolute and uncontrolled sway, without any let or hindrance from nobles or people, without any whistler of intervening laws, customs, privileges, immunities, codes, or charters granted to the people, or obtained by the sense of their own need,—this, in Mr. Newton's thoughts, is a holy and divine form of government. Then *the Horn wears the Diadem*; but when, as in England, there are constitutional barriers against oppression, the horn becomes naked, and the diadem is then in reality on the head of the devil, who is strongest in the social arrangements of man when the people are guarded by civil and religious liberties from the aggressions of despotism. It is not easy to put Mr. Newton's views on this subject in a light so strong as he contemplates them—we do not exaggerate his statements—and it is to be hoped that the reader will himself take the trouble to verify the many references to his work which are given in the Analysis.

Partly as a matter of taste, but much more as emanating from this view of Government, Mr. Newton emphatically stamps with religious condemnation commerce, trade, manufactures, and every thing that tends to raise, in the scale of society, the class of *roturiers*, the ignoble but industrious members of the commonwealth, who, through the various engagements of trade, often rise into opulence, and consequently into importance, and sometimes into stations of power and dignity. This is a phenomenon that has been long known in England, and of course it is one that is likely rather to increase than to diminish in exhibition, owing to the skill and enterprise which so eminently characterise this great and opulent though *Babylonish* country.

It will be seen with what disgust and aversion Mr. Newton views the characteristic of this nation, and of every other nation that imitates its criminal tendencies. The seeds of Babylon are, according to his ideas, already sown in the soil of England; they have only to be transferred to the banks of the Euphrates in order to produce that upas-tree of abominations which is to envenom all the prophetic earth with its poisonous shade. This aggregate of iniquity, constitutional monarchies, commerce, manufactures, and the increasing prosperity of the industrial classes, Mr. Newton calls "the Babylonish system," and it is always with disgust and aversion that he speaks of it: with disgust, because it militates with his most cherished feelings of taste, and introduces before his eyes "utility" in the place of the picturesque; and

on the Apocalypse, but especially where he is describing the Babylon of his imagination, its rise, glory, and fall, and the great day of Anti-Christ. In a concise sentence he embodies his idea of the sprouting of the Babylonish seed; it is "WHEN KINGS CEASE TO LEAN UPON THEMSELVES."

with aversion, because it invests the plebeian order with a most impertinent and intrusive importance. The rise of commerce Mr. Newton well knows has in too many instances synchronised with the decay of feudal or monarchical oppression; it has too often in the European history marked the elevation of the middle and the lower classes; it has too often marred his *beau-idéal* of Oriental sovereignty, and for this reason, then, as well as for others, it is iniquity; yea, it is one of the prime abominations of the mystical mother of harlots. Commerce, developing all its energies in the full atmosphere of constitutional monarchies, and going onwards unto unknown powers, is "THE SYSTEM," so called by Mr. Newton, which is to bring the European races into the plenitude of their iniquity: it is working already, he says, and is under the especial patronage of Satan, and it is therefore against this *system* that he directs all the peculiarities of his mental temperament,—all the sensibilities of a contemplative life,—all the deductions of his reading,—all the aversions of his classical taste,—and all the antipathies of his devotional feelings. The serious and sober detestation with which he speaks of trade, manufactures, and constitutional governments, is quite a phenomenon, and one surely that ought to be thoroughly studied by his scholars, for unless they fully enter into Mr. Newton's feelings on these topics, and heartily accept his speculations on political and social institutes, they are quite mistaken in supposing themselves to be his disciples. Unless they agree with him in his estimate of social iniquity, and assent to his opinions on government and political economy—unless, in one word, they adopt his political creed, they do not belong to his school; they may admire his ingenious interpretation of some difficult chapters of the Apocalypse, but truly they understand not his prophetic lectures unless they have imbibed those sentiments to which the Babylon of his imagination owes its airy existence. In the Scriptures the mystical Babylon is that prodigy of crime whose fall is the jubilee of heaven and the emancipation of earth, and the Divine judgments seem to slumber till she is conspicuously visited with vengeance for all her guilt: it is therefore perfectly in keeping with his personal feelings that Mr. Newton should have decreed that commerce and constitutions shall be this mystical Babylon, the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth. This history of this moral monster he portrays with all the powers of his eloquence; and it is really instructive to see how he can leap over all barriers of countless difficulties in order to build up the object of his aversion, and to draw in the deepest colours of antipathy the great city of his dreams, detestable in the days of her future glory for her schools, her stock-exchange, her warehouses, her "comfortable prisons," her baths and wash-houses, her markets, quays, railways, parks, gardens, hospitals, and public promenades, and every other hateful appendage attesting her supremacy in commercial opulence, and her prosperity under liberal institutions.

Something of this feeling, though in a feeble degree, we have occasionally met with elsewhere, but always and invariably amongst the clerical class. We have heard clergymen talk, and seen them write somewhat in the rudiments of these thoughts, and sometimes have we heard them bearing their testimony of aversion against political economy, trade, and liberal opinions; but with them it has been but a few sparks of this grand fire which Mr. Newton has kindled in his indignation, the light of which, flashing across the darkness of intervening ages, illuminates to our view the walls and bulwarks of that metropolis of crime now only existing in "the people of dreams."

But here, *in limine*, we find the students of prophecy called on to enter into a field of inquiry from which we should have supposed they could certainly have been exempt. Necessity is laid upon them first to study history, and to gain some acquaintance with political doctrine; ascertain if Mr. Newton is right in those opinions which constitute the foundation of every thing he teaches on prophecy—unless, indeed, they should be disposed to accept as axioms that which he constantly assumes as first principles in theological ethics. If they accept his opinions, or rather his *feelings* (always enunciated in the dogmatic form), as unquestionable propositions, and if inquiry and an appeal to their own reasoning faculties to decide between good and evil, as developed in history, are out of the question, they may indeed, in that case, on these data reason rightly; but it is only for a short season that such a process can be successful; in the end that which is untrue will be undermined and fall, and the artificers of the ruined edifice will be much damaged by the fall.

There is a notable passage in which Mr. Newton makes the prophets enunciate his own peculiar views, so that even inspiration called in as an auxiliary to establish his system of political ethics. With reference to the second chapter of Daniel we have the following remarks: "It is sufficient to say, as regards *the history of power*, that the Gentile monarchs from the beginning, not knowing God so as to lean upon him, and too weak to stand alone, exposed to the jealousy and hatred of those whom they governed—a jealousy not infrequently earned by their own evil, found it necessary to lean upon something inferior to themselves; and thus *the character of power* has been *deteriorated* from age to age, until at last the monarchy of these latter days has *consented* not only to own the people as the basis and source of its power, but has also submitted to be directed in the exercise of that power by given rules prescribed to its subjects [*e. g.* laws, and acts of Parliament]. The authority held by Nebuchadnezzar is represented by *fine gold*; that of the constitutional monarchies of the present hour, by iron mixed with miry clay. *There never was a declaration of Scripture more distinctly verified by facts than this* (256.): the great difference between the iron power of Rome and the clay-iron power of present constitutional monarchies is this: The Emperor of Rome, although professedly elected by the people or senate, was, after he once possessed the power, absolute; whereas the monarch *now* not only owns the people as the source of power, but is directed and fettered in every action he performs; he is in fact merely the executive agent of a ruling system." (*Id.* note.)

As power then deteriorates in its despotic forces, it is represented by minerals in a descending scale of value. Absolute despotism, the most precious of all, by gold; constitutional monarchy, the most despicable and odious, by clay mingled with iron. This certainly well expresses Mr. Newton's feelings, but is far, indeed, from resolving the meaning of the prophetic symbols. If the gold, the silver, the brass, and the iron mixed with clay, in the image mentioned in the second chapter of Daniel, each "the history of power," nothing could be less appropriate. The series ought almost to be reversed, for a superior power destroyed the Babylonish power, and that again was laid prostrate by power of a higher order in the hands of the Macedonian conqueror. If it be a question of despotism or tyranny, which is probably the latent meaning of Mr. Newton's word "power," then surely despotism in the dominion of the Persians must be considered complete: who, for instance, in the

largest desires after despotism could have wished to add any materials of arbitrary authority to the sceptre of a Darius or a Xerxes? Then, again, was not Alexander despotic enough? or was there a deficiency of tyrannical elements in the hands of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies? and why represent the power of the Emperor of Rome as if it were greatly inferior to that of Nebuchadnezzar? Was Tiberius less powerful or less despotic than the King of Babylon? Was imperial Rome less terrible to the nations than regal Babylon? or was there any thing to keep pace with this symbol of deteriorating authority in the history of the emperors? Surely every thing in history is plainly against such a supposition. The people, once the acknowledged source of power in the Roman Republic, had yielded up all their authority to the Cæsars: power therefore just exactly takes a contrary course here to the plan of it as given by Mr. Newton; he sees kings robbed of their despotism by the people, whereas in the iron of his image it is the people that had been robbed of their power, which had been taken out of their hands by the emperors. And here, as elsewhere, we find Mr. Newton rowing hard against the current of history in his desire to establish his fundamental principle. Contrary to notorious records of historical events, he is ever seeing the progress of regal power, in his prophetic earth, in a reverse order. The history of Rome is against him, the history of all Europe is against him; but, fully possessed with the idea that all kings originally leant upon themselves alone — which, perhaps, was never true in the origin of any regal authority — he ever teaches from this idea, and makes the Scriptures chime in with it; and that, with a serenity of confidence that could seldom be surpassed in the records of error.

Let us take a passage from any respectable historian telling us the truth on this subject; we could turn to the history of any kingdom. Hear what Robertson says; and what he here tells us is a specimen of European history generally: — "When the Kings of France had thus (in the reign of Louis XI.) engrossed every power which can be exerted in government; when the right of making laws, of levying money, of keeping an army of mercenaries in constant pay, of declaring war and concluding peace, centered in the crown, the constitution of the kingdom, which under the first race of kings was *nearly democratical*, which under the second race became an aristocracy, terminated in the third in a pure monarchy. Every thing that tended to preserve the appearance, or revive the memory, of the *ancient mixed government*, seems from that period to have been industriously avoided!" — *Charles V.* i. 202.

But if the story of despotism is sought for in a more remote antiquity, we may find it pleasantly recounted by Herodotus in his first book, where he narrates how Dejoces changed the antecedent form of government from a popular to a monarchical form, persuading the Medes to elect him as their monarch. This was the origin of power or despotism amongst the Medes — it was taken from the people and given to an elected king. "The history of power," therefore, in this specific instance, and one of no small importance in explaining Daniel's image, cannot be adduced to prove that kings at the beginning leaned only on themselves, and that *afterwards* their authority was deteriorated by a mixture of popular influence in the government.

But there are other difficulties; for, if iron is a symbol of the imperial despotism of Rome, how can it be said to be conjoined with miry clay when we are called upon to see in that mixture a representation

of constitutional monarchy? Is the power of the British monarchy to be historically deduced from the imperial power of Rome? Is it by any legal principle derived from it? has it any thing to do with it? This is not a question of geography or of geographical divisions of states, but is "the history of power." Now, if the iron is the power of the Cæsars, as Mr. Newton tells us it is, then what is the mixture of this iron in the mud of our constitution? The power of the Kings of England is Saxon and feudal, modified by subsequent mutations, but not one grain of the Roman iron is in the mixture; historically and theoretically, it is wholly diverse.

And in another light this explanation of the symbol signally fails: for thus is the whole passage in the prophet: "The fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things; and as iron breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces and bruise. And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes, part of potter's clay, and part of iron, the kingdom shall be divided; *but there shall be in it the strength of iron*, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay. And as the toes of the feet were partly iron and partly clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong and partly brittle. And whereas thou sawest iron mingled with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of man; but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay."

Here we learn that iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things, and we see in this symbol that which is heavy and powerful conjoined with that which is weak and brittle; but in Mr. Newton's scheme the reality of power is in the constitutional liberties of the people, represented by miry clay, which according to him has become the strongest, and will become still stronger. Mr. Newton sees the constitutional liberties smothering all other powers, and reducing them to a nullity; in other words he turns the clay into the iron, and the iron into the clay; or he is compelled to represent that which in his opinion is the all-conquering power by the weakest and most fragile of all the emblematical minerals.

In another passage we have the following remarks: "We give thee thanks, because thou hast taken to thee thy great power."—Rev. xi. 17. This is *the resumption* of the power which God had delegated to the Gentile monarchs—the time of the destruction of the image seen by Nebuchadnezzar. (135.)

It is a favourite dogma with Mr. Newton that the true origin of power (*i. e.* despotism) is to be traced to Nebuchadnezzar, who received from God "a kingdom, power, strength, and glory."—Dan. ii. 37.: that this is the true original grant of authority, that all Gentile kings hold their power by virtue of it, and that it will continue till it is resumed by the donor. But we may ask, By what reasoning does it follow, that if the King of Babylon received by the providence of God a vast empire, that therefore by virtue of that providence, having a specific and well-defined object, unaccompanied by any statement of an ulterior designation, other kings and emperors who never heard of that grant, nor ever in the nature of things *could* hear of it, should by virtue of the grant to Nebuchadnezzar be consecrated into their authority? Have the Emperors of China received their power by the grant to Nebuchadnezzar? does the Emperor of Russia or the Sultan hold it by that tenure? and what, then, was the basis of Gentile despotism *before* that grant? If the powers, that be are ordained of God, then it is to be presumed that, as there

were always powers and kingdoms ages before Nebuchadnezzar, they were his ordinance *before* the specific grant to the King of Babylon. We cannot trace the connection; there is less evidence for it than for the connection between the donation of the keys to Peter, and the assumption of those keys by the Bishop of Rome. The Popes say that they are locally in the seat of Peter, and that they are his successors; and we know how vast a weight this assertion has with the minds of thousands: but the despotisms that followed the Babylonish dominion in time were not successors but destroyers of the antecedent power. The seat of government was changed, there was a new dynasty, and the Chaldeans were a people conquered by the masters whom the Almighty had appointed to subdue them. A strange history this of the *succession* of power! it would be far more correct to style it the history of the ruin of despotism. Moreover, if the grant to Nebuchadnezzar was the general grant for all Gentile kings, it introduces on the face of it a glaring absurdity; for thus ran the grant to the King of Babylon: "Thou, O King, art a *King of Kings*, for the God of Heaven hath given thee a kingdom, and power, and strength, and glory, and *wheresoever the children of men dwell*, the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand, and hath made *thee ruler over them all*." Now by these words every Gentile king is made a universal monarch; "*wheresoever the children of men dwell*" is the essence of the patent, and on this authority any monarch may demand universal empire as his divine right; every king on the face of the earth might claim the title and seek for the dominion of "*King of Kings*!"

But why then has this theory been started? The reason is obvious; it is in order to establish the preciousness of absolute despotism. This is the unique object, and none other. Power or despotism is, according to the ruling thought of Mr. Newton's mind, the most valuable of moral commodities, and is therefore of necessity represented by gold; constitutional liberties are the vilest and dirtiest of existing phenomena, and are therefore as aptly represented by clay and mire. At first sight this seems an ingenious adaptation of emblems for Mr. Newton's purpose, but when more closely examined it will not suit even his own purpose; difficulties arise at every turn, and for other reasons the interpretation is to be rejected as rash and unsound.

It is curious to observe the very different thoughts of a celebrated interpreter of prophecy, who thus expresses himself. . . . "Antiochus Epiphanes is not spoken of with greater resentment by the prophet Daniel than the other prophets express towards the Kings of Assyria and Babylon. *All honest men who love liberty and their country must speak with indignation of tyrants and oppressors.*" Thus writes Bishop Newton (Dissertation on Prophecies, i. 306.), and curious it is to find the two Newtons thus at issue on a fundamental principle in a region where they claim the privilege of guiding the doubtful—the interpretation of prophecy.

It is therefore a question* to be determined, whether indeed charters

* Though this is a question to be determined, it is a matter of deep regret that subjects such as these should ever be proposed for the consideration of Christians. If the heavenly calling of the children of God had ever been admitted into Mr. Newton's scheme, we should be spared the painful task of examining, *in limine*, the basis of Mr. Newton's thoughts on polity and political economy. But as he has handled the subject, these are questions which meet us at the commencement, and require our serious attention. No one ought receive Mr. Newton's thoughts about the future Babylon without first going through a regular course of history on true philosophical principles.

and constitutional safeguards of the people create a larger degree of social unhappiness and iniquity than the *Nebuchadnezzar* form of government—in one word, whether crime, vice, and misery are more redundant under arbitrary and irresponsible despotisms than under constitutional monarchies. The question is, at least it is presumed to be, what state of society may be most displeasing to God, as producing the most evil on the earth? is not that state least in accordance with our ideas, of that which Almighty wisdom may reasonably be supposed to approve where virtue is rare and always in peril; where crimes may be prodigious, wide-sweeping, and of long continuance from reign to reign, as from Tiberius to Nero? and is not that state of things likely to be less displeasing when an improvement of the social condition is not detrimental to the moral progress of individuals? If Mr. Newton's *Babylon* is to bring all human wickedness to maturity, and if we know what he means by *Babylon*, we cannot but inquire whether by experience of history, or through any moral knowledge we possess, he is justified in making this mystery of iniquity represent his own peculiar opinions. Now in such an inquiry we have every thing that could be desired against these opinions to be adduced from the whole course of history. We could bring such an array of historians against Mr. Newton's views, and could quote such powerful paragraphs of great minds against him, as never were brought to bear in any controversy; and then, more than this, we have against him the very instincts of the human mind, which must go for something, for the instinct of humanity is enlisted in the belief that the two elements of civilisation, the amelioration of society and individual improvement, are bound up in each other, and are reciprocally productive.

We are not, however, ignorant of the probability that all these producible authorities of moralists, philosophers, and historians, might perhaps go for nothing with Mr. Newton, and that he would reckon them, very likely, as moral bricklayers and builders of the accursed city; but still he has adopted such views, that whatever may be the case with himself, it will be impossible for his scholars, in the long run, to decline the evidence of historical philosophy: he has fairly brought his system on an arena where preliminary discussion will be found to be indispensable; for it is a subject that cannot ultimately be carried by dogmatic decrees.

— But, indeed, Mr. Newton himself occasionally appeals to history, or rather alludes to it, though generally in so superficial a manner as to lead to the suspicion that it is a department of knowledge with which he is very imperfectly acquainted, did we not know how knowledge may be sometimes obscured by religious antipathies. There is a passage in his "Thoughts" requiring particular attention, both for its historical allusions and its sentiments. The text on which he is commenting is in the 17th chapter of Revelation: "There are seven kings, five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space: and the beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth and is of the seven, and goeth to perdition." On this Mr. Newton observes: "The native monarchy of Nimrod—the theocracy of Israel—the despotic authority of Nebuchadnezzar—the aristocratic monarchy of Persia—and the military monarchy of Alexander and his successors, *had all passed away*, when John beheld this vision. All these methods had been tried—none had been found to answer even the purposes of man; and now another had arisen, the half-military, half-popular monarchy of the

Cæsars, the iron empire of Rome. "Five have fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh he must continue a little space." That other, I doubt not, *has* come, and is found in *the constitutional monarchy of the present hour*. This is the seventh, and, with one brief exception*, the last form that is to be exhibited before the end shall come, and it is under this form that the system of Babylon is matured. It is obvious that monarchy, guided not by the people numerically, but by certain classes of the people, and those classes determined by the possession of property, must be the form best adapted for the accumulation of wealth, and the growth of commercial power; for it gives (which pure democracy has ever failed to do) *the best security for property*, without unduly fettering the liberty of individual enterprise." (257.)

We would first observe here that this passage displays a method of interpretation wholly out of keeping with that systematic literality which Mr. Newton every where insists on. Antichrist, which in the opinion of a crowd of respectable commentators means a system, (whether right or wrong is not to be here discussed), is by Mr. Newton made a king, whose reign does not last four years; but the seven kings of the text, certainly according to the letter of the text, and according to probability, meant to be kings, are turned into systems of monarchical power, extending from Nimrod down to the indefinite period of Babylon's last days, a period of at least four thousand years! This is so glaring a proof of caprice in the interpreter, that it must surely strike every one; for, of all the allegorisers of the prophetic symbols, a class of persons peculiarly obnoxious to Mr. Newton, there is not one that has ventured on an interpretation more bold than this, in order to avoid the pressure of the text against a favourite theory. The explanation proposed is indeed so violent that it must every where be rejected. If seven kings may mean seven mutations of monarchical power, extending through a space of four thousand years, it is in vain, after such a specimen of interpretation, to insist on the literal explanation in any case. But indeed this interpretation is evidently self-destructive, and would prove that Antichrist, "The Eighth," must be a system and not an individual; for if the seven kings are systems, *the eighth* must be a system also. If the seventh king is constitutional monarchy, it is in vain to urge that the eighth is a man; but, if he is indeed an individual, then the kings are individuals, and not systems.

This, however, is not the subject so immediately before us; we have to point out the historical mistake in the words, "The other is not yet come, and when he cometh he must continue a little space. *The other* I doubt not *has* come, and is found in *the constitutional monarchy of the present hour*." There are two mistakes in this passage; first, according to Mr. Newton's own history—for if the seventh king of the text be Mr. Newton's Babylonish system, it is impossible, by his own showing, to apply to it the words "he must continue a short space;" for has not Mr. Newton himself told us that his Babylon, in the day of his glory, is to be "the great result of the wisdom of ages?" (322.) Now Babylon is not yet in existence, and if ages are to elapse before her fall it cannot be said that she continues *a short space*.

Next, it is a palpable historical mistake to imagine that the Babylonish principle, of political liberty of the people, now existing in certain monarchies, is only just come up; that it is only a creature of "the present hour," meaning, perhaps, in some latitude an invention of modern

* This exception is, of course, Antichrist.

statists of the last and present century. In every quarter of Europe, with the exception of Russia, we can find that constitutional ideas have prevailed in a more ancient day, and that they have been repressed in most countries by the aggression of monarchs, the tumults and miseries of a sanguinary era, or the triumphs of force and superstition over weakness and ignorance. See the rise and fall of the Italian republics, their four centuries of grandeur and liberty overpowered at last by Charles V., and terminating in total insignificance. Hear the Arragonese cortes promising conditional obedience to the monarch, "If you maintain our rights and liberties; if not, not;" and mark the progress of monarchical power conquering liberty in Spain, and brought to perfection by Charles V. and his tyrant son. Mark the ancient liberties of France gradually disappearing before her Charles V. and Louis XI.; see Richelieu still further exalting the monarchical sceptre, till all issued at last in Louis XIV., a horn that wore the diadem indeed. Study the rise of the Helvetian cantons, and of the ancient liberties of Holland — Holland, that old offender in constitutions and commerce, and her victory over that bloody horn, Philip II. of Spain; and then look to England, where the national assemblies of antiquity never lost their importance, where wittenagemotes were succeeded by parliaments and charters, and where attachment to ancient liberties and immunities at last issued in the constitution as defined in the Revolution of 1688. Hear the chancellor, Sir John Fortescue, uttering in the reign of Henry VI., well-nigh four hundred years ago, words which exactly describe the uncomfortable state of the ten kings of the prophetic earth, as imagined by Mr. Newton for a future age: "The King of England cannot alter nor change the laws of his realm at pleasure: for why? he governeth his people by power, not only royal but politique. If his power over them were royal only, then he might change the laws of his realm, and charge his subjects with taxes without their consent. Such is the dominion that the civil law purports, when it says, the prince's pleasure has the force of law! — but it is not so with the King of England;" and then, after a lapse of three centuries, hear the monarchs of the present dynasty echoing this doctrine, or bringing out the result of it. George I., in one of his speeches to Parliament thus expressed himself: "As none can recommend themselves more effectually to my favour and countenance than by a sincere zeal for the just rights of the crown and the liberties of the people, I am determined to encourage all those who act agreeably to the constitution of these my kingdoms, and consequently to the principles on which my government is founded. To gain the hearts and affections of my people shall always be my first and principal care. On their duty and loyalty I will entirely depend; they may as surely depend on my protection in the full enjoyment of their religion, *liberty and property*." These words of the king are almost the words of Mr. Newton; the royal speaker promises them security for their liberty and property. Mr. Newton says, that the Babylonish system of constitutional monarchy *offers the best security for property*. Out of this system he tells us Antichrist is to rise, as its proper punishment.

In 1784, George II. thus fortified the Babylonish system: "The prosperity and glory of my reign," said his majesty, "depends upon the affections and happiness of my people, and the happiness of my people upon my preserving to them all their legal rights and privileges, as established under the present settlement of the crown in the Protestant line. A due execution and strict observance of the laws are the

best and only security both to sovereign and subject ; their interest is mutual and inseparable, and therefore their endeavours for the support of each other ought to be equal and reciprocal ; any infringement and encroachment upon the rights of either is a diminution of the strength of both, which, kept within due bounds and limits, make the just balance which is necessary for the honour and dignity of the crown, and for the protection and prosperity of the people."

There are, however, other historical errors in this passage from Mr. Newton's pen. It is to be observed that in his view of the various aspects of monarchy, from Nimrod downwards, he passes over in one long jump from the Cæsars to "the constitutional monarchies of the present hour,"—omitting thereby the barbarian monarchies of Europe after the fall of the Roman empire—the electoral monarchy of the Lombards—the kings of the first race of France—the empire of Charlemagne—the Carlovingian kings, and their elections—royalty in the hands of the clergy, as in Louis le Débonnaire—the elective crown of Germany, the Saxon heptarchy, the feudal system, the tremendous diadem of the popes, the glories of the elder house of Bourbon, the French empire. Here is a formidable mass of historical omission, though it is far from including all the forms of monarchy that have appeared in Mr. Newton's "Prophetic Earth," since the fall of the Roman Empire. But if Mr. Newton should plead that the Apocalypse takes no notice of any events from the Cæsars up to his Babylonish era, we meet him there with his own assertion, that "the other" monarchy of the Apocalypse, meaning, in his view, constitutional monarchy, "has come ;" and, if so, we ask how and when ? We insist upon his dating the year of its "coming ;" and here of course we get into the whole question of the origin of constitutional monarchies, and we find ourselves, however anxious we may be to avoid it, of necessity driven into a wide field of historical inquiry, from which we come back to report that constitutional monarchies are of great antiquity in the history of Europe, that we have traced them even before the feudal times, that constitutional ideas have prevailed amidst many mutations of many ages, and that in classing this system as the "seventh king" of the Apocalypse, we find it impossible to avoid enumerating many other "kings" that Mr. Newton does not find it convenient to notice. In short, we are convinced that Mr. Newton has signally failed in this most important part of his scheme, to interpret aright the prophetic books, and that his allusions to history have been of such a nature as clearly to disprove the very point he is aiming to establish.

But there are objections still to bring forward. If the seventh king, "the other" of the Apocalypse, is indeed constitutional monarchy, then is it Babylon itself, according to Mr. Newton's scheme. But see the incongruity and absurdity of making a king in that chapter, and in that place, stand for Babylon, which two verses before is called "the woman."

Again ; we demand, are "the seven kings" the seven heads of the beast ? This seems nearly certain if the context is examined, and it is taken for granted by * all commentaries with which we are acquainted. If this point should be conceded, then the woman Babylon that sits on

* The Arabic version renders it, "Who are seven kings." The Vulgate, Syriac, and Ethopic versions give it, "And they are seven kings."

Supposing that Mr. Newton's interpretation were correct, it would also follow that "the theocracy of Israel" is one of the heads of the beast.

the scarlet-coloured beast having *seven* heads, sits on herself: for the seventh head is constitutional monarchy, and constitutional monarchy is Babylon. This is passing strange that a woman should sit on herself.

We now pass on to the examination of Mr. Newton's grand argument in favour of his scheme generally; for the life of the whole scheme is this: that, as some of the circumstances relating to the destruction of the City of Babylon have not been fulfilled according to the predictions of the prophetic Scriptures, it must *therefore* be believed that Babylon will again be built, in order that all those prophecies, even to minute points, may have their full accomplishment. This argument occupies the whole lecture on the eighteenth chapter of Revelations. (See page 263, and onwards.) "Isaiah," says Mr. Newton, "prophesied both of the glory and the fall of Babylon; and after this Jeremiah, when its glory was at its height, detailed, with *still greater minuteness*, the circumstances of its final destruction. These prophecies have been read carelessly. A destruction has fallen upon Babylon, as on other cities of the East; and we have hastily concluded that this is *the* destruction of which the prophets speak; and have never, until lately, thought of inquiring whether it may not yet again rise from its depression, and again be known as the golden city—the enemy of God's truth, and the subject of his vengeance in the day of his wrath."

Some of these instances adduced of non-accomplishment of prophecy have a specious appearance; some would argue a lack of knowledge and information in the writer who urged them; but the greater part of these examples serve only to render more conspicuous a determined spirit of system, perverting the judgment, and warping the understanding in an anxious desire to establish a favourite theory. And this may be safely affirmed, that if those prophecies which speak of the sufferings of the Redeemer, were submitted to a similar process of sifting and winnowing; if the words of the prophet, concerning the death and sorrows of the great sin-bearer were thus parcelled out, and separately examined by a hypercritical microscope, without any allowance for amplification of language, or the eloquence of mental anguish, we might, nay we should be compelled to come to the conclusion that "the *real* fulfilment of these prophecies *will be* when the day of the Lord shall come" (271.); in other words, that they have not yet been fulfilled. It is not, however, our intention to examine and confute these painful suggestions of doubt (far too like, in their effect, to the genius of scepticism;) but, by a shorter and more convincing method, to meet Mr. Newton on the arena of these very prophecies to which he refers, and to prove from them that the interpretation on which he insists is wholly untenable.*

By the passage already quoted from Mr. Newton, it would appear that he is not disposed to refer the prophecies of Jeremiah and Isaiah

* There is in the third volume of the "Christian Witness," p. 277., a paper entitled "Babylon." The internal evidence of that paper will leave no doubt on the mind of any one that it is written by the author of "Thoughts on the Apocalypse." By this we find that Mr. Newton has been digesting his thoughts on this subject for at least nine years. The sentiments, the "proofs," and the very words, are the same in the "Christian Witness" as in the "Lectures." There does not seem to have been any change of sentiment, or correction of one thought, in the time that has elapsed.

to the events of the past history of Babylon at all: by no expression that falls from him could we surmise that he allows any other view than that of a future application. If he has any limitations in this his exegesis, he ought very clearly to have stated it, and to have pointed out those passages in the prophetic writings which, in his judgment, refer to the past, as well as those which refer to the future: but he has not done so: we must therefore argue on what we see: if however there should be any latent scheme of distinction, it can only make the case more perplexed, as it is impossible to read any passage in the prophets bearing on the fall of Babylon in which we do not find some clear allusion to events that have long ago become historic facts.

When the Prophet Jeremiah contemplates the punishment of that renowned city, he continually connects it, in the field of prophetic vision, with the punishment and ruin of the then existing idolatry of the Chaldeans; he gives the very names of the idols they worshipped, and has his mind fully impressed with this truth, that the coming vengeance was in large measure to be executed on the Chaldeans for the abominations and impieties of their false worship. "Babylon is taken; Bel is confounded; Merodach is broken in pieces; her idols are confounded, her images are broken to pieces."—1. 2. This is plainly and undeniably connected with the ruin of the city, for in the next verse we read, "For out of the north there cometh up a nation against her, which shall make her land desolate, and none shall dwell therein: they shall remove, they shall depart, both man and beast." Now the third verse, Mr. Newton would say, has yet to be accomplished; but if so, it is bound up with the worship of Bel, Merodach, and all the idols: will then these false gods be again worshipped? will the commercial and constitutional Babylonians ever be in this religious predicament again? will Bel be the great idol once more of the rebuilt modern city on the banks of the Euphrates?

The prophet Isaiah also names the idols, and in intimate connexion with the fall of the city. "Bel boweth, Nebo stoopeth—they stoop, they bow down together; they could not deliver the burden, but themselves are gone into captivity."—xlvi. 1. "Sit thou silent, and get thee into darkness, O daughter of the Chaldeans, for thou shalt no more be called the Lady of Kingdoms."—xlvii. 5. And is not all this with a plain reference to the captivity of the Jewish people, for it is immediately added, "I was wrath with my people, and I have polluted mine inheritance, and given them into thine hand; thou didst shew them no mercy."

Now to meet these palpable difficulties we must have again not only the old idol worship restored exactly as it was in the days of the prophets, but there must be another captivity of the Jewish nation; but for these circumstances there is no provision in Mr. Newton's picture of the future destinies of Babylon; nay, he has drawn up such a statement, that it is certain, according to that statement, that no such events can take place.

We meet, however, with other allusions worthy of observation. Isaiah says, "Desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know. Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, *wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth*, if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so be thou mayest prevail. Let now thy astrologers, the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators stand up and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee; behold they shall all be as stubble.—xlvii. In this sublime passage the superstitious practices of the historical Babylon are narrated, and as a pro-

voking cause of the coming desolation of the city. But to prevent all mistake, the prophet states that these superstitions had been from the earliest origin of the city, in these remarkable words, "wherein thou hast laboured *from thy youth*." Now "the desolation," was to come in a way that would baffle all the astrologers, those students of a false science cultivated from the olden day of the city: "the desolation" therefore relates to that which took place when these superstitions were practised, and let what may be urged about unfulfilled predictions, this is certain, that, in the question of the destruction of Babylon, the Prophet and Mr. Newton can ever be made to agree.

Again, it is written, "I will punish Bel in Babylon, and I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he has swallowed up: and the nations shall not flow together any more to him (Bel): yea, the wall of Babylon shall fall." This is a declaration that the great national God should be overthrown, and that he should no more be an object of esteem and worship to the neighbouring nations. "That which he has swallowed up," is clearly the Jewish nation, and this is the time when the Lord's people are called to go out of the midst of Babylon, and deliver every man his soul from the fierce anger of Jehovah coming in the city. Now this, we presume, is, to use the words of Mr. Newton, "the destruction of which the prophets speak!" If so, it is inextricably connected with the worship of Bel, the Jewish captivity, and the overthrow of the famous walls, the wonder of antiquity: and in this strain the prophet again speaks: "The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken, and her high gates shall be burned with fire."—Jer. li. 58.

Again, when Babylon is destroyed, there is "a voice of them that flee and escape out of the land of Babylon to declare in Zion the vengeance of the Lord, the *vengeance of his temple*."—Jer. l. 28.; and again, "Make bright the arrows, gather the shields: the Lord hath raised up the *spirit of the King of the Medes*; for his device is against Babylon, to destroy it; because it is the vengeance of the Lord, the *vengeance of his temple*."—li. 11. There is no difficulty whatever in understanding this historically, but will Zion in that day of Mr. Newton's scheme be the Lord's, will the temple be his? will he take vengeance on the Babylonians for destroying a temple built by unbelieving Jews? for Mr. Newton does indeed tell us that the temple will then exist in its pristine splendour, and its worship re-established (123.); but it will have been built by the Jews in unbelief, who have not owned the Messiah. Moreover that temple is not destroyed in any part of Mr. Newton's scheme. Moreover, we ask, if the King of the Medes is again to appear in the scene? *

Then, in the prophetic destruction of Babylon there is reference by name to one of the historical monarchs: "Israel is a scattered sheep; the lions have taken him away: first the king of Assyria hath devoured him, and last this Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, hath broken his bones: therefore thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, behold I will punish the King of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the King of Assyria, and I will bring Israel again to his habitation."—Jer. l. 17.

* This is a point by no means to be evaded, so distinctly is it marked out as the instrument selected to ruin Babylon. "Prepare against her the nations, with the king of the Medes, with the rulers thereof, and all the land of his dominions."—Jer. li. 28. See also all that Isaiah says of Cyrus.

The threatened punishment of the Chaldean metropolis is addressed to the dynasty then possessing the throne in the days of the prophet; and the liberation of the Jews from their captivity is a consequence of this punishment. And thus, when Jeremiah speaks of Babylon as a threshing-floor, and that it is time to thresh her, he complains of the cruelty of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, to the Jews: "The violence done to me and to my flesh be upon Babylon, shall the inhabitant of Zion say; and my blood upon the inhabitants of Chaldea, shall Jerusalem say, therefore, thus saith the Lord, I will take vengeance for thee." And again, "I will render unto Babylon, and to all the inhabitants of Chaldea, all their evil that they have done in Zion in your sight (the Jews), saith the Lord.—24.

Now the vengeance predicted by Mr. Newton is not for these circumstances, but to punish the future metropolis of the prophetic earth for her liberal institutions, her manufacturing system, and the prosperity of her commerce—for all her utilitarian abominations, and the success of her political economy. Wide apart, then, are the two predictions, both in principle and in all the details.

And, lastly, though the catalogue of these difficulties might be increased tenfold, we find it written—"one post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to shew the King of Babylon that his city is taken at one end"—li. 31.

Now if we turn to Mr. Newton's scheme there will be no king at all in the city at the time it is taken. The nominal king Antichrist, some time before the event which Mr. Newton calls its prophetic destruction, will have been engaged in gathering together all the armies of Europe to fight against the Lord in the valley of Jehoshaphat, and will, at the time that Babylon is besieged, be some hundred miles away in the west, engaged in other concerns. But in the *real* destruction described by the prophets, the real king of Babylon is at one end of the city, whilst at the other the Medes have made an entrance, and the messengers have to run many miles in the vast city before they can convey the tremendous news to the unsuspecting monarch.

But enough of these absurdities. Much more we might add of the nations who are to besiege Babylon using bows, brigandines, and habergeons; and therefore, of course, *not* using guns and cannons, with which these very barbarous nations indicated by Mr. Newton are well acquainted. But any reader might in almost every verse of the prophets find some new difficulty wherewith to oppress a scheme already overwhelmed by so many distresses.

There is, however, one argument not to be passed over in the consideration of Babylon, as Mr. Newton lays much stress on it; indeed, he considers it so important as almost to settle the question, whether the mystical Babylon indicates civil or ecclesiastical wickedness. "It should be observed," says he, "that the symbol is a harlot", *not* an

* In the "Christian Witness," vol. i. p. 183., is the following passage, and we at once recognise the author by the sentiment:—"Many writers appear to think that the name of Babylon can only be applied to corrupt ecclesiastical systems: accordingly some affix it to the church of Rome, others to the establishment of our own country, and thus many free themselves from the felt responsibilities of connection with it. But surely Babylon denotes not an *ecclesiastical*, but a *secular*, system. It is not described in the Scriptures as an adulteress, which is the symbol of an apostate church, but as a 'harlot,' with whom the kings of the earth commit fornication.

adulteress. This *alone* would be sufficient to shew that an ecclesiastical body is not meant. Babylon is never represented as being married to the Lord; Israel and the Church are." (284.) And this argument is in some quarters considered triumphant. Never, however, was there a less solid criticism, never was a most important proposition more entirely founded on a philological mistake. The name of the woman is indeed, in the Apocalypse, harlot, and she is "the mother of harlots," and her name is not adulteress in form; but then this very title harlot (in the Greek, *πορνή*) is taken from the Septuagint Greek, where in many passages an apostate church or people, having turned away from its covenant with Jehovah, is called in the Greek language of that translation *πορνή*, or harlot. As for instance, "Now has the faithful city become harlot (*πορνή*)."—Isaiah, i. 23. And in the sixteenth chapter of Ezekiel, the apostasies of Jerusalem are throughout compared to harlotry; and in four passages of that chapter she is in the Septuagint styled ΠΟΡΝΗ, the very word used for the title of Babylon in the Apocalypse. This indeed does not always appear in the English translation, owing to the known variation of the Septuagint and Hebrew texts; but sometimes it is plainly set before us even in the English, as in the 35th verse: "Wherefore, O harlot, hear the word of the Lord." And in the 23rd chapter, twice again is the same word used for the same object. The word *πορνεία* also is in many passages of the prophets applied to the apostasies of Jerusalem and Israel more frequently indeed than *μοιχεία*, or adultery*; so that no argument can be deduced from the usage of this word, except to show that as harlot and harlotry, or whoredom, is in frequent Scripture use for ecclesiastical apostasy, so the appearances, as far as this title can prove any thing, are all in favour of ecclesiastical† rather than of secular wickedness.

We must now for a little turn our attention to some details of the prophetic picture, according to the analysis which precedes these remarks. The first startling prospect is the geographical arrangement of the world, about the time that Antichrist is to arise. Mr. Newton has, in addition to his notes on the Apocalypse, published a "prophetic map of the world, exhibiting its general condition at the end of the age;" and by these two aids we find that England, France, Spain, Italy, Turkey, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Tripoli and Algeria are marked out for the theatre of the future apostasy. These countries having first reached the acmé of corruption under the Babylonish

* We find *πορνεία* applied to *adultery*, even in the New Testament; and hence Grotius, whose critical remarks are generally valuable, says, "*πορνείας nomine non solum scortatio significatur, sed omnis venus contra fas, jura, bonos, que mores. Etiam adulteria eo nomine venire notavimus ad.*—Matth. v. 32."

† In Schleusner's Lexicon, we have this meaning given, as the third, of the word *πορνή*.—"metaphoricé: mulier, quæ deficit a vero cultu divino et ad idolatriam non solum ipsa deflexit, sed etiam alios allicere et seducere conatur."—Apoc. xvii. 1. ἡ πόρνη ἡ μεγάλη. Ibid. 5. 15, 16.—xix. 2. Ita Ezek. xvi. 34.

Compare Ezek. xvi. with Isaiah xxiii. 17.—"It shall come to pass, after the end of seventy years, that the Lord will visit Tyre, and she shall turn to her hire, and shall commit fornication with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth." This is the language applied to a city never in covenant with God; it is, however, precisely the very language applied to Jerusalem by Ezekiel, showing thereby that the image of harlotry is used indifferently either to the married or the unmarried woman.

system of commerce and constitutions, and having before that professed Christianity, will, all of them, at the same time, and in the same year (for the system clearly demands this), abandon Christianity and assume the worship of Antichrist. This is the great apostasy of "the prophetic earth;" it is to last three years and a half, and then is "the end of the age."

Ireland will continue to profess Christianity to the end, and will have no part in the Babylonish system. Belgium will be apostate; Holland will escape. Germany, Austria, and all the northern countries of Europe will, though Christian, not apostatise. In other respects, every religious arrangement now existing, whether Christian, Mahometan, or heathen, will continue in exactly the same state as it now is to the end; excepting only in "the prophetic earth," which is to be Babylonish, and to worship Antichrist three years and a half.

Calling to remembrance, then, that Babylon is to be "the result of the wisdom of ages"—that several centuries must elapse before this last scene is enacted, we inquire, with astonishment, is it indeed true that "the prophetic earth" is to be turned upside down to produce the ten constitutional kingdoms?—is it to undergo fundamental changes in political and territorial relationships?—are monarchies and republics to be put down, and other monarchies established?—are there to be dismemberments, partitions, separations, divisions, and mighty revolutions, beyond all calculation, to accomplish the predictions of the map and of the Lectures, whilst all the rest of the world is meanwhile to remain dormant and stationary?—nothing altered?—the blue Christian spots in New Zealand and South Africa to abide of the same size; and the line of demarcation in America to continue unmoved?—all the world standing fast locked in the wheels of its religion every where,—whilst in the prophetic earth enormous mutations, civil, political and religious, are effected, and every obstacle to these changes swept away like cobwebs? And why is all this strange inequality of mutation and immutability, of tumult and tranquillity, of commotion and calm, of revolution and repose? Why must the ten kingdoms be produced on the ruins of antecedent states? Why must Europe, and Asia Minor, and Syria, be in violent fermentation, and poured forth from vessel to vessel, whilst the rest of the world settles down on its lees, and never is disturbed at all—why? Because Mr. Newton has perplexed himself with the ten horns of the beast; because his system requires these predictions; and because, in his division of the world, he can find infinite work for his "prophetic earth," but nothing to be done any where else: and therefore he dismisses all the rest of the world with telling us that "it is not probable any further religious changes will take place in these countries."

What, then, is "the prophetic earth?" Surely it is that extent of the earth of which prophecy takes any cognizance. It is not to be taken for granted that the convenient words "prophetic earth" mean only Mr. Newton's thoughts of the prophetic limits; and because he has confined himself by three or four initial assumptions to a certain map of prophetic geography, that *therefore* the words of the prophets are to be straitened within this compass. "The prophetic earth" reaches far beyond "the prophetic map:" it is from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth. "All the kings of Arabia, and all the kings of the mingled people that dwell in the desert,—all the kings of Elam and of the Medes, and all the kings of the North, far and near,

one with another, and all the kingdoms of the world which are upon the face of the earth."—Jer. xxv. This is the prophetic earth, the word of the Lord extends to them, to ALL of them—"to all the kingdoms of the world which are upon the face of the earth;" and, to prevent all error on this subject, many nations excluded from "the prophetic earth" by "the prophetic map" are by name inserted in that prophetic earth to which the messages of the prophets extended,—such as Arabia, Persia, Media, and the isles *beyond* the sea. The same cup of divine anger which is presented to Jerusalem and the cities of Judah (v. 18.) is next presented to every kingdom in the whole world, and then, last in the list, to Sheshach or Babylon. (v. 26.) It is to this unlimited catalogue of nations dwelling in the whole terraqueous globe that the menace of future visitation is addressed: "Yea," says Jehovah, "I will call for a sword upon the inhabitants of the earth, for the Lord hath a controversy with the nations, *he will plead with all flesh*, evil shall go forth from nation to nation."

These expressions are so strikingly similar with some which we find in the Apocalypse, and so plainly identical with many sentences in the other prophets, that it is in vain to persuade us to cage up our thoughts within the limits prescribed for us by Mr. Newton—"from England to the Euphrates." "He will plead with all flesh," says Jeremiah: "He will plead with all flesh," says Isaiah. "I will gather *all nations*," it is written in Joel, "and will bring them down in the valley of Jehoshaphat, and will plead with them there for my people." This is a pleading confined by Mr. Newton to the ten constitutional kings; but an examination of the words and thoughts of the prophets indicate another scheme of divine counsels, and open out a much larger theatre of divine actions. The "prophetic map" is utterly worthless; they that would navigate by that chart will certainly be shipwrecked on the shoals of nonsense.

It is, however, of primary importance in Mr. Newton's scheme that he should have under his control some expressions of a very untoward aspect; such as, "all nations," "the whole earth," "all that dwell upon the earth," &c. &c., for they are starting up at every turn to disturb his arguments and disorder his plan. These expressions, however, he has contrived to arrange and expound in such a way as to make them rather subserve his views than disarrange them; but by such methods as surely never yet were adopted by any critic or commentator. It is then to be borne in mind that Mr. Newton has *two distinct worlds*, for so we must call them. He has, first, the constitutional kingdoms, or "the prophetic earth," for so he calls it; and, secondly, all the professing Christian nations not comprised within that imaginary dominion, such as Ireland, Germany, Russia, America, &c. &c. For the first world Mr. Newton affirms that certain expressions, "all the world," "all nations," as in Matt. xxiv. 15., mean all the *Roman world*, or the ten constitutional monarchies (see "End of the Age," p. 31.); for the second world he demands that we should apply the very same words, "all nations," *παντα τα εθνη* (Matt. xxv. 32.), not to his prophetic, but to the non-prophetic earth ("End of the Age," p. 21.), lying out of the confines of Antichrist's future dominions.

To make this still clearer, it should be understood that Mr. Newton thus interprets the 24th and 25th chapters of Matthew. The 24th chapter tells us of the power of Antichrist set up at Jerusalem (15th verse); his image to be placed in the future temple of the Jews. Immediately after the tribulation caused by that idol-worship of Anti-

christ, the sun will be darkened, &c., and the sign of the Son of Man will appear: then shall all the tribes of *the land*, *i. e.*, land of Israel, mourn ("End of Age," p. 21.), and flee to the rocks and the caves (30th verse). But the narrative tells us no more of Jerusalem. In the next verse (31st) the solemn events of the gathering the elect by the sound of a trumpet, &c. are *not* in the prophetic earth, but in the non-prophetic—North of Europe, Russia, America, &c.—*i. e.*, in all places of professing Christendom.

The parables of the 25th chapter relate to the future state of Christendom in the days of Antichrist, *i. e.*, Christendom not in his dominions; and the end of the 25th chapter, the gathering the goats and the sheep, relates also to the *non-prophetic* earth.

With this explanation, the details of which are given at length by Mr. Newton, in his "Thoughts on the End of the Age," we can better understand such criticisms as the following:—

"'Except those days should be shortened, no flesh should be saved,'—that is, no flesh in the space spoken of, Jerusalem and the land." ("End of the Age," 23.)

"'Then shall all the tribes of *the land* [not *the earth*, as in the authorised translation] wail.' *This is clearly, I think, the right translation.*" (Id. 34.)

"'It shall be preached in all the *οικουμένη*'—*i. e.*, *I suppose*, in all the *Roman world* [the ten constitutional monarchies], for I know no instance of this word being used in connexion with other words, such as 'nations' or 'earth,' without its being limited. It seems to be used here in a way closely parallel to its use in Rev. iii. 10. 'The hour of temptation which is coming on all the *οικουμένη* (the ten kingdoms) to try or test them that dwell upon the earth,'—*i. e.* mankind at large. It appears to me that our Lord's words here referred to a preaching of the gospel, which is to take place in the apostate part of earth just before the end, probably by means of those who are so frequently mentioned in the Revelation as having the testimony of Jesus at that time; and it is to this preaching I should refer.—Rev. xiv. 6. If this be not so, the verse must of course be taken as referring to the preaching of the gospel throughout the whole of this dispensation." (Id. 31.)

Here are some remarkable observations. Rev. iii. 10., Mr. Newton thus expounds: "I will keep thee from the hour of temptation which shall come upon all the Roman world, or 'prophetic earth,' to try those that *do not dwell upon it*, but who live out of its confines,"—*i. e.* "mankind at large." Surely the Scriptures do not give us sentences so absurd, and thoughts so inconsequent! Who does not see that the one expression is exegetical of the other? and what but the necessities of system could have produced such an exposition?

But Mr. Newton believes that the gospel to be preached in all the (Roman) world, is future, that preaching which is to be in the day of Antichrist's power, and he refers us to Rev. xiv. 6. as the parallel passage: "I saw another angel fly in the midst of the heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that *dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people.*" And yet these ample words, evidently selected to express universality, only mean the Roman earth!

If however the word *οικουμένη* should refer to the preaching of the gospel throughout the whole "of this dispensation," then it *can not* mean the Roman earth only, for it never has been confined within

bese limits; nay, Paul himself immediately went out of the "prophetic earth" into Arabia (Gal. i.), and he says that the gospel had been reached to every creature under heaven.—Col. i. 23.

It is not our object here to enter into a close examination of Mr. Newton's canon of interpretation which he has laid down for the word *discovery*, for it would lead us into a discussion too long, and it would be of a nature not fitted for the present occasion. They that have an acquaintance with the Greek language, and are unembarrassed with a theory, will, on investigation, soon come to other conclusions; and they will find that the respectable lexicographers have interpreted the word differently; allowing to it indeed, in a certain position, the meaning of the Roman "earth" (as, even in classical Greek, Polybius does), but, in the large majority of instances, attribute to it that meaning which, *visu facie*, it must ever bear. It is in the mean-time, curious to observe how, in two instances (Rev. iii. 10. and xvi. 14.), Mr. Newton has cut down "the whole world" to the limits* of his ten constitutional kingdoms; whilst of another passage (xii. 9.), where there are precisely the same words, both in the Greek and in the authorised translation, we have not yet received his interpretation; for there it is written: "Satan was cast out, which deceiveth *the whole world*." Is this "the Roman earth only? Does it mean that he deceives England, but not Ireland; Belgium, but not Holland? does Satan deceive on the right sight of the Danube, but not on the left? If it does *not* mean this, then who cannot perceive that the interpretation of these words in the other passage is arbitrary and capricious, and that the system overrules the criticism, and that philology is oppressed by theory?

From considerations of "the prophetic map," we come now to Anti-christ—Antichrist, that labyrinth for the commentators, into which multitudes have strayed to find nothing but the certainty of their own perplexities. It has, however, fallen to the lot of Mr. Newton to be misled beyond his compeers in this path of prophetic inquiry, and to bring back to us, as discoveries, such a mass of preposterous matter as we had hoped never to have seen in any quarter. The task is any thing but pleasing to notice interpretations of prophecy treated in broad caricature, for such it must surely be considered by minds not under the influence of these peculiar views. It is not therefore without a sense of humiliation that we proceed to offer *seriously* any remarks on statements so wild as those which are presented to us in the analysis.

The first feature to be remarked in this subject is the peremptory dogmatism with which Mr. Newton insists on his own opinion. "It appears strange scepticism to doubt, that the Babylon of the Revelation is the same as that of the Old Testament prophets" (272.); and again generally, they who have given heed thereto (to the prophetic word), have found it a guide so *certain* as to give to their thoughts, and to the expression of them, a definitiveness and decision which seems like

* In the following passage we find the "prophetic map" violated, and that stated as a fact which is not historically true:—

"The native energy of Nimrod, the beginning of whose kingdom was Babel, — the early greatness of Egypt, Jerusalem, Tyre, Nineveh, and Babylon, — the more systematic greatness of the empires successively constituted in Chaldaea, Persia, Greece, and Rome, — the instructions of those and the prophets, and afterward of the Lord Jesus and his apostles, — all these influences, all tending, in the use that man has made of them, to consolidate the fabric of human greatness, has been found within the limits of the Roman world." — (157.)

presumption to such of the brethren as have refused to avail themselves of its desires. (4.)

The mind that can thus dogmatise in doubtful matters, matters which are fairly open to discussion, and which have, at different periods, exercised the anxious thoughts of devout and learned men, sincerely labouring to comprehend the prophetic language, can not itself be in that healthy state which is requisite for the pursuit of truth in any region of thought. Overweening confidence in our own opinions, which we press with dictation, and argue with impatience, is proof of a moral habit calculated to cripple the most vigorous understanding; and if this habit has, in secular matters, done much harm, and retarded the progress of truth, much more hurtful has it been when exercised in religious opinions. It has been the efficient cause and the form of life of sectarianism every where; and it is in Rome itself—Rome that has such good reasons for believing in a future Antichrist—where this habit of mind is notorious, essential, and unchangeable.

We next turn to Mr. Newton's history of Antichrist; and we ask in *limine* does Mr. Newton believe in Metempsychosis? If not, what may be the import of his mysterious hints about the re-appearance of this wonderful personage upon earth. The hints to which we refer will be found in the analysis, and they lead us to suppose that Antichrist may be Napoleon in a new form: if, however, this should not be the meaning of the sentences bearing on the subject, it is plainly stated that Antichrist will not be "an *unknown stranger*, but one *already fitted* for the place for which Satan designs him." This is an intimation that some person known, by his abilities and previous actions, as one likely to sustain the character designed for the closing scene of the tragedy, will be brought again upon the stage; and, as he is to be summoned up from beneath, and evoked from the western sea, we can come to no other conclusion than that he will be, when he does appear, not for the *first* time upon earth.

The next wonderful scene in the life of Antichrist, is the method by which he is to become monarch of "the prophetic earth." It is not by the process of conquest certainly. Antichrist, in some way not described, whether as prime minister, or commander of the forces of Babylon, or the chief pillar in the Stock Exchange (for in that day the Stock Exchange is every thing), "sustains the system,"—the system of the ten constitutional monarchies over which Babylon is paramount. Then he begins to exalt himself, and as this is "perceived," the "ten kings of the ten kingdoms will gladly own him as their Lord." In other words they must abdicate in his favour, for they "agree and give their kingdoms to the beast."—Rev. xvii. 17. But how can this be done? If the constitutional kings are to have "less liberty in many things than the meanest of their subjects;" if the "Babylonish system has really made them slaves" (258.), by what means, we ask, can *they*, so impotent, so shackled in their movements, so hampered by their constitutional barriers, and all the intolerable impediments of trade and the Stock Exchange, suddenly step forth, all of them (and all at the same time), into such a prodigious exercise of independent power as to make a present of their kingdoms to Antichrist? They that could do such things must be absolute despots; in the days of England's despotism, that is, in the reign of Henry VIII., when, indeed, the constitution was well-nigh strangled, the king procured, or rather commanded, an act of parliament, enabling him to bequeath his crown to whomsoever

he might choose. But whoever heard of a constitutional king doing what like this, and especially such crippled kings as the ten monarchs of Mr. Newton's picture, "little better than slaves." Supposing, for instance, that the Victoria of that age should, in a fit of disgust with "the system," be resolved to abdicate *in favour of Antichrist*, what would the parliament say to this, what the merchants, the manufacturing interest, and that grinding despot the Stock Exchange? The queen might abdicate, but would there be no heirs to the throne? Or supposing all the royal family of the day to be of the same mind, and *all* to be resolved to abdicate, would not the parliament *make* new monarchs, as they have done more than once in history; or would they all be switched too, and all agree to give the power of the realm to one who was avowedly their enemy, and who intended to crush them?

If it appears like trifling to comment on such extravagancies, be it remembered that these things are all propounded as solemn and sacred facts in the "Thoughts on the Apocalypse," and we only meet them in his manner to show how Mr. Newton has, by dramatising his own private feelings and peculiar antipathies, brought himself into these ludicrous difficulties. The *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* of all this erroneous scheme is Mr. Newton's political views, and his ignorant dislike of social economists. In order to embody his thoughts on these topics, he has dressed up Babylon and the ten kings so as to sustain the weight of aversion with which he loads commerce and liberal institutions. This is "the woman" of his imagination: he truly detests her, and therefore all seems to him to go on easily, so as to bring Antichrist to bear against his system, "to hate the whore, and to burn her flesh with fire."

"One marvellous feature," says Mr. Newton, "in the vision of the beast—(Antichrist) Rev. xlii. 1-3.—as seen arising from the seas, that he arose with one of his heads wounded apparently unto death." The interpretation of this mystery is "the destruction of the element of ecclesiastical or religious influence, blended into the arrangements of every one of the ten kingdoms. This will be a great shock to the whole social as well as political system, when all religious influences are swept away, and Christianity is gone." (167.) In other words, Antichrist will destroy Christianity in the ten constitutional kingdoms, and set up the worship of himself in its place. "Marvellous" indeed it is that such a fact should be portrayed to us by such an emblem. If the beast had been* slaughtered unto death in one of his heads, it represented some event in which he himself had suffered: it could not represent that destruction which was to be his own power and glory: the wound was to his own exceeding hurt, not to his exaltation and benefit. Napoleon rose into dominion by putting down the Directory and dissolving the Council of Five Hundred. How reposterous it would have been if a painter, wishing to symbolise his fact, had made a picture of the Emperor with his throat cut! But what then may mean a very important part of this emblem, the healing of the wound? "I saw one of his heads as it were wounded unto death, and *his deadly wound was healed*, and all the world wondered after the beast;" that is, all the world wondered that he possibly could recover after such a gash, which had killed one of his heads. If the wound was healed, then the thing wounded, that is, "the element of the ecclesiastical or religious influence blended into the arrangement of every one of the ten kingdoms," was healed, and had revived; and the matter of wonder was, that the slaughtered *element* had come

* Ἐσφαγμένον εἰς θάνατον.

again to life. If so, Christianity, as professed in the ten kingdoms, had revived, which is the very thing that Mr. Newton assures us is not to be. Moreover, as Antichrist himself destroys "the element," then he must cut his own throat, which is an accumulation of wonders. But if it should perhaps be intimated that the healing of the wound is the setting up *another* religion, this would, if possible, be still more wonderful, that the destruction of one religion and the setting up of another, opposite in essence and in object, should be represented by a healed wound.

In this interpretation we find the widest possible departure from "the literal" meaning; it is mystical to intensity. An abstraction, which can scarcely lay claim to even a verbal existence,—*"an element pervading a system"* is killed by a sword, and brought to life again, and the element afterwards speaks, for it is so recorded in the Apocalyptic imagery. (xiii. 18.) But this is not all; we have already seen that these seven heads were seven forms of monarchy, another abstraction; and we read again, (page 177.) *"that as seven is the perfect number, they indicate the completeness of all those concentrations of authority which will be connected with him who bears these symbolic heads. Seven forms of monarchy, completeness of concentrations of authority, an element of ecclesiastical or religious influence pervading the whole system! A tangled skein indeed of metaphysical abstractions, "reticulations, with interstices at the intercalations."* Truly the interpretation is incomparably more difficult to comprehend than the original symbols.

We must not however be surprised to find this specimen of extreme allegorisation in a writer who has based all the peculiarities of his views on the "literal" mode of interpretation. It would be plainly impossible to construct such a system without soon encountering many and formidable obstacles, and no way of surmounting them could present itself but by the mystical or allegorical exegesis. The explanations of this class may indeed be clever, for we should expect as much from Mr. Newton; but they are sadly out of keeping with the whole current of the other interpretations, and continually suggest the thought that if it is lawful thus to resort to allegories, abstractions, and emblems in certain passages, it may be equally lawful to do so in other passages, where the interpreter insists on the literal, to preserve the integrity of his system. Mr. Newton, however, has continual recourse to the emblematical explanations. Seven kings symbolise seven abstractions; the woman persecuted by the dragon means an aggregate of individuals; the persecuted woman is a mountain, "morally;" the man child of the woman means a multitude of persons; the heavenly temple is symbolic; the blood of one of the plagues is symbolic; the stars are symbolic; so are the waters; the jasper walls are a symbol; the pure gold is an emblem; the shape of the heavenly city is an emblem; the twelve precious stones are an emblem; the angel that preaches the everlasting gospel is a symbol of living men preaching the gospel; the number one hundred and forty-four thousand is a symbol of completeness; the number seven "indicates completeness that can be rested in;" twelve is the symbol of "an agency intended to act instrumentally on others;" a burning mountain cast into the sea symbolises "the derangement of the ordinary course of nature;" a horse is an emblem of divine power upon earth; the woman is a "moral symbol;" the flesh of the woman is a symbol; her *cnp* is a

symbol of the commercial system; the mountains are symbols; the city is a symbol; but, strange to say, the city Babylon itself is NOT a symbol. It is, indeed, instructive to observe how Mr. Newton puzzles himself with the symbolical and literal interpretations, and to notice the contradictions into which he falls in handling this untoward subject. As, for instance, in the 18th chapter of Revelations, where we read of the fall of Babylon, Mr. Newton thus expresses himself: "I have already said that the woman represents the city morally, as to its characteristic system [commerce and constitutions]" . . . "that the *symbol* is changed in the eighteenth chapter from a woman to a city, though a city is still a feminine *symbol*, is evident from the language employed; for if the *symbol* had been still a woman, it could not have been said, 'come out of her, my people,' nor that she had become 'the habitation of devils:' just so, in other words: Mr. Newton has neatly confuted himself, and ruined his own theory. Thus, then, the case stands: —

The woman is a symbol—cap. xvii.

The city is a symbol—cap. xviii.

Babylon, which is both the woman and the city, is NOT a symbol; and yet Mr. Newton has elsewhere wisely laid it down as a general exegesis of the emblems, "that a city is the *emblem* of associated and ordered life. (320.) Apply this sober interpretation to the mystical Babylon, and we should then be perhaps approaching to some better understanding of the mystery; but apply this interpretation to Mr. Newton's Babylon, and it is its overthrow. And yet, in another passage Mr. Newton quite * forgets himself, and speaks even of *his* city as an abstraction, "The new Jerusalem will descend from heaven, in the stead of that city which has made all nations drunk with the wine of her fornication; that city had been emphatically *from beneath*. (322.) This cannot be said of the brick and mortar Babylon, but is clearly spoken of a system; it is, to use Mr. Newton's own words, "the emblem of associated" wickedness.

But to shorten these remarks, the careful reader may compare the opposite lines of teaching as to the city of Babylon and the Heavenly city. Compare the city, p. 271. 285. 287. 289., and the city, 320. 322. 328.

We next turn to the destruction of the Babylonish system. "They shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and *burn her with fire*:" that is, the system of Babylon will be destroyed; but the city with all its wealth and greatness will for a time continue, and Antichrist will reign over it for a season, until the hour of his doom, and its doom together comes. He will hate the system, but he will not hate it; for its resources, its palaces, its ships, and its merchandise will be among the chiefest objects of his desire — the sinews of his strength and the adornment of his glory. Babylon's *system* ceases as soon as Antichrist becomes supreme; he from that time forward is to the city, what the *system* of that city had been." (258-9.)

Notwithstanding this careful separation of systems and cities, of abstractions and concretions, we find the text of Revelations point blank against the whole scheme; for in describing the enmity of the ten

* See, also, p. 122. "There are two cities, and cities are *always* the expression of the moral character of man."

kings against the woman, in the very passage quoted by Mr. Newton, it is immediately added, "The woman which thou sawest IS that great city." Therefore, if they make the woman desolate and burn her with fire, they make desolate and burn *the city* with fire. What can be plainer? And yet this explanation, be it observed, is not in the eighteenth but in the seventeenth chapter, where Mr. Newton informs us the symbol is not changed.

Here again, however, we have as usual an ultra-mystical interpretation: "burning a city with fire" is putting down a system! How frequently does Mr. Newton make use of fire for physical purposes in his scheme; but here, alas! it is only an allegory. Let any one consider the eighteenth chapter, and then he will find that such expressions were made use of as render it nearly certain that the desolation and burning spoken of in the two chapters, is one and the same event. "They cried when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, what city is like unto this great city—in one hour is she made *desolate*." (xviii. 18, 19.)

And what, we ask, may mean this untoward fact recorded, that, when she is burning, "*the kings of the earth*, who have committed fornication and lived deliciously with her, shall bewail her when they shall see the smoke of her burning?" (9.) Who are these "*kings of the earth*?" Certainly not the ten constitutional kings, for they have burnt her. This at once then takes us out of the prophetic earth, and the prophetic map. Of necessity this is the case; and it is well to notice the language of the Apocalypse on this head. "I will show unto thee the judgment of the great whore that sitteth on many waters; with whom *the kings of the earth* have committed fornication." "Upon her forehead was a name written—Mystery, Babylon the Great, the mother of harlots and abominations *of the earth*." "The woman which thou sawest is that great city, which reigneth over the *kings of the earth*;" "*the nations* have drunk of the wine of her fornications, and the *kings of the earth* have committed fornication with her." Well, then, the kings of the earth weep when they see her burning, and when she had been set on fire by the ten constitutional kings. She is, therefore, intimately connected with kings and nations *not* in "the prophetic earth;" yea, she sits upon people, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues, and these certainly are *not* the ten kingdoms, but some other nations distinct from them, for they are undeniably distinguished. (xvii. 16, 17.)

All this disturbs, from the very foundation, Mr. Newton's scheme; and we learn by these texts that the harlot character of the woman is derived from her intercourse with other nations besides those set down as constituent parts of "the prophetic earth."

For the rest, we will only remark, that if the great Anti-Christ really acts in this way, he will certainly ruin *the city*. If he puts down "the system," its commerce and free institutions, he will at once destroy its wealth and power, he will produce immediate and general bankruptcy. In short, he could not adopt any method more certainly calculated to defeat his own object. Antichrist ought not to be represented as a puerile and a frantic Nero, but rather as the most sagacious of mankind.

Mr. Newton complains of that "strange scepticism," which doubts "that the Babylon of Revelations is the same as that of the Old Testament prophets;" and urges against it that it never has produced a king of Babylon whose history fulfils the prophecies of Isaiah; and yet, strange to say, Mr. Newton has so managed matters as to make it

appear that Antichrist himself is *not* king of Babylon at all! That mighty potentate has no connexion with Babylon, in the days of his elevation, except to ruin it. He does, indeed, appear for a moment to be there during his reign, when he "puts down the system;" though, indeed, it is not necessary that he should be personally in that city at all; for he could ruin its trade, and execute vengeance on the monied interest as efficiently by his servants, as if he himself were present; he ten constitutional kings, who resigned to him their monarchies, having little to do, might occupy themselves in that business; but Antichrist himself has so much to attend to elsewhere, that it is certain he has no further connection with Babylon. His throne, palace, temple, image, and worship are at Jerusalem, where "he exalts himself," as much as it may be feasible for him to be exalted, when every day of his reign develops some new disaster in every part of his dominions. He does that in Jerusalem which Mr. Newton triumphantly declares never yet was done by any historical king of Babylon. "He will sit in the mounts* of the congregation, on the sides of the north;" and *ascend above the heights of the clouds* (Is. xiv. 14.); which last circumstance Mr. Newton warily omits. So that, in fact, Antichrist is king of Jerusalem and not of Babylon, if his title is to be taken from his capitol. He never is found at Babylon again after he has "put down the system," if, indeed, he was in "the great city," even on that occasion. How, then, can he with propriety be called, "The King of Babylon?"

We hasten onward to the catastrophe.

The reign of Antichrist, from the first day to the last, is a continued scene of havoc, ruin, and desolation. Mr. Newton's scheme compels him to crowd *all* the plagues of the seals, vials, and the trumpets, and in the literal sense too, within the space of three years and a half; and all this, indeed, he encounters, for it may not be avoided. The precise day that Antichrist's reign commences, the testimony of the two witnesses commences also in *Jerusalem*, and it *ends on the day that his reign ends*. "*The sackcloth* testimony of the witnesses and the reign of Antichrist end simultaneously." (131.) Their testimony is in Jerusalem, where Antichrist has fixed his throne and seat of government. Whilst he is killing every body that does not worship his image, the two witnesses are dealing out destruction in their sphere by calling down fire from heaven, keeping off the rain, and turning the waters into blood. Then, elsewhere, in all "the prophetic earth," owing to a storm of hail and fire, the third part of trees are burnt up, and all herbage—the whole crops throughout the ten kingdoms. The third

* Thus translated by Dr. Henderson:—

"Thou said'st in thy heart, I will scale the heavens;
Above the stars of God, I will raise my throne;
I will sit on the mount of the assembly, in the recesses of the north;
I will ascend above the heights of the clouds;
I will make myself to be the Most High."

The note with which the learned translator illustrates this passage is well worth reading. The language is clearly poetical; it is a lofty description of the presumptuous arrogance of the *historical* King of Babylon, with direct allusions to the astronomical ideas entertained by the Chaldeans. Mr. Newton insists on its being a literal action of Antichrist, though he does not inform us what it means, or what it is that Antichrist does. It is certainly more convenient to leave it in the enigmatical language of the authorised translation, without note or comment.

part of the sea becomes blood; all the rivers and waters become bitter as wormwood. The fourth part* of "the earth" is killed with sword and with famine. (vi. 8.) The third part of men are killed by fire, smoke, and brimstone (ix. 18.); more than half the inhabitants by violent deaths. Then the whole sea is turned into blood, and every animal dies in it; and the rivers and fountains become blood. Here is far more than enough (though, indeed, it is but a small part of these disasters) to destroy every man upon the face of the earth, and yet we find Antichrist congregating his millions at Armageddon, throughout the whole prophetic earth, from England to the Euphrates, when it is clear that there could not be a living individual any where to muster. One circumstance which takes place before the muster in Armageddon, and a very important one it is, is this, "that every island flees away," — so that *England disappears*. Mr. Newton, however, passes over this event, and tells us the muster will be "from England to the Euphrates."

We would now let the curtain fall, for when Divinity itself is to be introduced, we find a barrier to further examination of a subject already pressed down with painful extravagancies. It is quite a relief to conclude these remarks, though, indeed, the subject is, as it were, but opening to our contemplation, so vast is the field which we have untouched.

We have but one last remark to make on this prophetic drama; it is on the fall of Antichrist, as Mr. Newton emphatically draws our attention to the fact, that the fall of the King of Babylon, spoken of by the prophet Isaiah, has never been literally fulfilled. "What king of Babylon," says Mr. Newton, "has yet appeared of whom it can be said, that, after making the world as a wilderness, and destroying the cities thereof, he is himself cast out of *his grave*, like an abominable branch, like a carcase trodden under foot?" (266.) And how is this fulfilled in Antichrist? He is not buried at all, but is "cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone." Mr. Newton, however, in quoting the prophet, omits some very important words, and they are these, **THRUST THROUGH WITH A SWORD** (Is. xiv. 19.); by which we find the prophet contemplates the historical king violently perishing by the Medes and Persians, and so it was; and of the same king he speaks as undergoing the usual process of a corpse, "the worm is spread under thee, and the worms cover thee:" allusions in no way fulfilled in the termination of Antichrist, and plainly contrary to the statement of Revelations.

This argument, therefore, and a fundamental one it is, not only does not aid the scheme, but very materially turns against it.

There yet remain some miscellaneous remarks connected with the topics already examined.

Amongst some of the items in "The Thoughts on the Apocalypse," to which we cannot but make exceptions, there is one which is conspicuous, and it is the use which Mr. Newton makes of the word "Jerusalem," applying to it sentiments, in its present state of rejection, which, according to the warrant of Scripture, can refer only to

* Mr. Newton observes, *in loco*, "There is evidently no restoration or revival from the blows given; they follow on until the great consummation in the day of the Lamb's wrath." (78.) And yet he elsewhere tells us, "It will be the place of glory and joy to bear the name of Antichrist; it will be a hard thing for one who has already drunk deeply of the cup of Babylon's joy to reject this still more alluring cup." (203.)

those times when the city derives its character of holiness from the known favour of God to those who inhabit it.* The restoration of the temple and worship at Jerusalem, and the re-establishment of the Jews, that is an event, which, we are confidently informed, will soon take place (122.); and, in anticipation of this event, Mr. Newton frequently makes use of language which would lead one to suppose that Jerusalem, in the hands of the blaspheming Jews, will be an object of especial favour of God; as if the Almighty loved the few acres on which the city may stand, without any regard to the character and actions of the Jews who are to dwell there. Thus, at that period, when Mr. Newton imagines the two witnesses will be preaching in Jerusalem, and converting the Jews, he makes this remark — "If Jerusalem had not been Jerusalem, *the chosen city*, the mercies of God towards it would have ended there; but Israel is beloved for the father's sake, and therefore God himself begins to deal with them." (97.) Here are two motives proposed for this "mercy," that Jerusalem is the chosen city, and that Israel is beloved for the father's sake. These last words are a quotation from Rom. xi. 28.; but does Mr. Newton mean to apply those words *to that time*? This he will not do, for, besides other reasons, it would disturb his own scheme. Those words then ought not to have been introduced, as they are only calculated to mislead the reader. The other motive for mercy is that stated in these words — "Jerusalem is Jerusalem, the chosen city;" so that the city built by unbelieving Jews, and made detestable by their worship, under the influence of the Rabbis and the Talmud, is to be *the chosen city* — the chosen city too, in spite of all besides that is happening there at that time, and in spite of its final destruction by the hand of the Lord.

So also, in another passage, we see the same objectionable statements. "Nebuchadnezzar, who glorified himself and destroyed the people of God, became the great ensample of the character of Babylon to the end. "Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon hath devoured *me*, he hath crushed *me*, he hath made *me* an empty vessel, he hath swallowed *me* up like a dragon, he hath filled his belly with my delicates, he hath cast *me* out. The violence done to me and to my flesh be upon Babylon, shall the inhabitant of Zion say; and my blood upon the inhabitants of Chaldea, shall Jerusalem say." This relation to Israel, Babylon will retain, when held under the dominion of the last great monarch *who shall take away the daily sacrifice*, and plant the dominion that maketh desolate; and, *therefore*, when Israel begin to sing their song of deliverance, they say now, "How hath the oppression ceased, the golden city ceased?" This, it is said, is their song over the *King of Babylon*. (278.)

This surely, is a very remarkable specimen of Mr. Newton's ductile, hermeneutics. The passage quoted by him is from the 51st chapter of Jeremiah, where Jehovah identifies himself with Israel (his people not cast off at that time), and where he makes their cause his own — "The King of Babylon hath devoured ME; he hath filled his belly with *my delicates*." Is this a type of his language concerning the Jews who are "to be gathered together in the fanaticism of rabbinical blasphemies at Jerusalem." Will the words of the prophet, indeed, have such an application? "The violence done to me and to my flesh be *upon Babylon*." Where are we to find a use for these words? Babylon, that is to be, never, even according to Mr. Newton's showing,

* See page 49.

inflicts on the Jews any injury; they are not led captives into it, nor do they go out of it from their captivity. Antichrist himself is not King of Babylon, but of Jerusalem; and he has, before he persecutes the Jews in Jerusalem, hated the whore, and eaten her flesh, and burnt her with fire, or, as Mr. Newton says, "put down the system." Babylon is in degradation and ruin, and has no power: how then can they take up this song, "How has the *golden city* ceased?"

Again: if Antichrist put down the daily sacrifice of the Jews, will Jehovah own that sacrifice? will not rather this be the language of God, supposing such events were ever to take place? "When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hands?"

In a similar train of thought we find elsewhere these sentiments — "The man-child of the woman, persecuted by the dragon, is a symbol which could not, I think, be used of any Christians *out of Jerusalem*, nor of them, except in peculiar circumstances, both as to unity, power of testimony, and bearing on the nation. It is *only in Jerusalem* that the child of Zion can attain its proper standing of strength." (153.)

Now this woman is "an emblem" of Christians who are to be persecuted in that day, and the man-child is another emblem of the same Christians (for they seem to produce themselves), who can attain their proper standing of strength only in Jerusalem! If so, all Christians ought certainly to go and live in Jerusalem, if it be their desire to attain to "the perfect man." (Eph. iv. 13.)

So important, however, is the *religio loci* in the eyes of Mr. Newton, that he attributes the future ejection of Satan out of heaven to the persecution inflicted on Christians in Jerusalem. "It is consequent on his interfering with the progress of Christianity in *Jerusalem*." (153.) "It is this act of Satan in bringing the power of the ten kingdoms of the Roman earth against the man-child *born in Jerusalem*, that causes the first act of divine vengeance to be executed on Satan." (147.)

Satan, then, retains his station in the heavenly places during all the persecution of saints and martyrs in past ages; but, as soon as he persecuted Christians in *Jerusalem* (in the age of Antichrist), he is cast down from heaven, and his place is there no more at all! And yet, after all, it appears that he only drives them out of the city, for they escape from the persecution, and flee into other lands. It is, however, to be remarked, that in several other passages Mr. Newton, with glaring inconsistency, speaks of Jerusalem as being still under the curse, which is to abide till "the end of the age."

It is, indeed, in the interpretation of the twelfth chapter of Revelations (that chapter which describes the persecution of the woman by the dragon), that we find an accumulation of perplexing arguments, and a method of reasoning, by which, if it were allowed to pass current, *any thing* might be proved at will. Christianity is thus asserted to be the mountain Zion, and the persecuted woman, and a system of truth and power, and certain principles, and the glory of that "system" which is to be hereafter upon earth; and it is affirmed that we are born of the woman, who again is Zion *morally*, and we are identified with Zion, and we are Zion; but the glory of the woman will not be till the mountain Zion is elevated in the latter days above the hills, &c. &c. Then, again, the principles, or the mountain, that produce Christians to be persecuted in Jerusalem, flee into the wilderness; unless, indeed, Mr. Newton were to abandon his figures here, and tell us that the *persecuted Christians* flee into the wilderness; in which case the pro-

duced and the producer are the same thing, and the mother is the son, and the son is the mother. We would recommend the reader who can appreciate dialectic precision, who can detect verbal sophisms, and who can recognise the true foundation of affirmative conclusions, to study carefully the "Thoughts on the Apocalypse," from page 137 to 149., with the notes appended to that lecture; and we venture to affirm that he will discover as numerous and as striking specimens of confused reasoning as could anywhere be found within the like compass of words.

The secret cause of this shifting ambiguity of thought is to be traced in the following sentence: — "That Christianity will at that period (Antichrist's reign) be found in Jerusalem, *is evident from the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew.*" (144.) This is a * favourite point with Mr. Newton, which he is in the habit of affirming, not only with certainty, but with impatience; and it is with the direct object of supporting his views of that chapter, as well as of explaining the persecution of the woman (as falling within the three years and a half of Antichrist's reign), that he has proposed these interpretations which we are now considering.

If, however, we have not had words enough to explain the meaning of "the woman," who after all is left an intangible nonentity — something undigested between the abstract and the concrete — we shall find that Mr. Newton is quite as unsuccessful in his attempts to define the "man-child."

The man-child, then, is a certain number of converts, mainly, if not altogether, Jews, who are to be converted by this "system †" in Jerusalem; "for Christianity will bring forth with sorrow in Jerusalem." Again: they "represent Christians as heirs of a certain standing in Jerusalem" (146.); "for Christians could not be called the male child any where out of Jerusalem (153.); and yet, 'in a wide and general sense, all the saints may be said to be the children of this glorious parent, even the Lord Jesus himself.'" (140.) That may be; but then even the Lord Jesus cannot be called *the male child*, because he was in no sense born in Jerusalem; and this, by Mr. Newton's own rule, is indispensable for his title.

Again: the "symbol" of the man-child represents individuals "born to inherit a certain position of strength and power, and that in Jerusalem." Here Mr. Newton virtually abandons the local nativity, and is satisfied if the symbol may indicate persons not born in Jerusalem or Zion, but born to inherit a position there. Not a man born a citizen of London and in London, but born it may be in India, hereafter to become a citizen of London. This interpretation ruins all that had been insisted on with regard to the male child; and it is thus frequently with Mr. Newton; in his anxiety to embrace many explanations, and to obviate many difficulties, and meet many objections, he invests his "symbols" with so many meanings, that they come at last to mean nothing; the many "meanings" being mutually destructive of one another.

And lastly; when it is said the dragon went to persecute "the remnant of the woman's seed," this may mean "Christians any where, or in any circumstances!" (146.)

* See page 49.

† Here a new wonder makes its appearance; for if Jerusalem and Zion are identical, and such they seem to be, then the woman brings forth in herself. This reminds us of the other woman sitting on herself.

It is, however, important to inquire what "Christianity" in the abstract may mean? If it is an agent that produces Christians, it must be the Holy Spirit, or the word of God. Christianity, as an abstraction, is unknown in Scripture, and the personification of it in this manner is wholly out of keeping with the language of the Bible. It is only, indeed, from the classical laboratory that such thoughts can emanate; and great is the danger of endeavouring to introduce them. The Church in the Scriptures is personified as the bride of the Lamb, and the Jewish state as the spouse of Jehovah; but Christianity, which does not mean the Church, but something coined* to produce the Church, we boldly affirm is not a Scripture figure. It need not be a question of rejecting this "symbol" from the region of Christian doctrine, for it never yet has been admitted to take its place there.

In parting with this subject it may be remarked, that if Christianity is symbolised by the woman hunted by the dragon, and if this is Christianity persecuted † "as such," strange it is that this persecution should fall only on "a few Christians," who are to be converted at that time in Jerusalem, and that all the many other thousand Christians existing out of the *confines* of the prophetic earth should be left untouched; and that these fleeing Christians, or these fleeing principles, should not escape to their brethren in the neighbouring countries, but rather "into the bosom of uncivilised darkness." Why is this? Why does not "Christianity as such" go to that which it is? because in the text the woman is driven into *the wilderness*, plainly telling us thereby that there was nothing kindred for the woman elsewhere to be found; whereas it is certain that in Mr. Newton's scheme, Christian civilised nations will be largely existing elsewhere at that time, and close to the precincts of the "prophetic earth." The woman, however, does not flee to Christians but to infidels ‡; and this, indeed, is a strange location for "Christianity as such."

It may finally be asked, How it comes to pass that any Christianity at all is found in the prophetic earth *after* this event, when Christianity "as such" has been driven out of it? How is it that the ten kingdoms, after this event, *abandon* Christianity, in order to worship King Antichrist? How can they cease to be Christians, when Christianity itself had previously disappeared?

* That this is Mr. Newton's meaning is evident. "Every child of faith in every dispensation, whether Abel, or Abraham, or Stephen, or ourselves, or the millennial saints, are the children of this glorious parent . . . even the Lord Jesus himself, so far as regarded as part of his body, the Church, may, I suppose, be included in this symbol." (140.)

So the Church and Christ were produced by Christianity!

† "The history of Europe has several times afforded instances of the persecution of Christians; but seldom of the persecution of Christianity, *as such*. During the period of the French Revolution we see an instance of Christianity cast out. It found an asylum in other countries such as this. This is but an imperfect illustration, for the liberality of the day tempered even the attack upon Christianity then; but when this last assault of Satan comes, it will be in all the fury of his power." (154.)

‡ Mr. Newton informs us, that "the professing Church (that is, Christians not in the Roman earth) will stand at that hour in a strong and, in a certain sense, *blessed* contrast with the apostate nations." (End of the Age, 18.) This is an additional reason, then, for noticing it as an unaccountable fact, that "Christianity, as such," should conceal itself during the period of the twelve hundred and sixty days in "the bosom of uncivilised darkness," and not seek "the bosom" of that which will be "a blessed contrast" with the evil from which she is fleeing.

NOTE to page 45.

We have objected to the language applied by Mr. Newton to that city of the Turkish empire, which can only by courtesy be now called Jerusalem, and which he says is soon to be under the power of the unconverted Jews, and is in their hands to become a rich and flourishing metropolis of Judaism. It is indeed convenient for Mr. Newton to apply Scripture to the El Kuds of the Mohammedan empire; but this is in truth *perverting*, for it is not legitimately applying the language of Scripture. Hence we hear Mr. Newton talking about "the chosen city," and assuring us that it is only in Jerusalem that Christians can "attain their proper standing of strength;" and yet observe how elsewhere he can damage his own statements. "On Jerusalem," says he, "the days of vengeance are still resting; the curse of God is still resting on that land and city." (E. A. 6.) If so, how then is it "the chosen city?" and how is it "still loved for the father's sake?" and how comes it that Christians can only attain their proper standing of strength in the *cursed* city? This is a specimen of the contradictions which cannot be avoided in a system upheld only by ingenuity. The Mohammedan name of Jerusalem is El Kuds; it has been in the power of the Mahomedans six hundred and fifty years since the days of Saladin. In the year 613 it was taken from the Emperor Heraclius by the Persians, the followers of the Zoroaster, the Jews being confederate with them. In 637 it was taken by the Khalif Omar; and the patriarch of the Christians when he saw the Khalif enter said to him—"This is of a truth the abomination of desolation spoken by Daniel the Prophet standing in the Holy Place." Omar erected a mosque on the site of the old temple; Jerusalem continued in the hands of the followers of Mohammed till the crusades; when for 86 years it was possessed by the Christians. After which it again fell into the hands of the followers of the false prophet, and they have held it ever since. The city was called Colonia (Elia, even in ecclesiastical usage, so late as the middle of the sixth century.

NOTE to page 47.

See "End of the Age," p. 24-26., where Mr. Newton tells us he "assumes" that the 24th chapter of Matthew, from the 14th verse to the end, is unfulfilled. There it is also that he notices with much reproof the opinion of some, that the prophecy of that chapter is not addressed to the Christian Church at all, but only to the Jews. If such an opinion were to be sustained, it would, indeed, much discompose Mr. Newton's scheme; but all the dangerous consequences which he deduces from this "new opinion" are not necessary, and some of his

deductions are not consequences in any aspect. "If" says he, "the apostles, in receiving a prophetic description of their own condition, after the Lord had departed and the Holy Ghost had come, are not to be regarded as being themselves of the Church, and hearing for the Church, they cannot be regarded as hearing for the Church in any other part of the Gospel." — (End of Age, 25.) These are rather deductions of impatience than any legitimate inferences; and if such remarks were applied to some other passages of Scripture close at hand, they would produce most extraordinary results. For instance, in the 23d chapter of Matthew it is said, "The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; all, therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do." Is this addressed to the Christian Church? We are persuaded that Mr. Newton will agree with us, that it is not; and yet it is reported to us by the apostles, who certainly regarded themselves "of the Church, and hearing for the Church." If, therefore, Christians may, without impiety, regard themselves as not addressed in the 23d chapter, consequences of impiety will not of necessity follow if they do not consider themselves addressed in the 24th chapter. In the "End of the Age," Mr. Newton takes great pains to separate, with a broad barrier between, the 23d and 24th chapter of Matthew; and he does so in a very peculiar to himself. The 23d chapter, he tells us, was a last testimony against the Jews in Jerusalem, after which our Lord departs to the Mount of Olives; where, apart from Jerusalem and its circumstances, he addresses the 24th chapter to us. "Now the Lord left Jerusalem and all that was therein, and went as one despised by the nation to the Mount of Olives. Let us also leave it. Let us go with our master without the gate. Let us stand by the side of Jesus, whom Jerusalem cast out, upon the Mount of Olives." (E. A. 4.) Thus, a corporeal absence from a real city for a few hours (our Lord soon after returns to it to keep the passover, and, after his crucifixion, tells his disciples *not to depart from Jerusalem*) is turned by an allegory into a moral departure from a system, or from some abstraction, which it is out of our power to define; and then we are further taught that it is most important to observe — "That Jerusalem and all her people are all *left* in the 23d chapter, and *addressed as more*. The body thus addressed in the 23d chapter is as diverse from that addressed in the 24th as blessing is different from woe. The first were standing in the place of the rejecters of Jesus, refusing to call him blessed; the others had called him blessed, and were gone without the gate, sharing his reproach. How important, therefore, to distinguish between the YE of the 23d chapter and the YE of the 24th chapter." (E. A. 27.)

But mark here the peril of thus writing in the spirit of system! In the 23d chapter we find the precept, "Be ye not called Rabbi, for one is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren?" If we follow Mr. Newton's rule, then, we must carefully distinguish the YE of the 23d chapter from the YE of the 24th. The former we must leave behind at Jerusalem for the Jews, and go to the "ye" of the 24th chapter to receive *our* portion. Thus, then, the fraternal character of the Church, and the supremacy of Christ amongst his brethren, is for the Jews alone! and yet, when we turn to the 24th chapter, to receive *our* unquestioned portion, there, alas! we are startled with finding some things so broadly and palpably Jewish, that we cannot any how approach them. "Pray

YE that your flight be not in the winter, neither on *the Sabbath-day*." (xxiv. 20.) Are we, then, Jews? Do we keep the Sabbath? If we were even to be in Jerusalem, should we keep the Sabbath? And how can the Sabbath be kept at all at that time, when a little while before, according to Mr. Newton's scheme, Antichrist will have begun persecuting the Jews in all the horrors of "the abomination of desolation." Thus Mr. Newton's mode of interpreting these chapters deprives the Church of some of its most valued precepts, and shuts up believers in another chapter, where they find matters that evidently do not belong to them.

THE END.

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A LETTER



TO THE

LORD BISHOP OF LONDON,

ON A SUBJECT CONNECTED

WITH THE RECENT PROCEEDINGS AT OXFORD.

BY THE

REV. FREDERICK OAKELEY, M.A.

FELLOW OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD,

PREBENDARY OF LICHFIELD,

AND MINISTER OF MARGARET CHAPEL, ST. MARY-LE-BONE.

LONDON:

JAMES TOOVEY, 192, PICCADILLY.

M.DCCC.XLV.

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Bangor House, Shoe Lane.

A LETTER, &c.

MY DEAR LORD,

I OUGHT, in the very first place, to apologize for addressing your Lordship in a form which, in the eyes of the public, may seem inconsistent with the relation in which I stand to you, or indicative, at least, of a desire to claim greater familiarity with you than persons unacquainted with the circumstances of the case may be readily disposed to recognize as becoming. But on the whole I see no reason for addressing your Lordship when I write to you publicly, in more formal and distant terms than those which I am in the habit of using in private communications with you, which you have never discouraged me from using, and which far better represent the habitual state of my feelings towards your Lordship than any mode of address less free and less affectionate.

And next, I owe your Lordship a still farther apology for addressing you in public at all, when I cannot but be aware that my own name is connected in many minds which I am far from wishing to wound or irritate, with unwelcome associa-

tions; that it has been brought far oftener before the public eye than I like to think of, and hardly ever, I must candidly acknowledge, except in a way calculated to hold it up to suspicion and odium. With a name so unpopular as well as so unworthy, I am most unwilling to connect such a name as that of your Lordship. And I trust that I may appeal to the past in witness to the sincerity of this assertion. Nor, again, am I now desiring to involve your Lordship in any sanction of courses which, under peculiar circumstances, I may have felt it my duty to adopt; but for which I did not hold myself immediately accountable to your Lordship. My purpose in addressing you is one quite of a different nature, and I consider the occasion such as fully to bear me out in coming forward: for in saying that I do not hold myself directly responsible to your Lordship for a certain course of proceeding, I by no means intend to deny that I *am* responsible to my Bishop for the *explanation* of acts which, though performed in a wholly different relation, are yet of such a kind as to involve him, by possibility, in embarrassment.

Your Lordship, and others, probably, who may read this letter, will at once anticipate the reason of my desiring to address you at this moment. I am alluding, of course, to a letter which I have lately forwarded to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, with the view of justifying the honesty of my subscription to the thirty-nine articles. Now your Lordship is well aware that I have certain intimate relations with the University of Oxford, as well as

with your Lordship. I hold a fellowship in a principal college of that university, and, although I am not now, nor have been for some time resident, yet I retain my rooms in college, and keep up, I think I may say, a far closer connexion with my society than many other non-resident fellows of colleges ; am never, except under circumstances of urgent necessity, absent from elections, and other occasions of collegiate interest ; am in habits of very friendly intercourse both with the head of my college and with all my brother fellows ; and, above all, though not at this moment resident, yet with a footing in the college which would enable me at any moment to resume residence, had I not duties elsewhere, and such as I consider quite compatible with my statutable obligations. I am indeed anxious in this preliminary stage of my explanation to press upon your Lordship and the public how little my connexion with this diocese is really inconsistent with a very close and intimate relation to the university also.

As a *member* of the University of Oxford, then, and far more as senior fellow of an important college, who, though actually at this time non-resident, is yet thus closely connected with the university, I think it will be generally acknowledged that I have a right to consider myself implicated as much as any member of the university (excepting, of course, a resident fellow of a college) in academic acts.

And for this reason I felt, after the event of Thursday, the 13th, that if that event were of a

nature to involve me in the eyes of the university and of the public at all, I ought not to be deterred from coming forward to "clear my position" by the mere circumstance of being actually at this time non-resident.

Again, that the result of Thursday's convocation *was* actually an occasion, not to justify only, but to demand, a certain declaration on my part, was a matter upon which I made up my mind weeks ago, and my view of which has never wavered for a single moment.

Had the Hebdomadal Board submitted, and Convocation affirmed, a mere resolution of *censure* upon Mr. Ward's book, without impeaching the "good faith" of his subscription to the Articles, and above all without proceeding to found serious penalties upon that impeachment, I do not consider that any member of the university would have been bound to come forward with a view to clear himself from the effect of supposed imputations. Mr. Ward's book is his own; and an adverse expression of opinion upon that book would have been generally understood to touch no party but the author himself; not even those who might be known to approximate with whatever nearness to Mr. Ward's theological opinions. For it might very properly have been considered that the view under which certain voters had declared against Mr. Ward's book, or certain portions of it, had been affected to an indefinite extent by characteristic peculiarities in Mr. Ward's manner of expression which, whether right or wrong (a question with which I am not here concerned) do, at all

events, to a certain degree, *insulate* his case in the comparison with other similar cases.

But the matter became far otherwise when the measure which Convocation was called upon either to affirm or negative, came out in a form not *really* (as I maintain) but still *apparently* reflecting upon a certain *mode of subscription to the Articles*. For, supposing other members of the university to have publicly declared themselves to subscribe the Articles in this particular sense, it might very fairly have been said, and doubtless would have been said, that such persons ought to consider such a reflection as a call upon themselves to resign academical privileges of which subscription to the Articles is commonly supposed to be one of the conditions. I am here, your Lordship will observe, considering the *moral*, not the *legal*, effect of such a decision. And I will say that, had the *moral* effect been clear and unequivocal, I think that several persons would not have been disposed to screen themselves behind any legal informality, but might have felt themselves bound *in foro conscientiæ* to relinquish their place in the university at once.

Now, with respect to myself, it is no news to your Lordship or to the public at large, that almost as soon as the measures against Mr. Ward were announced, I felt myself called upon to declare that I sign the Articles in the sense which Mr. Ward vindicates. This was little more than a repetition of what I said years ago; for as far back as 1841 I put out a pamphlet, the object of which was to prove historically that the Articles were *intended*

to include the Catholics of the time, and that this circumstance might very fairly be taken to illustrate the position which had been maintained by others; namely, that their wording does not *in terminis* exclude the formal decisions of the later Church, as contradistinguished from certain popular misrepresentations of those decisions. It is then, I say, no new thing for me to declare what I have lately declared to the Vice-Chancellor; though a new thing, I grant it is, to set forth that declaration in the way of a *challenge* to the university.

- Now, if your Lordship, or any other person, asks why I felt it necessary to say what I did when the propositions relating to Mr. Ward made their appearance, considering the very serious consequences to myself and even to the Church of England, which such an act might entail, I answer, 1st. That I considered it a plain matter of duty to Mr. Ward not to allow him to sustain alone the whole brunt of a battle, in which I feel that I ought to stand by him. 2nd. I was not without hopes, however feeble, that with many minds, the circumstance of knowing that the attack upon Mr. Ward might very probably affect others besides himself, might tell as an argument against taking the *first* step in a certain direction. 3rd. I felt it likewise due to the Hebdomadal Board itself, to give that Board a full and clear foresight of the possible consequences of the proposed measures. Not, of course, that I wished the Hebdomadal Board to pause, in what it might consider an act of duty to the University, through the mere apprehension of consequences; still less, as I

hope I need not say, because I supposed that my own poor name could carry any great weight either with the Board or with the other members of Convocation, but merely because I thought it right all persons should know exactly what they were about in taking, what I felt to be, the *first of a series* of aggressive steps. And, such being my object, I took pains that the Vice-Chancellor, as President of the Hebdomadal Board, should be at once apprized of the statement which I felt it my duty to make ; and accordingly forwarded to him my pamphlet on the day of its re-publication.

Now whatever reasons may have existed for making this declaration in the first instance, seemed to me with tenfold power to demand a repetition of it, when the Act of Convocation had passed. For then I felt that, if I did not renew my declaration, I might be considered to acquiesce in a decision which I, in truth, felt as not more morally obligatory, than it is legally worthless. I accordingly stated at once to the Vice-Chancellor, in what light I regarded that Decree ; but I stated this, my interpretation of it, "under correction," from the parties with whom it originated, and by whom it was affirmed. I offered myself, as plainly as I could offer myself without seeming to act in a spirit of disrespect and defiance, to encounter a like penalty to that with which Mr. Ward had just been visited. But at the same time I stated, and here I think your Lordship and the public will bear me out in considering that I was justified in stating, that, supposing no measures of penalty to be instituted against me, I should

regard myself after that plain and public declaration, as justified in maintaining, without even the suspicion of dishonesty and disingenuousness, my present place in the University.

What course the Hebdomadal Board may see fit to take with respect to me, is still, I suppose, *sub judice* ; I have as yet received no kind of official intimation on the subject. I can but hope, very sincerely, that the Board will not allow itself to be precluded by that mere kindly feeling towards myself, which I doubt not to exist in it, from any step which it may *conscientiously* regard as necessary to the welfare of the University and of the Church of England, of which the University is an integral part.

But now I will say why I feel it right to explain my course to your Lordship. I did not, and I do not forget, that although I am a member of the University, I am likewise a Clergyman ministering in your Lordship's Diocese. Nor, again, do I lose sight of the fact, that my letter to the Vice-Chancellor, as its very object required, has been made extensively public. I am really not aware that any person has commented upon my proceeding as one in any way likely to involve your Lordship, although my Bishop. I think that my act strikes every one, as I should naturally expect it to strike them, in the light of a merely academical procedure ; dictated solely by the sense of my academical relations, and having reference to an issue determinable (according to the general view), and at all events to be determined, *in* the University.

But because there happens to be no sort of out-

cry on the subject, this is no reason why I should abstain from giving your Lordship these explanations of my step, which may tend to clear it in your Lordship's mind from the suspicion of wantonness or undutifulness. I do not deny that it may naturally strike your Lordship, as a gratuitous and disturbing movement. Nor, again, could I be surprised to hear that your Lordship had been seriously startled by my further declaration of an opinion, that the Articles are *subscribable* in what may be called an ultra-Catholic sense, so as to involve no necessary renunciation on the subscriber's part, of any formal decision of the Western Church; and that I myself, actually so subscribe them. I do admit that, considering the temper of our Church, there is something apparently wanton in such an announcement; that it requires, in mere charity, some intelligible explanation; and that my own Bishop is, of all other persons, the one to whom it is most natural to explain it. It is for these reasons that I come forward, before the public, 1st, to *account* to your Lordship for the act; and 2nd, to *explain the meaning* of the declaration in question.

The former part of my task I have already accomplished; and now I will proceed to the latter.

I wish your Lordship then very particularly to observe that, in the passage of my pamphlet on Tract XC., to which I refer in my letter to the Vice-Chancellor, I not only draw a distinction between *holding* Roman doctrine and *teaching* it, but in a note to that passage, I explain very fully what I mean by *not teaching*, and how very far I carry out

the principle which is involved in that distinction. I say,

As respects *teaching*, however, there is no duty which I hold more sacred than that of abstaining in sermons, and other acts of public ministration, from the statement of theological opinions, or the recommendation of devotional practices, allowed, as I conceive, by the Articles, but foreign to the views and habits of our Church. And generally, I will say, even of what are called "Church principles," that it seems to me far better to *imply* them in our public teaching, than to assert them in a dogmatical and controversial way. It is in the very rudiments of faith and practice, that our flocks, as a general rule, need to be instructed. Moreover, to speak to them of Church authority, and such-like subjects, when the whole practical system of our Church is in flat contradiction to such claims, is to tempt the more thoughtless to the use of words as mere unmeaning sounds, or mere party-symbols; and the more serious to the disparagement of very real privileges which they possess, through craving after others of which, it may be, that the thankful and diligent use of actual means is the appointed preliminary condition.—*Subject of Tract XC. historically examined*, p. xiii. (*note.*)

And now I wish to draw your Lordship's attention to the following point. The distinction in question is, as I contend, wholly irrelevant to my *question with the University*, for, in the University, it is not the practice of *teaching* certain doctrines which is even apparently impugned, but the *claim to hold* them. Mr. Ward himself never claimed to *teach* Roman doctrine; on the contrary, he urges over and over again, that such a procedure would be highly wrong under our circumstances. What he maintains, and what the Vote of Thursday seems to deny, is the *honesty* of subscribing the Articles in a certain sense. The University, then, cannot pretend

to let me off on the ground of the above distinction ; for with respect to it I differ in no way from Mr. Ward, whom it has, by the hypothesis, condemned. *Mr. Ward* does not claim to *teach*. I claim to *hold*.

But *with your Lordship*, I contend, this distinction ought to, and will, receive consideration. Were I to be found *teaching* Roman doctrine in my public ministrations in your Lordship's diocese, I should, as I feel, most deservedly expose myself to your Lordship's censure. It is plain that your Lordship, as a Bishop of our Church, could not, and would not, suffer it.

But what is the fact? It is that which I have stated in the above extract. Far from introducing in my public ministrations characteristically *Roman* doctrine, I am not in the habit of introducing (dogmatically and controversially) what some persons call (though I do not), by way of contradistinction from it, *Catholic* doctrine. I mean that there are a great many subjects upon which clergymen in this diocese who do not proceed to my own length of theological opinion, quite commonly, and as a matter of conscience, preach, which I, on the other hand, rather studiously avoid. I will mention one instance—the doctrine of the “Apostolical Succession.” This I know is with many clergymen the great weapon of controversy with Dissenters. To myself, on the contrary, it seems, together with its whole class of kindred subjects, a very unedifying topic in the pulpit, however important as a point in controversial writing.

Your Lordship is personally acquainted with many members of my congregation. I appeal to them as persons fully capable of contradicting me when I say, that the general subjects of my preaching are singularly uncontroversial; more so in fact than three years ago, when my doctrinal views were less clear. I feel that, with the vast and frightful amount of sin and practical infidelity which surrounds us in this great metropolis, clergymen have something else to do than to try and convert Dissenters by merely intellectual arguments. What I generally aim at doing in my public ministrations, is, on the one hand, to warn against sins which Catholics and Protestants, where sincere, are alike agreed in denouncing, and, on the other, to build up and console humble and faithful Christians. O that “quantum caperem, possem quoque!” For it quite shames me to set before your Lordship, in so favourable a point of view, ministrations which I feel so utterly, so miserably, inadequate to the end of my calling, and the needs of those who are committed to me. Still the point here is, not what I effect, but what I purpose.

It may be replied that my public declaration on the subject of Subscription, precludes me from preaching *against* the Roman doctrine. Most assuredly it does. If my obligations as an English Clergyman require me to controvert the doctrines of Rome, then I freely admit that I do not fulfil those obligations. But surely, my Lord, if I be justified in considering that there are things among us to be done more important than controverting

Dissent, à multo fortiori am I bound, upon any Catholic principles whatever, not to be harder on what your Lordship acknowledges to be a branch of the Catholic Church, than upon those who are not *even members of the Church of England*. It would indeed be hard to expect of me that I should spare Dissenters at the expense of Catholics. However, I do not imagine it possible that so preposterous a demand could be deliberately set up in any quarter. I take it for granted that I am generally supposed to controvert (I mean of course *directly* controvert) Dissent; in that case, I admit that I might not unnaturally be called upon by those who consider our Church as a *via media*, to controvert supposed error in an opposite direction. But I really do not think that controversy of any sort is my "line."

I will make one or two farther remarks only in connexion with this part of the subject. My flock never so much as hear a (characteristically) Roman doctrine from my lips. If those doctrines be not intrinsically true, certainly I take the course of all others calculated to explode them. No Roman doctrine makes its way to the minds of those who are under me through my intervention. I very much doubt whether twenty members of my congregation or one poor person in my district (except actual Roman Catholics) know even what Roman doctrine is. Again, I have seen in some newspapers and magazines of the day, an objection to my distinction between "holding" and "teaching," founded upon the alleged impossibility of *not* teach-

ing (by implication) that which is in the mind of the teacher. The teaching, it is said, of one who *holds* a certain doctrine must needs be tinctured with that doctrine. This no doubt would be true, if what is called "Romanism" implied a certain *ἦθος*, or habit of mind, *distinct* from Catholicism. I suppose, for instance, that a Socinian could not hold his baleful heresy without in a certain way teaching it. And so again no doubt a strictly Catholic temper results in strictly Catholic teaching, even though *doctrine* be not directly brought forward. So far, then, I acknowledge the truth of the remark. But I deny that the teaching of one who holds Catholicism in the Roman form, but who studiously abstains from exhibiting specially Roman doctrine, will be in any way different from that of another who holds (essential) Catholicism at all, though in a less full-grown state of development; excepting, indeed, that I think he is less likely to allow particular Catholic truths to *protrude*, in his teaching, above others. The objection, therefore, tells in no degree more strongly against what are denominated "Romanizers," or "Romanists," than against all teachers of a "Catholic" profession, but rather, as I believe, less so.

The principles upon which I act in my public teaching, I endeavour to carry out also in visiting the poor, so far as I visit them at all. But here, indeed, I hold myself under a special obligation to my kind superior, the Dean of Chichester; I regard it as a condition of my relation to him, as in charge of a portion of his parochial district, to abstain from

any course of teaching which I know might be displeasing to him. I must freely acknowledge that the Dean is not apt to put restrictions of any sort upon me; but this, I take it for granted, is partly because his own kindly nature disinclines him to impose laws where he is sure of sympathy, which is ever better than law; and partly because, as I hope, he has really not found much occasion, during the years of my service under him, to suspect me of a wish to presume unduly upon his indulgence.

But here I shall be asked, 'Is then your claim to hold (as distinct from teaching) all Roman doctrine, no more, after all, than the assertion of a right to a merely *speculative* opinion? Because if so, you are doing yourself injustice, and coming forward, in an obnoxious character, for no sufficient purpose.'

I reply frankly that my opinion is not merely speculative. I hope none of my opinions on religious subjects are merely speculative. If I say that the view in question is not practical, I mean that it in no way affects my teaching, except negatively. I do not follow out a particular line of action either in public or in private, with any view of making converts to Rome. I could wish, as best I might, to make people good Christians in the Church of England; I think that this is work enough for me. But, more than this; if I see any one disposed to join the Church of Rome, my arguments with such an one are always in arrest, generally even in con-

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travention, of that step : though, even were it otherwise, I do not see how those could very consistently charge me with 'tempting' persons to "schism," who are continually urging myself and others who think with me, to quit the Church of England.

So far, then, my profession on the subject of Roman doctrine certainly does *not* produce any visible difference between my own ministerial course and that of others very unlike myself in many respects. So far as there is any difference between myself and some others whose claim to remain in the ministry of the English Church is not disputed, it is, as I have said, rather in my favour (towards the present argument) than against me. My preaching and general ministrations are, I conscientiously think, much less (what may be called) *distinctive* than those of many clergymen who would be popularly considered of my own school of theology. Indeed, I am not at all sure, that many even of those who are associated with me in public opinion, would not consider my preaching as somewhat 'latitudinarian.' I really think, that 'spurious liberality,' or 'unworthy compromise,' or the cowardly 'suppression of great Catholic truths' might be with much greater reason imputed to it, than party violence or 'Popish' leanings.

Still, I do not at all deny that, where I plead for the utmost latitude in the interpretation of our formularies on the Catholic side, I mean something very real, and, in a certain sense, very practical. Now, then, I will crave your Lordship's kind attention for awhile, that I may say

what I *do* mean by the exceeding reluctance I feel to accept anti-Roman limitations of our Articles and Prayer-Book. I will try to analyze the feeling under which I regard it as a point of duty to my own Communion, to extract, nay, and if so be, extort, the most Catholic meaning possible from her apparently anti-Catholic determinations; and why, moreover, I cannot consent to draw those distinctions between the "Catholic" and the "Roman" sense, upon which some of my respected friends are disposed to lay so great a stress.

My Lord, I am not in the number of those who are able to draw a line between the earlier and the later decisions of the Catholic Church. I can understand those who make a broad difference between "primitive" and "patristic" Christianity; but I cannot follow the farther distinction between "patristic" and "mediæval." How early what is called "dogmatic theology" had its rise in the Church, it is, I suppose, difficult to decide, since even St. Paul speaks of a "form of sound words," &c., and St. John begins his Gospel as if it were a creed. But if it be hard to fix the date of its commencement, still harder would it seem to determine the limit to its expansion. Certainly I cannot imagine the Creed of the Church to have been put into its final shape in any of the earlier centuries. We all know that the course of dogmatic theology runs parallel to the course of heresy; and it will not, I suppose, be contended that heresy had its ultimate issue in the fifth or the sixth century of Christianity. The ramifications of heretical

invention would appear to be almost indefinite and incalculable ; but so many as are the extravagancies of theological error, so many also must be the safeguards of orthodoxy. I will never believe, then, that the strong current of dogmatic theology was suddenly frozen up in the fourth or the sixth century of the Christian æra. Moreover, I believe also, that, in the latter centuries, heresy assumed quite a new shape, and, whereas in earlier times it occupied itself in dealing with the *objective* doctrines of the Gospel, in the more modern ages it caught the *subjective* spirit of the times, and issued in all kinds of fatal speculation upon matters connected with the internal life of the Christian ; such for example, as the mode of his justification in the sight of God. Shall I suppose the Church to have been silent on such emergencies? On the contrary, I believe her to have been ready at Trent, and at Nicæa, with her scholastic definitions and her preclusive anathemas. And so in the times intermediate. That sort of relation which the Athanasian Creed bears to the Apostles', I believe that still later dogmatic decisions bear to it. With these feelings, your Lordship can hardly wonder that I should deem too well of my Church to suppose, without overpowering reason, that she directly and unequivocally contravenes the decrees even of the later Councils. What? a body of divines in one corner of the world, (good men, doubt not, in their way, yet surely exposed, and apparently not superior, to exterior influences, set about deliberately to call in question the solemn

acts of the assembled Prelates of Christendom ! I know it is a moot point how far the Council of Trent is to be regarded as œcumenical. I do not wish to enter upon this question, but I cannot conceive any Catholic-minded person not feeling that, (considering our Blessed Lord's promise) there is on the whole so much reason for expecting that the Holy Ghost would be present in any large assembly of Bishops, representing the different members of the Catholic body, as to dispose him to grasp any alternative which would at all events keep him clear of the unspeakable danger of maligning, if so be, that unutterably sacred Presence ! That at any rate, then, the *desire* of interpreting our Formularies, if not in harmony, at least not in discordance, with the determinations of assemblies so august, and by possibility so sacred, should not be met by so much as a hearty sympathy, nor the attempt at such a reconciliation viewed with indulgence, where encouragement is conscientiously felt to be impracticable ; this, I confess, would surprise me, and seem to promise ill for our Church.

But again, I am sure your Lordship will allow that among blessings which should be *κατ' ἐξῆς* to all of us, that of the re-union of Christendom stands in the very foremost rank. I am not saying that this great and happy consummation seems to myself in any way likely to be realized ; nor, again, am I saying that it can, under existing circumstances, be made a primary object of exertion. We, of the Church of England, must try to be at one among ourselves, before we can hope to affect

in any sort of way, the religious destinies of Christendom ; and, looking to the extreme improbability, not to say utter hopelessness, of the nearer issue, it would indeed be the very height of enthusiasm to entertain any sanguine expectations of the more distant. But I suppose there is such a thing as not liking to part with a fond hope, even when prospects are darkest ; nay, perhaps one clings to hope, as to life, with the more pertinacity the feebler the thread by which it hangs. I cannot then, for my own part, admire that peculiar organization of theological vision which, in circumstances such as ours, is quick to discern, if not even prone to magnify the points of difference which, whether rightly or wrongly I will not say, but at any rate unhappily rend in parts that Body in which, as we know, there should be 'no schism.' And, therefore, I am anything but surprised that so many members of our Church should have hailed the attempt which has been made in our own time to bring the Thirty-nine Articles into somewhat of harmony with the decisions of the Church Universal ; and again, that they should be loth to interpret as final, the grave objections which that attempt has undoubtedly encountered at the hands of this, or the other high ecclesiastical authority.

And this, my Lord, appears a fit place in which to make one or two remarks upon this much canvassed subject of Subscription to the Articles.

The view taken in many quarters, of the eagerness which certain clergymen and members of the University display to reconcile with their ecclesias-

tical and academical pledges certain views of doctrine which the Articles are popularly supposed to contravene, comes, as I need hardly say, to this ; that honesty is with the clergymen in question, of less account than ‘filthy lucre.’ But, my Lord, I will not deny that there are many temptations (of which I verily believe that the desire of a competent maintenance is one of the least) which do undoubtedly tend against a thoroughly disinterested view of the question. It is not rare to hear persons speak as if throwing up posts of duty, and snapping ties of affection, were among the easiest and pleasantest things in the world. I am not here speaking of popular objectors, but of some among our own friends. These respected persons often speak as if all the inducements by which persons like myself, for example, are likely to be actuated, lie on the side of (what is called) “joining Rome,” and against the course of quiescence. Your Lordship is, I am persuaded, too well acquainted with human nature to fall in with so unreal a view ; but I doubt not that you have ere now heard it maintained. For myself, at all events, I am quite free to acknowledge that our estimate of the Articles does seem to me in no little danger of being coloured by our natural wishes and our home sympathies. I suppose it will not be considered an extreme stretch of self-flattery in a clergyman to think that he is not at all events overpoweringly influenced by the love of money. But I am by no means so sure that we ought not all of us to be on the watch against what seem to myself the

exceeding dangers of a slothful and grovelling acquiescence in our actual position, and of an attempt to sustain ourselves in it at whatever sacrifice of consistency and acute conscientiousness.

Yet I do honestly think, that there is a considerable number of persons among us, keenly alive to these peculiar temptations, and sincerely anxious to follow God's leading, whether it be for settlement, or for change. Under what kind of feelings it is that these persons are desirous (as I do not deny) of even *straining* the Articles to the utmost admissible point of latitude in the Catholic direction, your Lordship will have gathered from my late remarks; and you will, I trust, acknowledge that they are anxious for such a liberty, not in that they are disloyal to our Church, but in that they love her, "not wisely," indeed, as some may say, and yet surely not otherwise than "too well." Still, there is no denying that our Formularies may be *over-strained*; and, considering how powerful are the motives to such a practising upon their sense (motives indeed, many of them, no otherwise interested than as all zeal for our Church may be so accounted), I do feel, for one, most willing and eager for a consideration, with a view to some final adjustment, of the whole question of Subscription to our Formularies. All, I suppose, will agree that the Articles *have* a meaning; and yet they are actually subscribed in almost every conceivable variety of sense. They were put forth, as we are told, with a view to the avoiding of "difference of opinion." And yet, my Lord, when we look to the actual state of our Church, how can it be said they have answered their end?

Some authoritative Imposer and Interpreter of the Articles surely there must be in our Church. Yet it seems easier to say where that authority does not, than where it does, reside. The Universities, it is now generally admitted, present the Articles to their own members for subscription, in the name and on the behalf of the Church of England, and have no power whatever of determining in what sense they shall, or shall not be subscribed. And as the Universities are not the Imposers to their own members, so neither (and I say it with the utmost respect) will all the Clergy, as I think, consent to accept the Articles, at least without some very clear understanding on the point, in the sense of their respective Bishops. For it is no secret that different Bishops of the Established Church hold widely different opinions on certain very important theological subjects, and, since a Clergyman may be thrown by accident into different dioceses, or may hold preferment in several at once, it is obvious that he cannot alter his theological creed as he moves from one county to another; or, under the other supposition, hold several conflicting creeds at once. It is my own privilege, for instance, to hold an ecclesiastical position under your Lordship and under the Bishop of Lichfield. But what if, instead of enjoying a stall at Lichfield, I were similarly dignified in some other diocese which might be named? Why, I might perchance be accepting the Articles in two contradictory senses; and, supposing the Declaration lately carried at Oxford had met with success, I might, as a member of the University, be declaring

myself, contemporaneously, to sign the Articles within its walls, "*tanquam opinionum mearum*," &c. &c.

But I suppose it is nowhere even maintained or imagined that individual bishops of our Church are invested with the power of authoritatively determining the sense of the Articles. That power, I apprehend, to reside in the corporate Church of England, whether speaking by an act of Convocation, or a judgment of the Ecclesiastical Court, with the sanction, probably, of the three estates of the realm.

And now, my Lord, in conclusion, for a few words upon a subject very near my heart—Margaret Chapel. As this is the first time during an ecclesiastical connexion of many years that I have ever addressed your Lordship before the public, I hail with peculiar satisfaction the opportunity of thanking your Lordship for the great, the almost unparalleled kindness and forbearance which I have experienced at your Lordship's hands, and, at the same time, of offering one or two remarks upon the subject of objections which my ministrations have encountered in some quarters, under circumstances which quite preclude the suspicion on the one hand of any wish to obtrude myself on your Lordship's attention ; on the other, of any purpose to address your Lordship in the spirit of apology. My Lord, in this letter I am not volunteering to bring matters before you ; I am merely undertaking the explanation of a step, which I have felt it right to take in a character and capacity wholly independent of my connexion

with your Lordship. Nor, again, can what I am about to say be fairly regarded as, in any sort of way, apologetic. For the idea of apology presumes that of charge; and the idea of charge that of a certain legitimacy in the position of the accusers. But I wish your Lordship to understand clearly, and at once, that I consider myself to "owe no subscription," to the various parties with whom my ministerial acts and proceedings have been, from time to time, the subject of liberal comment. I do not say this in any temper of vain-glory, nor yet of unkindness. I am too conscious of the defects of my service to take it amiss that its shortcomings should have been brought home to me, through the medium of objections which I could not but feel in themselves perfectly groundless. Still less do I desire to bear hardly upon the objecting parties; as well because I am not insensible to the difficulties which these times generally must present to all but very reflecting and discriminating minds; while, on the other hand, as your Lordship well knows, the saying that the 'mass of men are indiscriminating,' is as old as the time of a Greek philosopher. I have known all along that the course which I have felt it my plain duty to take at Margaret Chapel, would necessarily be open to misconstructions; but I have yet to learn that such a prospect as this is in itself enough to shake a Clergyman in what he conscientiously regards as his duty. I well knew that my own regular congregation and flock could alone be competent judges upon matters concerning which I found that all kinds of misunderstand-

ing and misrepresentation were abroad; but I knew also that if others could not see and feel this as a plain matter of common sense, they were not likely to feel it the rather for *my* pressing it upon their attention. And therefore I have abstained, on principle, from replying to the various charges, or meeting the several objections, relating to myself and my ministrations, which have from time to time, met my eye in newspapers and magazines: though fully aware that my silence would be liable to the same misconstructions as my acts, and would be characterized as contemptuous by those who had characterized my proceedings as wanton, or extravagant, or whatever else. Moreover, it is, as I consider for another reason, highly undesirable to meet specific accusations, anonymously made in the publications of the day. For those persons who are known to be in the practice of contradicting, are supposed to allow all which they do not contradict; so that a notorious person like myself would have established for myself a rule, by which I should have been obliged to pass a portion of every day in reading every newspaper, and a portion of many days in writing letters of explanation; and at last remain without certainty that all the objections had been noticed, but *with* certainty that none of the objectors had been satisfied.

I say, then, that I have really no feelings of unkindness against those parties, and I hope I have even, in some degree, profited by the discipline to which they have been instrumental. But I do feel it of the very highest importance to disclaim

every kind and every degree of accountability for my ministerial acts to any tribunals, save two.

First and chiefly, I hold myself, of course, responsible to your Lordship, both for my teaching and for the manner in which Divine Service is conducted in the church or chapel in which I regularly officiate. On the subject of teaching, I have perhaps said enough, I do not say to satisfy your Lordship that I am right, but at least to put you in possession of materials for judgment. I will here add only that I lately put out two Sermons, under the title of "Things Dispensable and Things Indispensable," in which I had an eye to certain objections, but without any personal or controversial object. I mention these Sermons in the present connexion, because I do not think them an unfair specimen of my usual tone and line of preaching; but of this point the regular members of my congregation are of course better judges than myself.

With respect to my general views of the duty of Clergymen as to the conduct, under actual circumstances, of Divine Service, in case your Lordship, or any other person, care to know them, I will refer to a Letter on the Rubrical Question, addressed to the editor of the *English Churchman*, and originally inserted in that paper; and subsequently, at my request, introduced into the *British Magazine* for the present month, through the kindness of the editor of that periodical. Your Lordship will see that in that Letter I take a somewhat different view of the much-agitated question

to which it relates from some of my respectable brethren; allowing considerably more than all of them are disposed to allow to certain popular objections, and taking a far less definite view than many "High Churchmen" about me respecting the stringency of certain Rubrics. That Letter was written before the disastrous proceedings in the Diocese of Exeter, as well as before the conciliatory Address of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Both of these occurrences (if I may mention my own name in such very high company) should be taken by any one who thinks it worth while to read my Letter in connexion with it.

It may be asked me, 'How can you, who have done such and such things at Margaret Chapel, argue against the force of certain Rubrics, or in favour of the legitimacy of certain influences?' My Lord, if you should ever think it worth while to cast your eye over that paper of mine, you will find that my own course at Margaret Chapel offers no sort of practical contradiction to its suggestions. Your Lordship will observe that I speak as strongly of the evil and danger of yielding to certain extrinsic objections, or to mere popular clamour, as of the duty of giving full and fair consideration to the conscientious difficulties of habitual worshippers. And again: that I only do away with the indispensable obligation of certain Rubrics practically (as I conceive, and so far as they are to be regarded in the light of binding laws) and annulled, in order to make way for a duty far more imperative than that of obedience to dormant

equivocal Rubrics—the duty of promoting in every allowed way the glory of Almighty God and the edification of His people.

To your Lordship, then, I hold myself in the first place accountable for my manner of regulating Divine Service in my Chapel. And your Lordship has ever shewn me, and I trust your Lordship will not be displeased by my saying it before the public, the most tender and forbearing consideration. I too well know that certain parties in and out of our Church have been long attempting to goad your Lordship into some Episcopal act against Margaret Chapel; but your Lordship would not be provoked. Do not let me be supposed, my Lord, for one instant to imply that the ill-report of a Church in your Diocese can ever be otherwise than a matter of concern to your Lordship; or that my supposed proceedings have not been to you a subject of uneasiness, and, at times, also of displeasure; nor, again, let me be supposed to claim your Lordship's explicit sanction of every minor change which, with a view, at least, to the objects which I have stated myself to recognise as paramount, I have introduced into the chapel during the five years and a half of my connexion with it. My Lord, I candidly own that I did not feel my way up to a certain time to consult your Lordship touching every single point in the arrangement of the Chapel, or the manner of conducting the Service. But, from the moment (now three years ago) that your Lordship told me you wished me to make no change, which might give offence,

without consulting you, I have proceeded on a different view of my duty. Up to that time, and ever since, in matters perfectly indifferent, I acknowledge that I rather used, and have used, my knowledge of your Lordship's principles and wishes to guide my course, than cared to burden you with the trouble and responsibility of a decision in each special case. If, in any instance, I have interpreted your Lordship's mind amiss, I can but tender the expression of my sincere regret.

But (and this brings me at once to the next division of my subject) I have always attributed, whether rightly or wrongly, your Lordship's forbearance in the case of Margaret Chapel, to your conviction, First, that I had a basis of Rubrical authority for every considerable "innovation" upon existing practice; and that "innovations" are only wrong where existing practice is perfect (which cannot be pretended); and second, that, above all, there was this great distinction between Margaret Chapel and some other churches where improvements had been attempted, that my regular congregation were quite unanimous, either in approving the alterations, or in delegating to their clergyman the power (so far as they were concerned) of making them. My Lord, it is not necessary I should say to your Lordship, how very different are the circumstances of a chapel from those of a parish church. I am not going to argue the question on which side abstractedly is the advantage, for on this matter the minds of English Churchmen are pretty well made up; but I certainly feel, after

some considerable experience, that, in the present state of our Church, what is called the "voluntary system" is not without its own very special advantages. It is a miserable thing indeed where a Clergyman's influence depends upon the popularity of his *preaching*; but I do not see any harm, quite the reverse, in an influence which is derived, if so be, from the mode in which Divine Service is celebrated. And besides, since the tie between a Chapel and its congregation, is either one of affection, or none at all, I do not see why persons who dislike a particular Service or Ministry, should not withdraw themselves. If people recognise strongly the *parochial* tie, then I wonder why they come to Margaret Chapel at all; and if they do not, there is an ample choice of chapels in London.

But whether or not this particular distinction between my own case and that of others, has weighed with your Lordship, at all events I can assure your Lordship that with myself it has always produced the most powerful effect. Some of my brethren, I imagine, do not distinctly recognise any special duty to their *congregation*, in respect of the manner of arranging Divine Service. On the contrary, I recognise that duty as so important, that nothing but my duty to your Lordship can be more so. To all, then, who, under whatever circumstances, or on whatever grounds, are actually brought under my eye, (it is quite immaterial to me *how*, or *why*, so long as I am satisfied that it is from no improper truckling on my part,) I consider myself bound as "their servant for Christ's sake." Had I been

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rector of a parish, it is quite obvious that I never could have done what has been done (through God's blessing) at Margaret Chapel. I never should have dreamt of attempting it. Had my flock been obliged to recognise, from their very position, the "parochial" tie, had they frequented my Church not because they felt edified by its services, or the better for my teaching, but because they and their fathers before them had always been accustomed to frequent it, and except they frequented it, had no alternative but to stay at home, or wander from church to church, or attach themselves to some dissenting congregation, how could I have ventured upon giving them no option but between a distasteful and perplexing mode of worship, and some of the evils I have just specified? But the case is as widely different as possible, where the sympathies of a congregation go almost side by side with a certain course of (intended) improvement, never lagging far behind, sometimes even pressing on before.

Now, considering, my Lord, that during all the years I have been at Margaret Chapel, and notwithstanding all the outcry of which it has been the subject, certainly not more than half-a-dozen persons who, were even attached to the congregation at all; and not half so many of them who had been attached to it for any length of time (indeed I recollect no instance under this head have left the Chapel in consequence of any dissatisfaction with the mode of service, or the system of teaching; I really think that I have some groun

for turning a deaf ear to the comments of persons, however respectable and well intentioned, who come only once in a way, and then without knowledge of the reasons of certain practices, (such, for instance, as the Offertory,) with which they are not familiar, or of the general system of which those practices are a part, sit down and write off their first impressions to the newspapers, or to myself, or to your Lordship.

My Lord, there are manifold more circumstances which I might mention to my present point, were I engaged, as I am not, in a regular defence of Margaret Chapel, or of myself. But with many of these your Lordship is, I believe, already acquainted, and some of them border upon subjects too sacred to expose unnecessarily to the public eye, or at least which could not be mentioned without a great liability to misconstruction. Among these I have omitted all allusion to the amount of offerings, the number of communicants, &c., as rather in my judgment popular and available, than adequate criteria of the blessing by which, most assuredly, the general ministrations of Margaret Chapel seem to have been accredited.

And now, my Lord, if I have not unduly taken up your Lordship's time, and tired your patience, bear with me for a few minutes longer, while I conclude these explanations with a few very serious and heartfelt words.

My Lord, I labour under an impression more overpowering than easily explicable, that the Church of England—that Dispensation of God, which has

been to all of us so great a means of blessing, and so high an object of loyalty—that this Church, so highly favoured beyond other Protestant communities, (if Protestant indeed it be,) is in the way, if not on the very brink, of a momentous, though may be not a sudden and conspicuous, crisis. I will not enter into the grounds of this my impression—indeed I have already said that it is of the nature of what is commonly called a ‘presentiment,’ and therefore incapable of being colourably substantiated. Yet, at any rate, to those who love the Church of England, there remains one strong consolation, and to that they will cling while they may. Mere *danger* is no note of discredit against God’s heritage; on the contrary, the greater the danger, the more marvellous, if so be, the rescue. But there is another reason against specifying too minutely the grounds of such an apprehension, even where they exist, and that is the fear of *suggesting* difficulties to minds happily as yet unassailed by them. To some few, however, it may perhaps, be a comfort to know, and therefore I will say it, that recent events at Oxford do not, themselves, press upon my own mind as among the most alarming signs of the times. And yet I cannot but feel those events as significant. As to the dogmatical or interpretative “decrees” of the Convocation of Oxford, they are now generally admitted to be quite devoid of any other weight than that which they may possess, as declarations of opinion, on the part of a respectable but motley body of voters. But I will not say so much against the *penal sentences*

that tribunal, (supposing them legal,) as well because such measures are evidences of a far more determined and energetic *animus* in individuals, and because they involve consequences far more obvious to the eye, and irritating to the imagination. And under some foresight of this effect it was, that I myself came forward as I did at the risk of much odium, and some even more practical results, (of which, however, I really do not wish to speak, so plain has always appeared to me the course of duty,) to lift up my feeble voice against a measure of almost unprecedented severity, in a case where neither heresy nor immorality were even so much as in question. However, let this pass. The University of Oxford has entered upon a course of aggression; let it find some way of following up its step with safety, or retracing it with credit.

But were the authorities of the Church of England to help on this academical agitation, then it would at once become, I do not say less justifiable, but certainly more serious. It is no business of mine to question the policy, still less to impugn the motives of any one who has, or who may, come forward on *either* side of this struggle. I have no opinion about better or worse; I deprecate nothing, I invite nothing; I only trust that all persons, (and the more eminent they are the greater of course is their responsibility,) may be aided to act cautiously and deliberately. Of caution and deliberation there is *certainly* need; and yet the times are singularly adverse to the due exercise of those great qualities.

If I might hope that a Bishop of our Church might lend a gracious ear to the appeal of one among the most unworthy, and yet not least devoted of her sons, I would say, Pause, my Lord, I implore you, pause, before you snap one binding tie, break up one compact system, dislodge one needful element, in the existing Church of England. It subsists by a balance; it is kept in its orbit through the operation of rival and conflicting influences. If we tamper with a body of such delicate structure and such heterogeneous materials, or enforce or enfeeble either of the powers on whose gentle and well-poised sway it depends for the equability of its movements, my own deep and deliberate apprehension is that it will break up, and its dissociated parts fly away in obedience to some more powerful attraction, or wheel their restless and self-chosen course round and round the dreary regions of space. This, its brittleness and want of inward balance, *might*, indeed, be a proof that it had never been a Divine work at all, at least, as to its essential framework; but they might also tend to shew that, though a Divine work, it had not been treated as God would have it treated.

My Lord, I will say no more, and perhaps, already, I have said more than my relative situation warrants. But, at least, that I may dispel the impression of levity, and indicate to your Lordship that I do not forget whom I am addressing, or on how high a subject, or in how sacred a season, I will conclude with a portion of the Service which some of us have offered up to-day.

“O God, merciful Father, that despisest not the sighing of a contrite heart, nor the desire of such as be sorrowful, mercifully assist our prayers that we make before Thee in all our troubles and adversities, whensoever they oppress us; and graciously hear us, that those evils, which the craft and subtlety of the devil, or man, worketh against us, be brought to nought, and by the providence of Thy goodness they may be dispersed; that we Thy servants, being hurt by no persecutions, may evermore give thanks unto Thee in Thy Holy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

“O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us, for Thy Name’s sake.

“O God, we have heard with our ears, and our fathers have told us the noble works that Thou didst in their days, and in the old time before them.

“O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us for Thine honour.”

And now, with sincere gratitude and respect, I request your Lordship to believe me,

Your very faithful Servant,

FREDERICK OAKELEY.

*Margaret Street, Wednesday in Lent,
19th. Feb. 1845.*

THE END.

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THE CLAIM

TO

“HOLD, AS DISTINCT FROM TEACHING,”

EXPLAINED IN

A LETTER TO A FRIEND.

BY THE

REV. FREDERICK OAKELEY, M.A.,

FELLOW OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, PREBENDARY OF LICHFIELD, AND MINISTER
OF MARGARET CHAPEL.

LONDON:

JAMES TOOVEY, 192 PICCADILLY.

M.DCCC.XLV.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE object of the following few pages is not to *defend* a certain declaration, but simply to *explain* it. The author believes that they contain nothing at variance with the hypothesis, gratuitous as it would be, of his having formally abandoned the claim to which they relate, as, under circumstances, impracticable; or at least of his being prepared to shape his course with respect to it in deference to the clear voice of authority. But neither, on the other hand, he should say, has he as yet performed any act, or published any words, either expressing or implying an opinion of the abstract untenability of the position with which his name has of late been prominently connected.

These few pages are put out simply with the view of shewing that the author has not used serious words without a serious meaning. An apology to this extent he feels imperatively due to those kind friends and generous benefactors with whose feelings he may seem to have trifled in hazarding the rupture of intimate ties, if not the sacrifice of precious interests, for the sake of what has been extensively considered, and that on very different sides, as a mere theory, if not a pure conceit. To himself, meanwhile, it has afforded a melancholy satisfaction, in a season of great trial, to analyze, as he has been lately for the first time

obliged, the view upon which he has attempted to conduct his ministrations of teaching, and thus to retrace a ground so dear to his memory.

His friends can harbour no better wish, and offer no more serviceable prayer, for him, than that every future step of his life may be taken under as large a vouchsafement of light as that which for nearly six favoured years has seemed to shine about his path at Margaret Chapel; and that the retrospect of any future course of duty to which it may please Providence to call him may be (less chequered indeed by penitential regrets, but) not less endeared by sweet recollections, than that of the happy career which is now drawing to an end. Truly its remembrances come to him, if the word be not too bold, as the fragrance of a "field which the Lord hath blessed."

*Margaret Street,
25 June, 1845.*

THE CLAIM, &c.

..... I do not want you to suppose that I have been coming forward, on some late occasions, in a gratuitous and reckless way. I doubt if I shall persuade you to the contrary, but it will be something to prove that I am anxious to persuade you.

The object of my putting out a certain declaration in February last, on the subject of Subscription to the Articles, was to bring a great question to an issue. I said to myself, "I will not so much as entertain the thought of leaving the Ministry, still less the Communion, of the Church of England, as long as I can fulfil the conditions she imposes upon me with a safe conscience. I am deliberately, and, as I believe, finally, satisfied that there is no standing-ground between Protestantism and the Roman theology. It is Rome alone which seems to me to propose doctrines on the authority of the Church; as soon as I leave this firm basis, I get adrift, and am thrown in one way or another upon private judgment, private views of Scripture, or of Antiquity, or of both. If our Lord has left a Church on earth, that Church must be, *toties quoties*, the authorized Expositress of His Word; and I see no Church but the Roman which even claims to fulfil this office for the Christian world. On the other hand, Almighty God, of His good purpose, has placed me in the Church of England; there I will, by His help, abide while I may. 'I have a place to fill and

a work to do' * where I am ; I will not be the person to cut the knot. Some around me have already, as I think too soon, given up the contest, and joined the Roman Catholic Church. Others have not proceeded the whole of this length, but they have withdrawn from ministerial duty. I am more hopeful of the Church of England, and will at least do my best to maintain myself where I am. There seems to me one difficulty, and but one—the Thirty-nine Articles. If I may conscientiously *hold* the doctrine, I cannot conscientiously repudiate, I am content to abstain from teaching them. I do not (as has been said) *deny my right* to teach them, if I can hold them. I *waive* it. I waive it, not reluctantly, but gladly,—because I am *precluded* from acting upon it, but not because I am not disposed so to act. I waive it on *ethical*, not for legal reasons. It is as much a conscience with me to keep from teaching, as it is a conscience with me to decline renouncing." This was the view upon which I had *unawares* acted long before I made my public declaration to the Vice-Chancellor. In that declaration I merely put into shape what I had been doing for months, and even years, in a natural and unconscious way. I repeat, that the distinction between holding and teaching was no pretext got up for the occasion ; if my sermons preached during the three last years were to be published, they would fully bear out my statement.

But it has been said, "How can a person make his mind to withhold from his flock what he knows to be true and believes important?" It is hardly possible to answer this objection in a short compass. I

* Letter to a Roman Catholic Friend, published in the *English Churchman* of November 21, 1844.

sure that it admits of a satisfactory answer, and I should be surprised if any very thoughtful person were to embrace, or at least cling to it. I will just throw out, 1. What is Roman doctrine? "English Churchmen" know full well that much is so called which they believe to be *Anglican* doctrine. Of course, I never felt myself precluded by my position from teaching all those doctrines which High-Churchmen believe to be common to England and Rome. And let it be considered, when this stock is exhausted, how exceedingly small is the *residuum*.

2. Again, remember what a vast extent of open and neutral ground in ministerial teaching is independent of *explicit* doctrine altogether. I grant that one who objects to renounce Roman doctrine will not preach even the same *ethical* sermons with an ordinary Protestant. But I am sure that there is a vast range of most important, yet quite uncontroversial, preaching and teaching, in which a clergyman, claiming the right which I have claimed, may strictly fulfil those obligations by which he is commonly understood to be bound to the Church of England, without compromising what he may feel his duty to the Catholic Church in general. However, I freely admit that there is a great deal of preaching, in which doctrine is, and ought to be, *directly* involved. But, with respect even to instruction of this more purely theological nature, I deny the position which I formerly assumed to be necessarily or clearly an untenable one.

3. For let it be remembered once more, that there is a broad distinction between theological *principles* and theological *dogmas*. There are certain *principles* upon which all true Churchmen are, I suppose, agreed; I may believe that these principles consistently carried

out will issue in Roman doctrine, and that certain dogmas are but the accurate and formal enunciation of them. As a Roman Catholic teacher, I must set out these principles in their dogmatic shape ; from that I am debarred by my (moral) obligations to the Church of England ; but those obligations, far from forbidding, even require, me to *inculcate* the *principles*. I will now give an instance. A great theologian of our day has hinted that the doctrine of Purgatory may be the consistent ultimate result of the Church's penitential system, as this again is involved in the fact of Sin and Baptism. I believe that it is so ; now, let any one tell me whether or not I violate either my conscience (as believing certain doctrines true and necessary), or the same my conscience (as objecting to startle or perplex weak minds, or to give strong meat to 'babes in the faith' when I teach, for instance, that "suffering is God's appointed mode of doing away the effects of sin, and that this throughout the whole Christian life from Baptism to the Day of Judgment" ? Is such a sentiment orthodox upon Church of England principles, or is it not ? If it be orthodox, certainly it satisfies all my obligations on the score of Roman doctrine. And many persons will certainly say that this is to *teach* Roman doctrine. In one sense it is, and in another it is not. But I am here meeting the objections, of professional Churchmen. The same distinction might be illustrated in other ways. It has been said of some clergymen, that their object has been "to go as near Rome as they could." In a certain sense, I admit the truth of the observation, and am prepared to defend the principle.

I will give another instance—the doctrine of Invocation of the Saints. This, I grant, is a Roman

doctrine; and it is (with Purgatory) one of the very few Tridentine articles which the generality of English Churchmen would consider to be unquestionably *distinctive* of Rome. My claim, of course, required me to believe that the true and authorized doctrine on this subject is not *in terms* forbidden by the Thirty-nine Articles; but I should as soon have thought of committing any deliberate sin, when I officiated in the Church of England, as have recommended this practice from the pulpit. But neither should I have been obliged to this course as an actual Roman Catholic Priest; for the Council of Trent itself does not set forth the Invocation of the Saints as necessary, but only as profitable. As then, on the one hand, my plain duty to the Church of England required me to abstain from recommending this observance; so neither, on the other, did any duty to the Church Catholic seem to impose on me the obligation to recommend it.

But I conceive that my obligations to one as well as the other *did* require me to take all convenient opportunities of setting forth the theological *principle* of which I consider (though you may not) that this practice is the consistent issue. I might, in this way, have enlarged upon the "doctrine of the Communion of the Saints, the interest of the glorified in the militant, their nearness to Almighty God, and the power of *all* the righteous with Him," &c. &c. I might, I say, have spoken in this manner, and have even fallen below the language of some Anglican divines on the subject. Yet you will see how certain the treatment of such topics in the pulpit would be to expose me to the charge of "Popery" on the one side, and undue suppression on the other. Yet surely I could have followed out

such a course with a safe conscience. As it was am certain that I greatly under-used my liberty such respects. And accordingly, when the Bishop of London gave out, in February last, his intention of breaking up Margaret Chapel (before my Letter to Lordship was published or thought of), between one and two hundred credible witnesses came forward to attest that during six years "they had never heard a word from the pulpit of Margaret Chapel which they conceived his Lordship would have disapproved." Now, considering that the range of time specified was sufficient to comprehend some six or seven hundred discourses, I certainly regard this statement as an enthusiastic one. But it is quite enough for my purpose that a body of thoughtful, well-instructed, conscientious persons should have been able to say such a thing at all.

But my argument will be still clearer if I set forth a doctrine which has in our own time been formally decided by the Ecclesiastical Courts to be part of the Anglican system,—Prayers for the dead: will it be one question my right, as a clergyman of the Church of England, to *teach*, as well as to *hold*, this doctrine? And yet I suspect that, had I availed myself of this undoubted right, I should in fact have "exposed myself to the Bishop's censure." For his Lordship, as I remember, took occasion, immediately upon the decision of the Court of Arches, to express publicly his individual opinion *against* that doctrine and practice.

Now this is a case especially in point. I should never have thought of using my undoubted power of recommending even this practice from the pulpit, and that on "moral, as distinct from legal" grounds.

I hope I have made it plain, that the position

of "holding, as distinct from teaching," is at least no unreal, nor necessarily an unconscientious, one. That the distinction is what is commonly called a "fine" one, and therefore dangerous to conscience, I admit. I admit, also, that the difficulty of maintaining it may be increased, even to impossibility, by the very fact of being obliged to *realize* and put it into shape. These are different matters, upon which I forbear at present to enlarge. But, I suppose it will be acknowledged by persons conversant with moral subjects, that not every line is unreal which is incapable of being described, nor unconscientious which is ordinarily unintelligible.

To go a little farther back, and analyze the view of things which, in my own case, has practically issued in this kind of result: I have never denied that the actual Church of England has long seemed to me, though a providential, yet a transitional, not a complete and final, system. On the other hand, I have strongly felt that, for moral reasons, its passage from this incomplete to the more perfect state ought, if possible, to be gradual, and not abrupt. I have avowedly and deliberately acted upon this view, as others have done: no wonder, then, if, to those who treat the Church of England as a permanent and final dispensation, such as I have seemed undutiful and restless. Duty to a transitional system is plainly other than duty to an abiding system. And persons would not see that a system felt to be transitional might yet be the object of hearty *loyalty*. It has always seemed to myself that I was best fulfilling the obligations of duty and attachment to the Church of England in carrying out what I honestly believed to have been the especial object of her mission in.

the purposes of Divine Providence. Now, I want objectors to my course to clear their views upon this point. Do they, or do they not, feel the *actual basis* of the Church of England as an *insulated* communion, a solid and substantial one? If they do, I cannot expect them to throw themselves into my situation, and I have a right to ask that they shall abstain from judging me. If they do not, I ask them to point out some line of action less open to objection than that which I have adopted; the line, I mean, of attempting, in my measure, to *educate* minds for higher doctrine, by the inculcation of principles calculated by degrees to *leaven* them, and form them into that *character* (for religion *is* a character) which several persons in the Church of England are coming to believe the only true counterpart of Apostolical Christianity.

But, to go back from this long digression. The whole question seemed to me, therefore, to resolve itself into that of the tenability of such a position as my own, *relatively to the Articles which I have subscribed*, and which I virtually subscribe every day that I minister in the Church of England.

The Articles, I say, (including the Oath of Supremacy,) were my only difficulty, and I am surprised if it should be even supposed that I could recognize any other ecclesiastical impediment in the way of what I have been accustomed to regard as my duty to the Christian Church at large.

The Service of the Prayer Book was never felt, as you well know, any bar to communion with Rome for the first few years after the Reformation; and if Roman Catholics themselves were content, in former times, to frequent our Church Service, at least it need

have presented no difficulty in my way. And, surely, the more fully and effectively its provisions are carried out, the less will appear to be the difference (great as I admit that difference will still be) between our Service and the Roman.

But again, while such as myself have always felt ourselves bound, so far as the Divine Office was concerned, by the *whole* Prayer Book, I need not say that we have felt ourselves under an equally stringent obligation to resist all superfluous and gratuitous additions to the Prayer Book, by whatever authority, short of the authority of the corporate Church of England, accredited or recommended. Thus I have heard something about a certain Office for the reception of Priests of the Roman Church into the Communion of the Church of England. I know nothing more of any such Office, than of any form of service used, for instance, in the Protestant Churches of the Continent. I believe that some such Office was once drawn up, and proposed to the Convocation; but it was never accepted, nor in any way formally ratified. And, far from individual Bishops having power to enforce such an Office upon the clergy, I believe that any clergyman, of whatever degree, who should use it, would subject himself to an ecclesiastical penalty.

The Service for the 5th of November may seem a greater difficulty, as it is actually bound up with the Book of Common Prayer. But a number of clergymen have dropped this, together with the other political Forms of Prayer and Thanksgiving, by common consent; and their Bishops (although aware of the circumstance) do not attempt to interfere with their discretion. In fact, these are not days when inflammatory language against "Popery" is likely to

receive any encouragement in high political and ecclesiastical quarters. The voters for the Maynooth Grant have at least won this freedom for us. And the four Services which receive the royal sanction at the commencement of each reign, embrace, one with another, such exceedingly various and even contradictory politics, that they are not likely, as a whole, to rally any great enthusiasm in their support. I suspect we have pretty well seen the end of them.

I repeat, the Articles were my only difficulty. Here, then, I come to the objections which have been raised against my declarations in the spring. People have said to me something like this:—"Very well; hold all Roman doctrine if you please, but keep it to yourself. Why endanger the solid advantages of Margaret Chapel for the sake of a theory? Why trouble the Church of England by your protests and manifestoes?" To which I reply: Do you, then, give into the view that a clergyman of the Church of England may honestly hold *any* doctrine which he chooses to keep to himself? Is it a pleasant thought to you, that there may be at this moment several (say) Arian or Socinian clergymen of the Church of England, "holding all" the abominations of these heresies in their closets, though suppressing them in their pulpits? A specimen this, truly, of an orthodox Church! Do you adopt the theory that the Thirty-nine Articles are mere terms of peace, although every clergyman subscribes them "willingly and *ex animo*"? Or do you say, rather, that Roman doctrine is more compatible with the Articles than Arian, or Socinian? But the question, surely, is not one of degree merely. If one single Roman doctrine be precluded by the Articles,

the subscription of such as myself is not less dishonest than that of an Arian or Socinian clergyman. Moreover, there are considerable persons, of past and present time, who deny that the Articles *are* more tolerant of Roman than of Arian doctrine. What says Dr. Waterland, and his modern apologist, Dr. Ogilvie? "If *Arian* subscription....could not in the judgment either of Dr. Waterland, or of Bishop Van Mildert, be allowed, *much less*, according to the opinion of the same divines, was the subscription of such as held the tenets of the Church of Rome capable of apology or excuse. Throughout both the Case itself, and the Supplement to the Case, Dr. Waterland represents *the latter*, which he takes frequent occasion to mention, *as more objectionable than the former.*"* Now, whether or not this extreme opinion be extensively prevalent in the Church of England, I suspect that the number of persons was most exceedingly small who were prepared to concede the admissibility of Mr. Ward's claim. And, let it be observed, the denial of its admissibility borders very closely upon the assertion of its dishonesty. At any rate, it leaves that assertion to be freely made, and raises the suspicion that those who abstain from making it are so deterred rather by a feeling of kindness and charity, than by any very deliberate conviction of its untruth.

Let us, then, fairly state the case of a person in the situation assumed in my letter to the Vice-Chancellor.

Here is a Clergyman and Fellow of a College in Oxford, conscious to himself that, except he can subscribe the Articles without renouncing any one au-

* Considerations on the Thirty-nine Articles by Dr. Ogilvie, p. 11.

thorized Roman doctrine, he cannot subscribe them at all. It may be said, that subscription is not a "continuing act," and that he has come to his present convictions since the time of his last subscription. But this view, whether or not legally practicable, does not appear to him morally sufficient. Moreover, the view of subscription which he adopts has the following serious disadvantages lying against it. If honest men throughout England were polled, not twenty, perhaps, would pronounce it clearly allowable. The apparent meaning of the Articles themselves is against it; the sense of Catholic Europe is against it; several Bishops of the Anglican Church have apparently denounced it; and now here is a large majority in the Convocation of Oxford declaring that it is inconsistent with "good faith."

This is certainly a *prima facie* case, under which I should have thought no man with a conscience could sit easy. And yet I consider that the Oxford resolution was after all the crisis of the question. Every other difficulty by which, up to that time, the claim in which I was interested had been apparently prejudiced, admitted of being met. There was the latitude in which the Formularies of the Church of England are actually subscribed. There seemed a kind of tacit understanding in favour of an exceedingly free interpretation of them. The Bishops themselves might have been thought to acquiesce in a construction of them, according to which the apparent meaning of words was wholly evaded. For how else could clergymen of name, and even Bishops themselves, impugn a doctrine so decisively stamped upon the very surface of the Prayer Book as that of Regeneration in Baptism? How else could clergymen, and

even Bishops, undermine without any apparent misgiving, certainly without any formal rebuke, the Apostolical Succession of the Ministry, in the face of certain passages in the Ordination Service? The State, too, seemed practically to acknowledge that the words of solemn documents admit of a wide construction. For example, an oath, taken by every Member of Parliament, declares *totidem verbis* that the Pope neither hath, nor ought to have, power, &c., *ecclesiastical or spiritual, within the Queen's dominions*. Yet this oath is not felt to stand in the way of legislating for Roman Catholics (over whom the Pope undoubtedly exercises power) as subjects of the Queen; nay, and it is not felt by statesmen of great name to preclude the act, or the prospect, of *diplomatic negotiations with the Court of Rome*; that is to say, of negotiations designed to employ this hypothetically non-existent, and forbidden power, with a view to political objects. Again, the Sovereign takes on accession to the throne, or at the time of coronation, a certain declaration against Transubstantiation as a superstitious and idolatrous doctrine. Nevertheless, it is not felt incompatible with this declaration that such Sovereign should ratify, by her own act, the endowment of an institution pledged to the inculcation of this very doctrine, as of all other Roman doctrines. I am not saying, of course, that all this is indefensible; but certainly I say, that the sense in which these clergymen, and bishops, and statesmen, must understand certain words, is the "non-natural" sense. There seemed, then, to be a kind of dispensation, in public opinion at least, from the strict letter of certain forms, the conditions whether of civil, or of ecclesiastical, privileges.

Again, on the side of the Roman Catholic subscription to the Anglican Formularies, was the argument from historical probability, not to speak of facts. There is this plain question, which, after all that has been said, remains unanswered, even by those who have answered, and, as I think, successfully, some other portions of the same argument,—Were the Thirty-nine Articles, or were they not, drawn up with a comprehensive intention towards the several religious parties existing at the time? Did the Reformers aim at including none but the Protestants? If otherwise, *what Catholics were they whom they sought to satisfy?* Evidently, *Roman Catholics*. I think it may fairly be urged that, if the Articles were not meant to include Roman Catholics, they were not meant to include any but ultra-Protestants, at least no opinions more Catholic than those of Ridley. What then becomes of the “developement of the 17th century”? Let me not be understood to urge this latter point in any other way than as a *consideration* on the side of the claim in question. I have been accused of catching at straws; I answer, that such is ever the wisdom, and the duty, of persons in a desperate condition, such as I have never denied my own to be. Was I, with my settled, and, as I trust, unalterable convictions on the subject of the Roman Catholic theology, to retreat from the Church of England, at least from its ministry, without a hard struggle? Was I to abandon, without necessity, any hope however faint, any distinction however subtle, whereby I could at once satisfy my conscience and keep my ground? On the contrary, there was no imputation, as long as I felt it to be undeserved, on the score of inconsistency, shallowness, or disingenuousness, which did not seem to

me a light thing in comparison with the needless relinquishment of a post where I felt I was doing good, and in a right way.

Under these circumstances, I considered myself under no call to volunteer, at least in a direct and forward manner, declarations of my opinions as long as the interpretation of the Articles appeared to be left as an open question.

The reasons for which I considered the result of the Convocation at Oxford, on February 13th, as the fitting occasion of coming forward, I have detailed at length in a Letter published in the *English Churchman* of February 27th; and I am glad to find the same view of the matter taken by a clergyman and member of Oxford University holding somewhat different theological views from my own.*

Now, I do not expect all my friends to sympathise in my unwillingness to renounce any Roman doctrine, but I ask them to bear in mind that my views on this point are no matter of choice with me; and yet, this being so, I must either have taken it for granted that the Articles (tolerant, by acknowledgment, of all Protestant doctrine,) are stringent only in the opposite direction; or have made a push to win for the Church of England, at any risk to myself, an admission which would not only have relieved many a distressed conscience, but might have preserved to her ministry many a loving son. That the number of those is small who were interested in the establishment of my claim, I wholly deny, and am daily confirmed in my impression to the contrary. Now, which of the courses open to me was the less ob-

* Vide Subscription to the Articles, by the Rev. G. D. Ryder, p 4.

trusive, and less hazardous to myself, is evident. But I can never concede that the one which I adopted was the less loyal towards the Church of England.

If you will have it that my Letter to the Vice-Chancellor was of the nature of a challenge to my Church in the person of its Bishops, (which I deny, but if you so think,) I suppose you will allow that the following is no unfair interpretation of it.

“ Certain persons, of whom I am one, have arrived, no matter by what process, or on what grounds, at a state of mind in which they desire to claim the liberty of subscribing the Formularies of our Church in such a sense as not necessarily to involve the renunciation of any single authorized doctrine of the Church of Rome. We are well aware that the only way of endangering this liberty is to claim it; our Church will ask us no questions, if we on our side volunteer no declarations. But we do not wish to serve our Church ‘under false colours;’ we wish her to know the worst of us, and then to say whether she will have us in her ministry or no. The position on which we rely is actually disputed, and there is much to be said on the side of those who question it. Our consciences will not let us rest in such an equivocal situation. We do not indeed ask for leave to teach all those doctrines which we ‘claim to hold;’ we do not crave entire freedom, nor public countenance, nor even so much as hearty sympathy. We ask not countenance, but toleration only. We are content to forego many of those privileges and encouragements which we could easily find elsewhere, could we make up our minds to desert our Church, and for which we must needs look out, on account of the liberty which accompanies them, if she cast us off. But there shall

be our first tender of service, where is the claim upon our first love. If we must give up our places in the Church of England, we will do it, not by our own free choice, but at her irresistible bidding. We feel that there is a great work to be done in England; perhaps not very much less than that of evangelizing it. We are sure that the Church of England, as represented in her established and popular system, is unequal to this work, or to any portion of it. But we are not sure, and are loth to believe, that she is incapable of being prepared for it; only we are sure that she cannot accomplish it single-handed, or till an entirely new spirit is poured into her. We believe, that as the handmaid of the Church of Rome she could achieve what she can never achieve of herself; and we frankly acknowledge our desire of bringing her into the utmost practicable sympathy with the 'Holy Church throughout all the world.' It is for you, our spiritual fathers, to deal with us according to your good pleasure. You know all we claim; and our very frankness in declaring what we might conceal, is some guarantee for our fidelity, and some warrant for your confidence. At all events, our pledges are before the world; and if we break them we render ourselves justly amenable, all men being judges, to your severity. If you recognize the Church of England as a branch of the Catholic Church, we consider that the manifestation of earnest Catholic sympathies at any rate gives us a claim upon your indulgence. And even though your profession be strictly Protestant, you will surely feel that we are less likely to hurt the cause of Protestantism under the restraints which, as we admit, our Church puts upon us, than if you force or tempt us to assume the posture of antagonism to

it. If you will not let us hold what we forbear to teach, you may drive us where we may teach as we may hold. This is no unbecoming menace; it is a plain matter of fact, and question of prudence. It is a question, however, for you, and not for us.

“ We ask not of the Church of England her choicest rooms, but her lowest places. Catholics as we would fain hope ourselves, we are content to be put upon a par with that tribe of misbelievers whom, for whatever reason, she refuses to cast from her bosom. We, (whatever our extravagances, or, if you will, errors,) honour her Sacraments, reverence her altars, obey her rubrics, adorn her temples, prize her ornaments, (do not let us seem to make a boast of what we regard as our plainest duty,) ask from her no more than may, much less—than she is ready to bestow, of her large but somewhat suicidal disinterestedness, upon those who dishonour and traduce her, and hold her up to the contempt and derision of Christendom. Glad will we bear with affronts, and make the best of our bad company in which we find ourselves, if you will, but let us have our hearts’ desire, which is not to sit on smiles and participate of bounties, but to wait on our Church in all fidelity, though with crumbs for our portion and buffetings for our reward.”

But I must go to a different subject, my Letter to the Bishop of London, which has been treated in some quarters* as a second instance of the wanton obtrusion of my opinions. Let me, then, explain the circumstances under which that letter was put out.

It was an honest, but, as I admit, desperate effort to preserve what I considered very precious interests.

* Vide an article in the *Christian Remembrancer* of April last.

. The Bishop, as you know, made my letter to the Vice-Chancellor the occasion of a demand for the resignation of my licence, accompanied by the expression of an intention to withdraw it in the event of my refusal. I craved time, and offered to put out a defence. That defence is contained in my published Letter. I never refused the resignation of my licence (as has been said); the Bishop waived, for the time, his Lordship's purpose of requiring it, and assigned as a reason the doubt as to my case expressed by a high legal authority to whom his Lordship had submitted *my published Letter*, and the testimonies of my congregation to the character of my ministerial teaching.

. Again, it has been said in several quarters that I "forced" his Lordship into the late legal proceeding. Certainly, I had expressed both publicly and in private an anxious wish for the settlement of a great question; and I supposed, of course, that the reference to the Court of Arches was made with a view to such settlement. In this I find that I was mistaken. Now, some persons may be disposed to argue in this way. Either the letter to the Vice-Chancellor was a valid ground of proceeding against me, or not. If not, why, it may be asked, was it so used? If so, why is not it, rather than a subsequent and purely defensive act (forced by an emergency) employed as the weapon of attack against me? I am not questioning that the course admits of vindication; but I think it is open to such a remark. You remember, that when Tract 90 was attacked by the Hebdomadal Board, its author put out a defence in the shape of a letter to his Bishop. When I took my course, I had no time to think of precedents; but it now strikes me that the cases were so far parallel. There

are reasons of duty against my entering upon any explanation, at the present time, of my withdrawal from the suit in the Court of Arches. But, if I have convinced you that I did not act without deliberation and an apparent necessity in the instances to which I have referred, you will, perhaps, be disposed to take my more recent proceeding upon trust; at all events, till I am in a situation to account for it. You will at any rate see, that in considering the suit in the Court of Arches to leave untouched the question (of subscription to the Articles), "upon which I had expressed myself anxious for an authoritative judgment," my able advisers were fully borne out by the facts of the case. And it will always be a satisfaction to me to feel that I have, on two separate occasions, manifested to my Bishop that I had no desire to push matters to extremities, if his Lordship, on his side, should see reason to forbear from them; first, when, in February last, I suppressed a publication which might have caused embarrassment to his Lordship, in the prospect of an amicable adjustment (which unhappily proved but temporary); secondly, when I lately tendered the resignation of my licence, with the view of terminating a suit which is now acknowledged, on all hands, to have no other than a partial subject-matter and a merely personal bearing. I consider that I have satisfied the claims of duty on the score of submission to the very utmost extent which was compatible with my obligations to the Church.

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FREDERICK OAKELEY.

CONSIDERATIONS

ON

SUBSCRIPTION

TO THE

THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES,

SUBMITTED TO THE SERIOUS ATTENTION

OF

CANDIDATES FOR HOLY ORDERS.

BY

CHARLES A. OGILVIE, D.D.

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OXFORD,

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1845.

TO
THE REVEREND
RICHARD JENKYN, D.D.
MASTER OF BALLIOL COLLEGE.

MY DEAR MASTER,

In offering to the notice of Candidates for Holy Orders generally the following pages, at first intended only for the hearers of my own Lectures, I beg leave to associate your valued name with an attempt to uphold principles, which you have firmly maintained through a long Academical career of usefulness and honour; and to declare publicly that, with sincere respect and the warmest gratitude,

I am
Your's most faithfully,
CHARLES A. OGILVIE.

May 12, 1845.

CONSIDERATIONS,

&c.

THE recent circumstances of the University of Oxford have called forth many Pamphlets and Papers, bearing more or less upon the subject of Subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles. Of these Publications none seem to have been intended, and few certainly are likely, to survive the occasion, out of which they arose. Their object was rather to influence the decision of an existing controversy, than to furnish help and guidance to that class of persons, for whom the question concerning Subscription has, and ever must have, an instant practical importance.

In the number of such persons are included all Candidates for Holy Orders in the Church of England. They are required to perform the act of Subscription at a season, of which every incident has for them a profound significance and an unspeakable interest. When the appointed days of their Examination, and the accompanying exercises of self-denial, of meditation and of prayer have been brought to a close; when the chief Pastor of the Church has already intimated his well-grounded

hope, and even his confidence, that the requisite qualifications, intellectual, moral and literary, are not wanting; in this hour of deep and thrilling emotion, of mingled fear and joy, the youthful servants of God are reminded that a preliminary step is to be taken—that an indispensable condition is to be fulfilled, before they can be permitted to enter into the stipulations and to bind themselves by the vows of Ordination. This preliminary step, this indispensable condition, is a formal and solemn Subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles, a Subscription, which the law of the *Church* and the law of the *Land* unite in enforcing.

The law of the *Land*, which requires this Subscription, is the 13 Eliz. c. 12.

“That none shall be admitted to the Order of “ *Deacon* or *Ministry*, unless he shall first subscribe “ to the said (the Thirty-Nine) Articles.”

The law of the *Church* of the same year, as laid down in the Canons of 1571, (Canons, to which the *full* character of *Ecclesiastical law* has never belonged, but which yet are universally allowed to convey the sense of the Church of that age,) is as follows :

“ Quivis Minister Ecclesiæ, antequam in Sacram
“ functionem ingrediatur, subscribet omnibus Articulis
“ de Religione Christiana, in quos consensum est in
“ Synodo; et publice ad populum, ubicunque Episcopus
“ jusserit, patefaciet conscientiam suam, quid de illis
“ Articulis et universa doctrina sentiat.”

The *present* law of the *Church* is contained in the 36th of the Canons of 1603, and prescribes the mode and terms of that Subscription, which the law of Elizabeth requires :

“ No person shall hereafter be received into the “ Ministry—except he shall first subscribe to *Three* “ Articles,” of which the last in order sets forth, that “ he” (the subscriber) “ alloweth the Book of Articles “ of Religion agreed upon by the Archbishops and “ Bishops of both Provinces and the whole Clergy in “ the Convocation holden at London, in the year of “ our Lord God 1562; and that he acknowledgeth all “ and every the Articles therein contained, being in “ number Nine and Thirty, besides the Ratification, “ to be agreeable to the Word of God.” And, “ for “ the avoiding of all ambiguities, he shall subscribe” to the *Three Articles* of the Canon “ in this order “ and form of words, setting down both his Christian “ and Surname; viz. I ———— do *willingly* and *ex* “ *animo* subscribe to these Three Articles, and to all “ things that are contained in them.”

Can it be supposed by any seriously minded man that an act, to be thus deliberately done, at a crisis so momentous, is in its own nature trivial or unimportant? Can it be for a moment imagined that an act, without the due performance of which all previous care and pains of preparation and of successful study will be frustrated, involves but little responsibility and may therefore be hastily or inconsiderately entered upon? Surely, the temper of mind of all fit Candi-

dates for Holy Orders must be one of earnest and anxious inquiry what the true meaning of Subscription is. Surely, all well-disposed Candidates must deeply feel the necessity of ascertaining the nature and amount of the obligation, which an act, marked by so much solemnity of circumstance, cannot but be intended to impose.

To suit this temper and to meet this necessity, recourse has often been had and may yet again, it is conceived, be advantageously had, to those writings of a former age, in which the subject of Subscription has been fully discussed and clearly illustrated. Among such writings, the Works of Dr. Waterland are conspicuous. These valuable Works have been placed within easy reach of the Theological Student through an Edition, issuing from the University Press under the superintendence of the late Bp. Van Mildert, a Prelate of our Church, of whom it may be confidently asserted, that in knowledge, judgment and piety, he has been surpassed by few members of the Sacred Profession, whether of our own or of any other times. Nor is it unworthy of remark, that Bp. Van Mildert's Edition of Dr. Waterland's Works was put prominently forward and recommended to general notice by the Editors of the Tracts for the Times, up to the close of that series of Publications, in their list of "larger Works, which may be profitably studied."

Accessible, however, as the Works of Dr. Waterland have been rendered, and deservedly as they

have been recommended from various and even opposite quarters, it may be doubted, whether they have met with the attention to which they are entitled. It is to be feared that too many even of the Students of Divinity of our own day have yielded to the temptation of accepting "the specious in exchange for the sound; the made-dish" of Tracts and Tales, of Reviews and Essays, "for the substantial food" of solid, learned, and argumentative Discourses and Treatises.

Under these circumstances, it is thought desirable on the present occasion expressly and pointedly to refer all serious inquirers, and more especially all Candidates for Holy Orders, to "The Case of Arian Subscription considered, and the several pleas and excuses for it particularly examined and confuted;" and to "A Supplement to that Case," as these Two Treatises are contained in the Second Volume of Bp. Van Mildert's Edition of the Works of Dr. Waterland^b. Of the former of the Two, the Editor remarks:

"This is one of our Author's ablest productions, and may be read with great advantage, for the soundness and importance of its general principles, on a question deeply affecting moral integrity, as well as

^a Dr. Hammond.

^b The Edition, to which reference is made throughout this Pamphlet, is that of 1823, in 12 vol. 8vo. A later and cheaper impression of the same Edition, in 6 vols. 8vo. issued from the University Press in 1843.

“purity of doctrine, independently of the particular case, to which it more immediately relates.”

By these few emphatic words, Bp. Van Mildert is believed to sanction such an application and use of Dr. Waterland's views and principles as are now about to be made. And although such use and application are sufficiently warranted by the sanction of so high an authority, yet may they be still farther justified by a fair prospect of advantage for the cause of truth likely to result from them. Representations and arguments, borrowed from pages that have been before the Public for more than a century, are calculated to have, so far as the disputes of our own day are concerned, the full and unimpeded force and efficacy which can belong to *general* statements and *abstract* reasonings; since, with whatever striking self-evidence they may be seen to accommodate themselves to any present purposes, they will yet by all parties be felt and acknowledged to stand utterly aloof from temporary and personal associations. In casting reflections and in conveying censure, they will be confessed to aim not at individuals, but at classes; not at persons, but at principles; not at the men of our own times, but at the errors and sins of men of all times.

Now it must be observed that the *general principles*, pronounced to be important and commended for their *soundness* by Bp. Van Mildert, forbid *Romanist* as well as *Arian* Subscription. The question, of which the

• • Review of Dr. Waterland's Life and Writings, p. 78.

excellent Prelate speaks as “*deeply affecting moral integrity*,” concerns equally one who holds *Roman* tenets, and a follower of *Arius* or *Socinus*. The case of *Romanist* Subscription may undoubtedly be distinguished plainly from that of *Arian* Subscription. It is obvious that the pleas and excuses for the one will not serve for the other. Yet were both Subscriptions present to the mind of Dr. Waterland, when he wrote, and of Bp. Van Mildert, when he reviewed, the Two Treatises, which have been lately mentioned. Both Subscriptions were by the original Author and by his modern Editor regarded, in a moral point of view, as coming under one and the same class and description of actions. To both the same language was by these authorities, distant from each other in time but alike in reputation and in weight, deemed applicable and in fact applied. If *Arian* Subscription, as it was colourably set forth and plausibly defended by the celebrated Dr. Clarke and afterwards maintained by his followers, who repeated language, which he had himself suppressed or recalled; if *Arian* Subscription, thus ingeniously explained and vindicated, could not, in the judgment either of Dr. Waterland or of Bp. Van Mildert, be allowed, much less, according to the opinion of the same Divines, was the Subscription of such as held the tenets of the Church of Rome capable of apology or excuse. Throughout both the Case itself and the Supplement to the Case, Dr. Waterland represents the latter, which he takes frequent occasion to men-

tion, as more objectionable than the former. It did not appear to him equally to admit of palliation. It was considered by him to be an evil, less likely indeed to occur, but calculated, if it ever should occur, in a far greater degree to alarm and shock the minds of men. There is no reason to suppose that his judgment on this whole subject differed, in any degree, from that expressed, a little while before, by Dr. William Nichols in a work, to which Dr. Waterland, handling a different argument^d, refers, as “written by “ a very judicious Divine of our Church :”

“ The Articles of our Church (which not only
 “ Clergymen but all Students in our Universities are
 “ obliged by their Subscriptions to acknowledge and
 “ maintain) do put it out of all doubt that heaven and
 “ earth are not at a greater distance than our Religion
 “ is from Popery*.”

Will it be said that neither Dr. Waterland nor Bp. Van Mildert was aware of the pleas, which may be urged and have been recently urged in favour of the Subscription of persons holding and professing to hold the tenets of the Church of Rome? Will it be contended that, skilful as the *former* was in examining and confuting the Sixteen separate reasons of the Arians of his day; and decisive as the *latter* was in pronouncing his sentence that success had crowned the efforts of his predecessor's skill in this argument, each of these eminent Theologians would have found

^d Works, vol. v. p. 466.

* Defence of Church of England, p. 155.

it a task too difficult for his ability and learning to dispose of the reasonings and to set aside the distinctions of the disputants of our own age,—more especially of the Author of the 90th Tract for the Times—that one writer, the leader as in order of time so also in personal influence, through whom chiefly we of the present day are made to share the “experience of “all ages in the Church of God, that the Teacher’s “error is the people’s trial, harder and heavier by “so much to bear as he is, in worth and regard, “greater that mispersuadeth them’?” To these questions the means of a ready reply are furnished by the fact, that Dr. Waterland had in view, and that Bp. Van Mildert cannot be supposed to have overlooked, a remarkable work, which was published in the year 1634; and which, under a title not professing any such purpose, was intended

‘ Hooker’s Eccles. Pol. v. 62. 9. where Hooker imitates Vincentius Lirinensis:

“Dicebamus ergo in superioribus quod, in Ecclesia Dei, tentatio “esset populi error Magistri; et tanto major tentatio, quanto ipse “esset doctior qui erraret.”

The preceding passage of the Commonitorium, to which these words allude, is as follows:

“Luce clarius aperta causa est cur interdum Divina Providentia “quosdam Ecclesiarum Magistros nova quædam dogmata prædicare “patiatur. ‘Ut tentet vos Dominus Deus vester.’ Et profecto “magna tentatio est, cum ille, quem tu Prophetam, quem Prophetarum discipulum, quem Doctorem et Adsertorem veritatis putes, “quem summa veneratione et amore complexus sis, is subito latentes “noxios subinducat errores, quos nec cito deprehendere valeas, dum “antiqui Magisterii ducis præjudicio; nec facile damnare fas “ducas, dum Magistri veteris præpediris affectu.”

to serve for a Paraphrastic Explanation of the Articles of the English Confession of Faith ; in other words, for an attempt to reconcile the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England with the tenets of the Church of Rome. To the Author of this extraordinary Book, Christopher Davenport, who, having gone over to the Church of Rome in early youth, and having afterwards become a Dominican, passed under the name of Franciscus à Sancta Clara, Abp. Bramhall has given credit for considerable learning, and for a temper of Christian charity and moderation ; although the same Prelate, evidently accounting at once for the hardihood and for the failure of his efforts, laments his imperfect acquaintance with our English doctrine. Dr. Waterland, without calling in question either his acquirements or his motives, freely animadverts on his performance and insists on the futility of his attempts.

Now it is this very work, which has been lately pressed on “ the attentive consideration of English Churchmen, as the testimony of an impartial witness “ to the orthodoxy and Catholicity of our own Communion ;” and which has been stated by one, well entitled to be heard on this particular point, to “ suggest an interpretation of the Thirty-Nine Articles “ in many respects strikingly similar to that put forward “ by the Author of the 90th Number of Tracts for “ the Times⁶.” There can indeed be little doubt that

* “ The Subject of Tract Ninety examined, in connection with “ the History of the Thirty-Nine Articles, &c. by the Rev. F.

the Author of the Tract in question, when he composed and published what has acquired an unenviable notoriety, was familiar with the Book of Davenport. The internal evidence of the Tract itself agrees with the apparent acknowledgment of some of its foremost defenders, in leading to this conclusion.

Be this however as it may; whether the Author of Tract 90 were an imitator only, or had the merit (if merit in such case it be accounted) of being an inventor, the present argument is in no degree affected. The confessed existence of a *striking similarity*, of a *close correspondence* between the earlier and the later production, suffices to shew, that Dr. Waterland was no stranger to the views of such as are of opinion, that "the orthodoxy" "and Catholicity of our own Communion" depend upon the possibility of reconciling our Confession of faith with the tenets of the Church of Rome. He saw in the explanations of Sancta Clara the very explanations, which the Author of Tract 90 either

"Oakeley, &c." It is impossible to refer to this Pamphlet without expressing astonishment at the Author's conclusion, that, because what he calls an *Historical* argument has not been answered, it is therefore to be accounted *unanswerable*. He must really suffer himself to be reminded, that there are those who have attentively read what he has written, and who, being of opinion that "*mistaken* facts, groundless surmises, and inconclusive reasonings are all that "the cause, which he has taken in hand, has to subsist upon," (p. 319. of vol. ii. of Waterland's Works,) have preserved silence, as well out of tenderness for him, as out of regard for the dignity of History, of which he seems to them to distort the evidence and abuse the name.

offers, or indirectly suggests. He considered those explanations. He formed an estimate of their value. He pronounced them to be vain, frivolous, nay, absurd. And as such he would have treated them, if the affair, to which they related, had not appeared to him too grave for scorn and ridicule.

There is indeed in one respect a difference between the state of things which Dr. Waterland contemplated, and that which it falls to our lot to witness. To the notice of Dr. Waterland were presented principles and modes of interpretation of the Thirty-Nine Articles coming *from a Romanist*, who addressed *Romanists*, for the avowed purpose of inducing them to hope and believe that a Subscriber to the Articles of the Church of England might possibly after all not reject what Romanists considered and called *Catholic tenets*. Sancta Clara never thought of subscribing the Articles himself. He never dreamt of persuading Romanists to think that they might safely or innocently do so. He was doubtless aware that to make either of these attempts would have been to commit an outrage upon public decency; and that the result would have been to bring down upon his head an overwhelming storm of indignation from the whole of Christendom for an abandonment of common honesty. As it was, he had enough to undergo from the suspicion and jealousy excited against him in the Communion to which he had gone over; and from the dislike with which his endeavours were received in the Church of England.

Widely different is the state of things, which *we* behold. The same principles and modes of interpretation are now put forward for the express purpose of reconciling to Subscription certain parties, who are conscious of such disposition towards or such adoption of *Roman*, conceived by them to be *Catholic*, doctrines, as renders them doubtful and uneasy with regard to the line of duty. Their *first* impression is that they cannot subscribe without some sacrifice of their integrity. The slightest sacrifice of this sort they are naturally and laudably unwilling to make. Whilst they are in this painful condition of mind, they are addressed by Casuists, who entreat them to reflect that their *first* impression may be wrong; that certain distinctions between *popular* and *genuine Romanism* are to be carefully drawn; that beneath a surface of apparent Protestantism, which deceives most observers, the Articles of the Church of England hide the principal features of *genuine Romanism*; features, which some few clear-sighted individuals, in the course of Three Centuries, have from time to time been able to detect, and which are now once more brought to light. And what has been the effect of the Address thus made through Tract 90 and the Pamphlets that have appeared in its defence? How many tender and scrupulous consciences have been relieved? How many doubts have been resolved? How many perplexities unravelled? How much disquietude allayed? Rather may it not be inquired, how many

minds have been filled with scruples? How many fresh doubts have been awakened? How many new intricacies woven? How much additional uneasiness excited? It may be difficult to answer these questions to the entire satisfaction of all parties concerned. Thus much however is manifest—that a *twofold* result has taken place. On the one hand, there has been a passing over from the Church of England to that of Rome of a succession of individuals, who have not been able to rest with final satisfaction in the School, of which they were for a while confiding disciples. On the other hand, there have been instances within the Church of England of persons adopting one notion or impression or opinion or doctrine after another, until at last an acceptance of that whole doctrine, of which a specious distinction into *Roman* and *Romish* was attempted, has been openly avowed; and a right to hold the whole, consistently with Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, has been claimed and vindicated. Such as go to this length do not deny (the fact is too plain to be denied) that they avail themselves of the principles of Tract 90 to an extent beyond that, which its Author originally ventured to propose, and probably therefore to contemplate. They moreover declare that they are ignorant how far they have the sanction of the Master, for whom their professed deference leads the Public to believe that, as in the analogous case of Dr. Clarke, “one half sheet, one *small advertisement* from his hand, to discountenance this kind of Subscription, would have

“done the business at once, and have saved (others) “the labour of doing any thing”^b. The *least* that can be inferred from *his* silence and from *their* acquiescence in an ignorance, which they impute to that silence, is that they meet with no reproof from him.

Much indeed is it to be regretted that the Author of Tract 90 should leave open to surmise and conjecture certain motives and views of his, which he might easily explain, and of which the Public seems to have a right to demand some account. The consequence of his reserve is not unlike that which took place in another instance long ago. An opinion is beginning to prevail that “the eager and rash zeal “of the disciples makes known what the Master’s “silence conceals. What they have heard in the “secret chambers, they proclaim on the house-tops ; “in order that the doctrine, if it be approved by the “hearers, may redound to the Teacher’s credit ; and, “if it be disapproved, may bring blame not upon the “Master but upon his Scholars only”ⁱ. Numerous and anxious inquirers are ready to demand : Does the Author of Tract 90 agree with some of his followers in their distinction between *holding* and *teaching* Roman doctrine ? Does he, with them,

^b Waterland’s Works, p. 334 of vol. ii.

ⁱ *Magistrorum silentia profert rabies Discipulorum. Quod audierunt in cubiculis, in tectis prædicant : ut, si placuerit auditoribus quod dixerint, referatur ad gloriam Magistrorum ; si displicuerit, culpa sit Discipuli non Magistri. S. Hieron. Ep. ad Ctesiphonta adv. Pelag.*

claim the right to *hold*, consistently with Subscription, what he confesses that he cannot, consistently with the same Subscription, *teach*? Does he really believe that the *religious teaching* of any earnest and upright man can be independent of or unconnected with the *religious tenets*, which occupy that man's mind and engage his heart? Does he entertain the monstrous hypothesis that the Church of England imposes on her *Teachers* a condition of being admitted to the office of *teaching*, which is to reduce any of them to silence and to disqualify them for the discharge of the duties of that very office, to which they are on such condition admitted?

Or, having proved the fruitlessness of the effort to "throw himself into the system" of those, whose language he once employed, and being emancipated from a thralldom ill-suited to his talents and temper, does he now copy the example of Dr. Clarke, and rest in a position formerly and once for all attained through the means of a Subscription, which he is not prepared to renew? It may be so. The precedent is not destitute of value; although Dr.

1 "I said to myself: I am not speaking my own words. I am "but following a *consensus* of the Divines of my Church. They "have ever used the strongest language against Rome; even the "most able and learned of them. I wish to throw myself into their "system. While I say what they say, I am safe." Paper, dated Dec. 12, 1842, and ascribed to the Author of Tract 90 by his friends.

Clarke's refusal of higher promotion has never rendered clear to the apprehension of simple-minded people the perfect integrity of retaining that prominent station in the Church, which up to the time of his death he actually held. Is it surprising that inquirers, still left in suspense and uncertainty, should be tempted to urge, in the middle of the Nineteenth century, the appeal which, in the beginning of the Fifth century and in the instance lately noticed, was once heard?

"Tu ergo aut defende quod locutus es et sententiarum tuarum acumina astrue eloquio subsequenti, ne, quando tibi placuerit, neges quod locutus es: aut, si certe errasti quasi homo, libere confitere et discordantium inter se redde concordiam. Fratrum inter se cernis jurgia¹."

The melancholy truth is that licence has been allowed to a dangerous casuistry; and that the warnings of sound Moral Philosophy have been too long disregarded: "In all common ordinary cases," says Bishop Butler, "we see intuitively, at first view, what is our duty, what is the *honest* part. This is the ground of the observation that the *first* thought is often the *best*. In these cases, doubt and deliberation is itself *dishonesty*. That which is called *considering what is our duty* in a particular case is very often nothing but endeavouring to explain it away. Things were so and so circumstantiated: great difficulties are raised about fixing bounds and degrees. And

¹ S. Hieronym. Ep. ad Ctesiph. adv. Pelag.

“ thus every moral obligation whatever may be evaded.
 “ Here is scope, I say, for an unfair mind to explain
 “ away every moral obligation to itself¹.”

If then there is a difference, in respect of certain principles and modes of interpretation of the Thirty-Nine Articles, between the state of things which Dr. Waterland witnessed, and that which we are compelled to observe; if *he* saw those principles and modes of interpretation proposed by a Romanist to Romanists, in the hope (vain and idle as that hope was) of inducing the members of the Church of Rome to put a favourable construction on what *might possibly* be the meaning of Subscribers to the Anglican Confession of Faith; whilst *we* find the very same principles and modes of interpretation unfolded, defended and applied, for the express purpose of justifying a retention of place and office in the Universities and the Church of England on the part of individuals, whose hearts and affections have been already alienated from their system; it becomes proper and even necessary to ask, how this acknowledged difference between the two cases would have affected the minds and influenced the language of Dr. Waterland and Bishop Van Mildert? And can there be a shadow of doubt concerning the answer to be returned to this question? Would they have hesitated to say of the case, which they were indeed far from anticipating, a single word, which

¹ Sermon upon the character of Balaam, p. 185, of vol. ii. of Works of Bp. Butler.

they had uttered touching the case actually within reach of their observation? Is it possible to conceive that there is any thing in the difference between the cases, as it has now been stated, that would have embarrassed their judgment—that would have shaken the firmness of their decision—that would have rendered their voice of disapproval and of condemnation of Tract 90 less loud or earnest, than was their declared sentence on the performance of Davenport?

The passages about to be quoted have been recommended for selection by their intrinsic value, and by an opinion of their peculiar seasonableness at the present crisis. They are believed to contain sound matter for thought and reflection. They appeal forcibly to the unsophisticated sense of right and wrong, which may be hoped to be still alive and active in the breasts of the generality of Englishmen, heretofore usually so trained and educated as to deem "*Moral probity* an excellent quality; and "taught to value even a Turk, a Jew, or a Pagan, who "enjoys it in any competent degree, more than the "most orthodox Christian, who is a stranger to it".

The same passages take for granted the existence of *Conscience*; and address that important faculty of the soul as a power totally distinct from *consciousness*, from *momentary feeling*, from *sudden* and *violent emotion*. They are thought to guard against an evil,

* Dr. Waterland's Disc. of Fund. p. 122, of vol. viii. of Works.

of which some fearful symptoms are discernible amongst us :

“ The mistaking of every fancy or humour, carnal or
 “ Satanical persuasion, for *Conscience*, and the setting
 “ up, upon too weak a stock, for that high privilege of
 “ a *good conscience*, hath petrified the practical faculty,
 “ and made it insensible to any of those stripes or
 “ threats or discipline, which the law of Nature or of
 “ CHRIST hath provided for the restraint of their
 “ subjects^a. ”

It may be objected, that *Extracts* must always exhibit an *imperfect* and may sometimes exhibit an *unfair* view of the whole work, from which they are taken. Nothing can be more reasonable than a general objection of this sort. And, in the present instance, instead of being set aside or removed out of the way, it shall be cordially welcomed, as affording ground of hope that every reader, to whom it may occur, will be led by it to examine that portion of Dr. Waterland's writings, on which these pages are designed to fix attention. A sincere endeavour has indeed been made to preserve for every single passage quoted its real value ; and so to combine the passages, that have been chosen, as to represent fairly the whole train of argument. But it is freely confessed that the chief end of this Publication will not be answered, unless its readers become diligent students of the Works of Dr. Waterland. They are exhorted to place themselves under his safe and trust-worthy

^a Dr. Hammond.

guidance. They are advised to seek in that wholesome discipline of mind, to which his learned researches and reasonings will accustom them, a security from various forms of error, both speculative and practical; above all, from a fatal indifference to truth and from the credulity, which, for a while believing every thing, is the too probable, if it be not rather the sure, precursor of a scepticism, which will believe nothing.

Extracts from Dr. Waterland's Works.

‘ My business is to shew that, as the Church requires Subscription to her *own* interpretation of Scripture, so the Subscriber is bound in virtue of his Subscription to *that* and *that* only: and if he knowingly subscribes in any sense *contrary* to or *different* from the sense of the *imposers*, he prevaricates and commits a *fraud* in so doing. This is a cause of some moment. It is the cause of plainness and sincerity, in opposition to wiles and subtleties. It is in defence, not so much of Revealed as of Natural Religion; not of the fundamentals of *Faith*, but of the principles of *moral* honesty: and every heresy in *morality* is of more pernicious consequence than heresies in points of positive religion. The security and honour of our Church are deeply concerned in this question. As to its *security*, every body sees what I mean; and as to the honour and reputation of our Church abroad, whenever we have been charged with Socinianism or Popery or any other *monstrous*

doctrines, we had no defence so ready at hand or so just and satisfactory as this ; that our *Subscriptions* were sufficient to wipe off all slander and calumny. The good of the State, as well as of the Church, is likewise concerned in this question ; because there can be no security against men's putting their own private senses upon the *public laws, oaths, injunctions, &c.* in contradiction to the sense of the *imposers*, if these principles about *Church Subscription* should ever prevail amongst us^o.'

'By *compilers*, I mean those that composed the Creeds, Articles, or other forms received by our Church. By *imposers*, I understand the governors in Church and State for the time being. The sense of the *compilers*, barely considered, is not always to be observed ; but so far only as the *natural* and proper signification of words or the intention of the imposers binds it upon us. The sense of the *compilers* and *imposers* may generally be presumed the same (except in some very rare and particular cases) and therefore I mention both, one giving light to the other. The rules and measures proper for *understanding* what that sense is, are and can be no other than the same, which are proper for understanding of *oaths, laws, covenants* or any *forms* or *writings* whatever ; namely, the usual acceptance of words ; the custom of speech at the time of their being written ; the scope and intention of the writers, discoverable from the occasion, from the contro-

^o p. 284, 285, of vol. ii.

versies then on foot, or from any other circumstances affording light into it. This is the true and only way to interpret rightly any *forms*, *books*, or *writings* whatever^p.

‘It is a settled rule with Casuists, that *Oaths* are always to be taken in the sense of the *imposers*. The same is the case of solemn Leagues or Covenants. Without this principle, no faith, trust or mutual confidence could be kept up amongst men. Now *Subscription* is much of the same nature with those, and must be conceived to carry much of the same obligation with it. It is a solemn and sacred covenant with the *Church* or *Government*, to be capable of such or such trusts, upon certain conditions: which conditions are an unfeigned belief of those propositions, which come recommended in the *public forms*. To change these propositions for others, while we are plighting our faith to these only, (as is supposed in the very acceptance of trusts) is manifestly a breach of covenant, and prevaricating with God and man. It is *pretending* one thing and *meaning* another. It is professing *agreement* with the Church, and, at the same time, *disagreeing* with it. It is coming into trusts and privileges upon quite different terms from what the Church intended; and is, as one expresses it, not “entering in *by the* door of the sheep-fold,” but getting over it, as thieves and robbers.

^p p. 288, of vol. ii.

‘ To make it still plainer that such Subscription is *fraudulent*, let it be considered what the ends and purposes intended by the ruling Powers, in requiring Subscription, are. They are expressed in our public Laws and Canons to this effect: that Pastors may be sound in the faith: that no doctrines be publicly or privately taught but what the Church and State approve of: that all diversity of opinions, in respect of points determined, be avoided: that one *uniform scheme* of religion, one harmonious form of worship, (consonant to Scripture and primitive Christianity,) be constantly preserved among Clergy and people. These are the main ends designed by Subscription. But if Subscribers may take the liberty of affixing their own sense to the Public Forms, in contradiction to the known sense of the imposers, all these ends are liable to be miserably defeated and frustrated. Pastors, instead of being *sound* in the *Faith*, (which is but *one*) may have as many different *Faiths* as they happen to have different wits or inventions. Multiplicity of doctrines, opposite to each other, may be publicly taught and propagated; and instead of any uniform scheme of religion or form of worship, there may happen to be as many different and dissonant religions in the same Church or kingdom as there are Pastors or Parishes. These being the natural consequences of that latitude of Subscription now pleaded for, it is evident that such a latitude is a contradiction to the very end and design of all

Subscription; and is therefore unrighteous, and full of deceit¹.’

‘ No conscientious *Protestant* would subscribe the Romish Catechism or Pope Pius’s Creed. No serious *Papist* would subscribe our Articles. No pious *Dissenter* would give his assent and consent to such parts of our Public Forms as he does not heartily approve of, in the plain and intended sense. Thousands have died martyrs to the maxims, which I am now asserting; whose great and only misfortune it was, not to have been acquainted with those *evasive arts* and *subtle distinctions*, which, it seems, might have preserved them’.

‘ It hath often been pretended by the Calvinists that the *compilers* and *imposers* of the Articles intended a sense different (with respect to *Predestination*, and *Original sin*) from that, which now generally prevails.—A distinction should be made between such Articles as, being formed in *general* terms, leave a latitude for private opinions, and such as, being otherwise formed, leave no such latitude. It is ridiculous to pretend, that because some Articles are *general* or *indefinite*, and may admit of different explanations, therefore *all* may. Allowing that either Calvinist or Arminian may subscribe to the Articles, (the Articles being *general* and the main points in dispute left undetermined) would it not be weak to

¹ p 289, 290, of vol. ii.

² p. 291, of vol. ii.

argue from thence that both Papists and Protestants may likewise subscribe to the Articles of the Church of England? Now it is no less absurd to pretend that both Catholics and Arians may subscribe to our *Forms*; some Articles being as full and strong tests against *Arianism* as others are against *Poperly*.

‘ It is not *fairly*, because not *truly*, suggested, that when men of different sentiments, as to *particular* explications, subscribe to the same *general* words, they subscribe in *contradictory* or even in *different* senses. Both subscribe to the same *general* proposition and both in the *same sense*; only they differ in the *particulars* relating to it: which is not differing (at least it need not be) about the sense of the Articles, but about *particulars*, not contained in the Articles. For instance, let two persons assent to a *general* proposition: *This figure is a triangle*; one believing the triangle to be *equilateral*, the other believing its *sides* to be *unequal*; they are directly opposite in their sentiments as to what kind of triangle it is. But in the *general* Proposition, that *the figure is a triangle*, both agree, and in the same sense.

‘ In like manner, imagine the Article of *Predestination* (and the same may be said of any other in like circumstances) to be left in *general* terms. Both sides may *subscribe* to the same *general* proposition, and both in the same sense; which sense reaches not to the *particulars* in dispute. And if one believes *Predestination* to be *absolute* and the other *con-*

ditionate; this is not (on the present supposition) differing about the *sense* of the Article, but in their respective additions to it.

‘ It is very uncautiously and unaccurately said that King Charles I. patronized the subscribing the same Articles either in *contradictory* or *different* senses. His order is, that every Subscriber *submit* to the Articles in the “ plain and full meaning “ thereof,” in the “ literal and grammatical sense.” What? is the *plain* and *full* meaning more than *one* meaning? Or is the one *plain* and *full* meaning *two contradictory meanings*? Could it be for the honour of the Articles or of the King to say this? No. But the Royal Declaration, by “ plain and full meaning,” understands the *general* meaning, which is but *one*; and to which all might reasonably subscribe. And he forbids any one’s “ putting his own sense “ or comment to be the meaning of the Article,” or to affix any new sense to it: that is, he forbids the changing a *general* proposition into a *particular*. He stands up for the *general* proposition or for the Article itself; and prohibits *particular* meanings, as not belonging to the Article; nor being properly *explications* of it, but *additions* to it. This is the plain import of the Royal Declaration; and it is both wise and just; free from any of those strange consequences or inferences, which some would draw from it.

‘ I cannot but observe, from the disputes and

clamours that have been raised about the 17th Article of our Church, what a tender regard has all along been paid to the point of the *Subscription*; and how jealous men have been of any the least *appearance or umbrage of prevarication* in so serious and sacred a thing*.

Plea XVI.

“It becomes a sincere man (especially if he varies from notions commonly received) to *declare plainly* in what sense he understands any words of human institution; that his *inferiors* and *equals* may not be imposed upon by him, and that his *superiors* may judge of such declaration*.”

“Dr. Clarke, of all men, could least be charged with collusion, because he has declared publicly his opinions in this matter*.”

Answer.

‘I have reserved this *plea* to the last, as being of a very different kind from the rest, and withal carrying a more plausible show of frankness and sincerity in it. Nevertheless, this, though it has an appearance of fairness, will by no means serve the purpose for which it is brought.

‘Suppose any disaffected persons in this kingdom should invent some strange, forced, unheard of inter-

* P. 311, 312, 313, and 314, of vol. ii.

* Clarke's Reply, p. 33.

* Modest Plea, p. 221.

pretation of the civil oaths, to elude and frustrate the intent of them ; and declare in print that they themselves take the oaths in this new sense, advising their brethren to do the same ; would such declaration be sufficient to salve their honesty, or to make them righteous in the sight of God or man ? Would they not be rather thought the more notoriously wicked, as not only venturing upon perjury themselves, but instructing and seducing others into the same crime ? Their giving notice of the *prevarication* would not be acquitting themselves of the guilt, but proclaiming it ; and, in some respects, increasing it : as it would not only be doing an ill thing, but, what is worse, boasting of it and teaching others to do the like. One dishonest act or more are not so dangerous or pernicious as the laying down principles and contriving subtleties and artificial evasions, whereby to undermine the very foundations of moral honesty.

‘ I am not sensible that there is difference enough between this and the other case to make one *innocent* and the other highly *criminal*. Nothing can be pleaded for it, but the presumed consent of the *Superiors*, after *declaration* made. But that no such *presumed consent* can have any place in the matter of *Subscription* may appear from the reasons following :

‘ 1. Because *Superiors* may often connive at or tolerate *offences* ; which are nevertheless *offences* for such *connivance*.

‘ 2. Because so long as our *Superiors* continue

the same forms, which clearly express such a sense, they must be presumed to *intend* the *same sense*, till they declare otherwise. And their permitting the same forms to stand is a much surer argument of their still intending the same thing, than their suffering an offender to escape with impunity, can be of the contrary.

‘ 3. It must be observed, that our Superiors speak by the *Public Forms* as much as the Legislature speaks by the *Public Laws*. And no sense can be their sense but the plain, usual, literal meaning of those public forms; till some as *public* and as *authentic* declaration alters the case.

‘ If the Subscription contended for be in itself *fraudulent*, as elusive of the *law*, a man’s declaring or giving notice of it does not alter its nature or make it *legal*. Suppose a man should *declare* that he subscribes only so far as is *agreeable to Scripture*, (a method disallowed by our *laws*, according to the unanimous resolution of all the judges, in a particular case referred to them*,) such declaration would never alter the nature of the Subscription; but it would be as much against *law* as ever, notwithstanding; and for that very reason, it would be unrighteous and dishonest†.’

‘ The glory of God, the honour of our most holy Religion, and the security of Church and State, call for our best endeavours to root out, if possible, false

* Coke’s Instit. iv. c. 74. p. 324.

† P. 315, 316, of vol. ii.

and pernicious principles, and to re-establish the matter of Subscription upon its true and solid foundation.

‘ 1. The Church of England requires Subscription not to *words*, but *things*; to propositions contained in her public forms.

‘ 2. Subscribers are obliged, not to *silence* or *peace* only, but to a *serious belief* of what they subscribe to.

‘ 3. Subscribers must believe it true in that particular sense, which the Church intended, (so far as that sense may be known) for the Church can expect no less; the design being to preserve an uniform tenor of faith, to preclude diversity of opinion, to have her own explications and none other (as to points determined) taught and inculcated; and to tie men up from spreading or receiving doctrines contrary to the public determinations. These and the like ends cannot be at all answered by *Subscription*, unless the Subscriber give his assent to the Church’s forms in the Church’s sense; that is, in the sense of the *compilers* and *imposers*.

‘ 4. The sense of the *compilers* and *imposers* is to be judged of from the *plain*, *usual*, and *literal* signification of words; and from their intention, purpose, and design, however known: the rule for understanding the Public Forms being the same as for understanding oaths, laws, injunctions, or any other forms or writings whatever.

‘ 5. When either the *words* themselves or the

intention, (much more where *both*) is plain and evident; there the sense of the imposers is fully known; and there is no room left for a Subscriber (as such) to put any contrary or different sense upon the Public Forms.

‘ 6. If words be capable of *several* meanings but yet certainly exclude *this* or *that* particular meaning, a Subscriber cannot honestly take the forms in that meaning, which is *especially excluded*. For this would be subscribing against the sense of the Church at the same time that he professes his agreement with it^a.’

‘ Let this writer^a pretend what he pleases, when once the true and full sense of the *imposers* is fixed and certain, that very sense and that only is bound upon the conscience of every Subscriber; for this plain reason; that since words are designed to convey some meaning, if we take the liberty of playing upon words, after the meaning is fixed and certain, there can be no security against equivocation and wile, in any laws, oaths, contracts, covenants, or any engagements whatever: all the ends and uses of speech will hereby be perverted; and there can be no such thing as faith, trust, or mutual confidence among men^b.’

^a p. 335, 336, of vol. ii.

^a The Author of a Pamphlet, entitled, “ The Case of Subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles considered; occasioned by Dr. Waterland’s Case of Arian Subscription;” which Pamphlet called forth from Dr. W. “ A Supplement to the Case.”

^b p. 346, of vol. ii.

Objection.

“ If the meaning of the Articles be in such a sense *one* meaning, that they can be subscribed honestly only by such as agree in that *one* meaning, many great men” of our Church, who have differed from one another, “ must have been guilty of dishonesty.”

Answer.

‘ If this writer can shew that any of those great men, to whom he refers, contradicted any point of doctrine plainly *determined* by our Church, then I condemn those men, be they ever so considerable. But if they differed in ever so many questions and none of those questions decided either way by our Church, their differing in such *undetermined* points does not affect their Subscription any more than their differing about the *inhabitants* of the *moon*.’

Objection.

“ When any Church requires Subscription to its own sense of particular passages of Scripture, which do not contain the terms of salvation and refuses communion with those, who cannot conform to that, it is confessed that such a Church does that, which it ought not to do.”

Answer.

‘ This is entirely foreign. Subscription is not a term of *lay-communion* but of *Ministerial* conformity or acceptance of *trusts* and *privileges*.’

Objection.

“The Articles are so composed that some of them are on all hands allowed to be left at large, the composers intending a latitude.”

Answer.

‘Undoubtedly, it never was the intent of our Church to determine all *questions* relating to every subject, whereof she treats. Yet she intended to determine and has determined *many questions*; particularly the main questions between *Protestants* and *Papists*, between *Catholics* and *Arians*. When Franciscus à Sancta Clara took upon him to reconcile our Articles to *Popery*, what did he else but play the Jesuit and render himself ridiculous? The like has since been done by our Arian reconcilers, with as much wresting and straining and with as little success. It might be diverting enough (were not the thing too serious and full of sad reflections) to compare the Papist and the Arian together and to observe which of them has been the greater Master in this exercise of wit and has found out the most ingenious and surprising comment upon an *Article*. Our Articles however will stand, in their own native light, in defiance of both; so long as gravity, sobriety and manly thought shall be esteemed and valued above the little arts of equivocating and playing upon words. The Articles are not *general*, so far as concerns our present debate.

There is a medium, I suppose, between determining *all* questions and determining *none*°.

Objection.

“The fault which is condemned by the King’s Declaration and which King Charles threatened with displeasure was the drawing the Articles aside *any* way or *either* way.”

Answer.

‘I perceive this author knows little either of the history, design, or meaning of King Charles’s Declaration. The design was to put a stop to the *Quinquarticular* Controversy, then warmly agitated. The King, to prevent or quiet those disputes, thought it the most prudent way to forbid either party’s being more *particular* than the Articles themselves had been. And we find that, in fact, both sides were censured, when they launched out beyond the *general* meaning of the Articles in that controversy; the King looking upon any meaning beyond the general one, to be a man’s own meaning or sense, not the meaning or sense of the Articles. What is this to the point we are upon, where the *meaning* was never thought to be *general* only, either by that King or any other, or by any considering man else? He that declares and demonstrates the sense to be *special* and *determinate*, against ancient or modern (errors), does not put his *own* sense

° P. 361, 362, 363, of vol. ii.

upon the Articles, neither does he “draw the Articles aside any way;” but he secures to the Articles their own true and certain meaning, and rescues them from the fraudulent comments of those, who really “draw them aside” and most notoriously pervert them⁴.

Objection.

“Had the compilers or imposers intended to have been more determinate upon any point, they ought to have been more explicit and particular.”

Answer.

‘I defy the wit of man to invent any expressions more *particular* and explicit than many of those are, which appear in our *Public Forms*. They have guarded against every thing but *equivocation*, *mental reservation*, and a violent *perverting* of their *certain* meaning. This is enough among men of sense and probity, which is always supposed. No laws, oaths, covenants, or contracts, can ever stand upon any other foot than this—that, when they are plainly enough worded for every man to understand that will be honest, it is sufficient; though it were still possible for men of guile to *invent* some sinister meaning. I desire no other favour than to have our *Public Forms* tried by the same rule.’

‘I suppose only that the *compilers* of our *Forms* and *imposers* were not bereft of common sense, were

⁴ P. 365, 366, of vol. ii.

• P. 366, 367, of vol. ii.

not downright idiots, intending a Subscription to bind men up, and, at the same time, leaving every man as much at liberty as if there were no Subscription. They that can suppose the Governors of Church and State so weak and silly as this comes to, must not take it amiss, if we remove the undeserved reproach from wise, great, and good men, and return it to the proper owners.'

Objection.

" Dr. Waterland refers us to the writers of the times, when the Articles were compiled. This is to make those writers the standard of the Church of England and not its own words or declarations."

Answer.

' I referred to the *scope* and *intention* of the writers, in order to know the meaning of their writings, which I hope is no unreasonable method. As to the particular case now in hand I no where send a man to the writers of that time; nor does so plain a matter require it. The words themselves are sufficient and carry their own interpretation with them. I desire no farther *postulatum* than this, that our language has not been quite *reversed*; that *light* does not now signify *darkness*, or a *triangle* a *square*®.'

' Wherever our Church has tied us up to the profession of any doctrine, the Subscriber, as such, must

' p. 371, of vol. ii.

® p. 373, of vol. ii.

interpret Scripture conformably to that doctrine and not in opposition thereto. He must not, for instance, interpret Scripture in favour of *Purgatory*, *infallibility*, *worship of Saints*, and the like; at the same time condemning those Popish tenets by his Subscription; neither must he interpret Scripture in favour of the SON'S or HOLY GHOST'S *inferiority*, *inequality*, &c. while he subscribes to their *co-equality* and *co-eternity*. He is tied up to the Church's sense of Scripture in all points determined by the Church, so far as to believe that her *explications* are, in the general, just and true; that whatever she proposes as Scripture doctrine, is Scripture doctrine; and that no sense of Scripture, which runs counter to her decisions, is the true sense of Scripture but a *violence* offered to Scripture^b.'

Objection.

"What advantage, real advantage, would it be to the Church of England to eject out of its Communion such men as Dr. Waterland plainly points at?"

Answer.

'It is unfortunate for the men who are to new model our Divinity and to reform our Faith that they should betray, at every turn, a strange confusion of thought even in clear and plain things. This writer cannot distinguish between *ejecting* and *not admitting*; nor between *Church communion* and *Church trusts*. I

^b p. 391, 392, of vol. ii.

said not a word about *ejecting* any man out of *Communion*. I pleaded only against admitting any into *Church trusts* that must come in by *iniquity* or not at all. And I am not sensible that I was either deceived in my reasoning or out in my politics. However high an opinion this gentleman or I may have of the valuable abilities of the Arian Subscribers; whatever advantage or credit we might propose by having so considerable men amongst us; yet our misfortune is that we cannot have them but by *sinful means* and at the expence of sincerity. And we dare not promise ourselves any real or lasting benefit from so notorious a breach of God's commandments. On the other hand, since I am here publicly called upon to declare what *advantage* it may be to us to have a stop put to this unrighteous practice of subscribing, I shall briefly hint it in a few particulars :

‘ 1. It will be much for the honour of God and of our most holy religion, to have no more such offences seen or once named amongst us.

‘ 2. It will be taking away one great reproach from our country, heretofore famed for its gravity and good sense ; and for breeding up Divines and Casuists, as judicious, solid and accurate as any upon the face of the earth.

‘ 3. It may be much for the advantage of the common people, not to be under such guides as are themselves remarkably deficient in the first principles of morality and Christian simplicity ; and who may be presumed the less qualified to direct the *con-*

sciences of others, whilst so manifestly faulty in the conduct of their own.

‘ These are some of the advantages we may reasonably propose, along with God’s blessing ; which must be had in God’s own way, and in the doing of what is just, honest, and upright.’

‘ All the severity of a charge of *fraud* and *prevarication* lies in the truth and evidence of the charge. If the charge cannot be fully proved, the man that makes it is in reality the sufferer, by exposing himself. But I have taken care to proceed upon none but the clearest and most evident grounds ; and now I may lay claim to *thanks* for kindly shewing men both their sin and their danger. Principles are valuable and precious, and must not be parted with, in compliment to any man’s character. Besides it is to be hoped that men of education and abilities do not want to be told that there are some things, which they ought to be infinitely more tender of than a short-lived character, built upon self-flattery and delusive shows ; and those are the honour of God, the simplicity of the Gospel, and the salvation of men. One way still there is left, and indeed but one, whereby to retrieve their characters ; which is, to *repent* and *amend*. If they will accept of this plain and frank admonition, it may not perhaps be altogether unserviceable to them. If not, let it stand as a testimony against them, for the benefit of others, lest they also fall into the same condemnation^k.’

ⁱ p. 392, 393, of vol. ii.

^k p. 394, 395, of vol. ii.

THE END.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

PROPOSITIONS TO BE SUBMITTED

TO

CONVOCATION

ON FEBRUARY 13.

OXFORD,
PRINTED BY W. BAXTER.
1845.

OBSERVATIONS,

&c.

MUCH misapprehension appears to exist with regard to the propositions which will be submitted to Convocation on the 13th of February next. The real efficacy and intent of those propositions, more especially of the insertion in the Statute, have been seriously misrepresented. The following observations with regard to them are therefore respectfully submitted to the calm and candid consideration of Members of Convocation.

It is the *duty* of the Vice-Chancellor, according to the *existing* Statute*, to take care to drive from the limits of the University all Heretics, Schismatics, and

* The Statute, “de Auctoritate et Officio Vice-Cancellarii,” as it stands, at present has these words,

“Et ut Hæreticos, Schismaticos, et quoscunque alios minus recte de fide Catholica, et Doctrina vel Disciplina Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, sentientes, procul a finibus Universitatis amandandos curet.

“Quem in finem, quo quisque modo erga Doctrinam vel Disciplinam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ affectus sit, Subscriptionis criterio explorandi ipsi jus ac potestas esto.”

any others “*minus recte de fide Catholica et Doctrina vel Disciplina Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sentientes.*” For the execution of this duty, he is invested with power and authority to ascertain the views and sentiments of Members of the University with regard to the Doctrine or Discipline of the said Church by the “*criterion*” of Subscription to the XXXIX Articles. The Statute, while it imposes the duty, makes him the judge of the occasion of applying this Test.

Subscription to the Articles has always hitherto been regarded by the Church as the “*certum ac indubitatum signum*” of Theological opinions. The Articles were originally “*agreed upon*” “*ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem et consensum in vera fide firmandum;*” and accordingly Subscription is required by the University and the Church on all most solemn occasions.

A case however seems to have arisen, in which Subscription to the Articles would be no *criterion* at all. A bold and explicit avowal is made that they may be signed in “*a non-natural sense.*” “*The dry wording of the Articles,*” it is said, “*can be divorced from their natural spirit,*” and “*their prima facie meaning may be evaded.*”

In such cases as this it would obviously be useless for the Officer of the University to apply the “*criterion,*” without some means of ensuring a conscientious Subscription. He could not discharge his *duty* of driving away erroneous doctrine.

The course proposed by the Hebdomadal Board in this difficulty seems both just and reasonable, viz.

First, to meet the present case by a *special* enactment.

And, secondly, to make a *general* provision, as far as may be, in order to guard against the recurrence of such evasions, (if they *are* likely to recur,) and in order to avoid the necessity of having recourse continually to special enactments.

I. With regard to the first of these points, viz. the special enactment.—The question which will be proposed to Convocation is not a Theological one. It is simply a *moral* question. Passages will be read which are correctly extracted from a certain work. The question will then be, whether the author has or has not in them violated the engagement he made with the University, when he was admitted to the privileges of his Degrees. It is, as has been well shewn by Dr. Waterland in his “Case of Arian Subscription considered,” a question of common honesty. If it be decided that the engagement has been violated, the loss of the Degrees would seem to follow as a necessary consequence. He who refuses to observe the conditions, does himself renounce the privileges.

II. With regard to the general provision.—The *right* of the Church and the Universities to require Subscription as the condition of Membership is implied in the very notion of a Society, and with this undoubted right is involved further the *necessity* that the Subscription should be honestly made in the sense in which it is imposed. To impose conditions which may be interpreted according to

the will of the receiver, is to encourage deceit; it renders the conditions nugatory, and reduces the right to a nullity. These obvious truths have never been questioned within our Church, except by the Arian party at the beginning of the last century, and recently in certain publications which have proceeded from some Members of this University. The claim of the Arian party to interpret certain Articles according to their own views, and to evade the sense of the compilers and imposers, was most ably examined and exposed by the clear and unanswerable reasoning of Dr. Waterland. The recent and similar attempts to “*divorce*” certain other Articles from their “*natural spirit*” were at the first met by a formal protest from the Authorities of the University, and were more plainly and unequivocally condemned by almost every Bishop of our Church.

The Bishop of Llandaff in his Charge of 1842 wrote thus :

“ To speak of the language of the Articles as
 “ being capable of two or more senses, and to teach
 “ that the subscriber may therefore take them in his
 “ own sense, knowing at the same time that the
 “ authority which requires his assent understands
 “ them in another, is surely a dishonest course—
 “ tending to corrupt the conscience, and to destroy
 “ all confidence between man and man. If the
 “ subscriber *believes* merely that the design of the
 “ Subscription is different from his own opinion,
 “ and yet by his act wilfully defeats it, he not only

“deceives the party who seeks to ascertain his
 “opinion, but, what is still worse, he deceives his
 “own heart; and he dares to engage, by means of
 “deceitful pretences, in the service of Him, Who
 “is Truth itself.

“If, for instance, in subscribing to the Article
 “which condemns the Romish doctrine of Purga-
 “tory, he mentally reserves the right of holding
 “that doctrine, provided it differ *in some respects*
 “from the *Romish*, he betrays, according to my
 “judgment, a want of principle, which ought to
 “exclude him not only from sacred functions, but
 “from every office of important trust.”—page 32.

The Bishop of Ossory said of Tract XC in his
 Charge of the same year :

“It is a mode of escape from the fair force of the
 “most solemn and sacred obligations, by such
 “sophistry and evasion, such shifts and con-
 “trivances, as a man could not apply to the very
 “lightest of the engagements of common life,
 “without forfeiting all reputation for integrity and
 “good faith.”—page 183.

And the Bishop of Oxford, speaking of the same
 Tract in the same year, said :

“I cannot reconcile myself to a system of in-
 “terpretation which is so subtle, that by it the Ar-
 “ticles may be made to mean any thing or nothing.”
 Charge, 1842, page 17.

The principles anonymously advocated in that
 Tract have already produced their fruit. One in-
 dividual has distinctly declared, that “in subscribing

“ the Articles” he renounces “ no one Roman doctrine ;” another “ claims the right of holding all Roman doctrine notwithstanding his Subscription ;” and there is reason to fear that others are ready to advocate this manifest dishonesty.

To have recourse to a series of special enactments, like that which it is necessary to resort to in the present instance, would be not only most inconvenient, but also most unwise. It would keep up a perpetual excitement ; it would open the door to oppression under the influence of party feeling ; it would be inconsistent with the broad principles of order and good government. The most desirable course would obviously be to guard the existing criterion, if possible, from similar evasion in future. To create a new Test would be open to manifest objections : all that is necessary is so to explain the intent and meaning of Subscription, that the subscriber, when called upon to sign the Articles as a Test of the soundness of his views towards the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England, may not be able to boast that *he can evade their plain sense, and divorce them from their natural spirit.*

Accordingly it will be proposed to Convocation on the thirteenth of February,—not to alter the process now appointed,—not to change in any way the existing Test,—not to increase by one tittle the power or jurisdiction of the Vice-Chancellor, or to enlarge the sphere of his discretion,—but simply that no person hereafter, who may be convened before the Vice-Chancellor as holding erroneous opinions, shall be

allowed to clear himself from the imputation by affixing his signature to the Articles, until he shall have made and signed the following Declaration :—

“ Ego, *A. B.* Articulis Fidei et Religionis necnon
 “ tribus Articulis in Canone xxxvi^r. comprehensis
 “ subscripturus, profiteor, fide mea data huic Uni-
 “ versitati, me Articulis istis omnibus et singulis eo
 “ sensu subscripturum, in quo eos ex animo credo et
 “ primitus editos esse, et nunc mihi ab Universitate
 “ propositos tanquam opinionum mearum certum ac
 “ indubitatum signum.”

A brief examination will be sufficient to shew, that this Declaration is neither more nor less than an enunciation *in words* of that which every Subscriber has been hitherto presumed to declare *virtually* by the very act of subscribing. In fact, every subscriber does by that act make a declaration to the following effect : “ I assent to these Articles in that sense in
 “ which I believe the authority requiring my Sub-
 “ scription understands them.” This has been the undoubted purport of Subscription among us from the time of the Chancellorship of Archbishop Laud, when the Code of our Statutes was drawn up and ratified by the Legislature of the University, until the recent attempts to shew that a man may subscribe with mental reservations, and to explain away every passage which condemns the errors of the Church of Rome.

1. The Declaration sets forth that the Declarant is going to subscribe the Articles *in a certain sense*, “ *eo sensu in quo*,” &c. It is no innovation to require that Subscription should be made in a *determinate* sense.

The very idea of Subscription, especially as a "*Criterion*" of opinions, implies an assent on those points on which the Articles speak precisely. There are some points, of course, on which they speak only in *general* terms, whereas on others "they wisely abstain from an attempt at precise definition or "peremptory decision." But, as Waterland observes, "it is ridiculous to pretend that because "some Articles are *general* or *indefinite*, and may "admit of different explications, therefore all may: "allowing that either Calvinist or Arminian may "subscribe to the Articles, would it not be weak to "argue from thence that both Papists and Protestants may likewise? . . . Some Articles being as "*full and strong tests* against *Arianism* as others are "against *Popery*."

On such errors as these, and on all fundamental truths, the Articles *do* speak precisely; and on these the Church and the Universities require Subscription in a *determinate* sense.

2. This certain sense is stated to be that in which the Articles were *originally put forth*, "in quo . . . "*primitus editos esse*," &c. So wrote Waterland in the case before referred to. So wrote the Bishop of Ripon in 1841.

"There can be but one true and legitimate meaning to an Article, and that must be the meaning intended by the framer."—Charge, p. 25.

So in effect spoke the Bishop of Exeter in 1842.

"As no different sense has been put upon them "by any subsequent Parliament or Convocation, " (though both have subsequently renewed the re-

“quisition of Subscription,) we may fairly look back
 “to the sense of the Convocation [of the Clergy]
 “of 1571, which must have been the sense of Par-
 “liament in the same year, when both legislatures,
 “for the first time, imposed the duty of Subscrip-
 “tion.”—p. 32.

To precisely the same effect wrote also the Bishop of London, in his Charge of the same year, pp. 14, 15, 16.

3. This *certain sense* is marked further, as being *also* that in which the Articles are *now proposed* to the Declarant *by the University*: “*et nunc mihi ab Universitate propositos.*”

The Bishop of Exeter, in his Charge above referred to, also says,

“The usual, as well as only sound principle of
 “interpreting them, [the Articles,] is to understand
 “them in the sense in which he who subscribes has
 “sufficient reason to know that they are understood
 “by the authority which imposes the Subscription.”
 P. 33.

The sense in which they are imposed by the University, is the sense of the framers and the sense of the Church. The University has not at any time affixed any peculiar sense of her own upon the Articles. She took them in the first instance from the Convocation of the Clergy, by which they were originally authorized. And as the sense of that Convocation has ever since been the sense in which the Church has received and used them; so has it been to this hour the sense in which the University of

Oxford has offered them to her Members for their Subscription. No moment can be named at which the University and the Church have taken the Articles in different senses. Individual members, both of one and the other, may have differed in their interpretations, but neither the Convocation of Oxford, nor the Convocation of the Clergy, has ever deviated from the original sense. And as no Clergyman is understood to subscribe the Articles in the sense of his Bishop, but in the sense of his Church; so neither does this Declaration require a man to sign in the sense which he may fancy is put upon them by the Vice-Chancellor for the time being, but in the sense in which they are proposed to him *by the University*.

It may meet an objection, which has been raised without any foundation, to observe, that the words of the Declaration are “*ab Universitate* propositos.” The University, not the Vice-Chancellor, is the party proposing the Subscription. The Vice-Chancellor is indeed the Officer before whom the Subscription is made, and he is empowered to require the Subscription; but he has no authority or discretion to expound any views, either of his own or those of any other party: he has no authority to ask any questions which may entangle the unwary, but simply to require Subscription.

The words “*ab Universitate*” were doubtless inserted to guard against any supposition, that the Vice-Chancellor is concerned in any interpretation of the Articles. The inference that the Vice-Chancellor will be the interpreter of the sense of the Articles might

with equal fairness be drawn from the form of Subscription at other times, as well as in the case (just mentioned) of a Clergyman, when required to sign by his Bishop. The Subscription, for instance, at Matriculation is required by the Vice-Chancellor; and the Subscription for each Degree is made *coram Procuratoribus*; but neither the Vice-Chancellor nor the Proctors are the imposers. They are simply Officers appointed by the University to receive the Subscription which she has required as the “certum ac indubitatum signum” of sound opinions. But,

4. As the University has not hitherto undertaken, so neither will she now undertake, to interpret the Articles for herself. She has always taken them in their plain and natural sense; and she will take them so still. But what that sense is, she will not define. She will after all leave the definition of it to the honest, conscientious *belief* of the Declarant himself. The terms of the Declaration are “in quo eos EX ANIMO CREDO, &c.”

But the person who may be convened before the Vice-Chancellor may say that he cannot ascertain what is the sense of the compilers and imposers: and on this supposition it is objected, that the Vice-Chancellor must explain what he conceives to be that sense, and so he will expound his own interpretation. Such an inference is wholly unwarranted. The Vice-Chancellor, (as has been observed,) has no authority to ask the convened a single question, so neither has he any discretion to answer cavilling enquiries, or even to satisfy authoritatively the scruples of a

tender conscience. His office is simply to state why the person is convened, to put before him the Declaration and the Articles, to require him to consider and subscribe. If the convened has really conscientious difficulties from supposed doubts about the sense in which the Church and the University receive the Articles, the terms of the Declaration relieve him. He is only bound to his conscientious belief to the best of his knowledge. Belief implies assent no further than to the extent of a man's understanding. In this spirit we each are taught to repeat "I believe" by our Church in her Creeds. In the same spirit when admitted by the University to our Degrees we each put our hands to the Declaration—"I allow the Book of Articles, &c." and "I acknowledge all and every one to be agreeable to the Word of God."

In short, the Declarant is not to subscribe in any other sense than that which he *honestly* believes to be the intended one. More than this the University does not and cannot ask. Her object is simply to obtain an honest subscription to the existing criterion, to prevent all mental reservations, all *non-natural* interpretations, all dishonest prevarications.

These considerations, if candidly and dispassionately weighed, will it is hoped sufficiently shew, that there are ample grounds for the measures which will be proposed to Convocation on the thirteenth of February next; and further also that the alteration of the Statute institutes no *new religious* test, for the test is the same as heretofore; that the test is not a

local test, it is the test of the Church ; it introduces no new limitations or restrictions, nor can it cause any perplexity to a simple and honest mind, for all that is required is honesty, candour, and good faith. And, lastly, it is evident from a slight reference to the existing Statute that no new power *whatever* is conferred upon the Vice-Chancellor, and that he only who is dishonest enough to think that he may evade the plain and simple meaning of the Articles, need apprehend any danger from “ secret and under-hand information.”

A TUTOR OF ——— COLLEGE.

Oxford, Jan. 2, 1845.

THREE MORE LETTERS

HUMBLY SUBMITTED TO THE CONSIDERATION OF

HIS GRACE THE MOST REVEREND THE
LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN,

ON THE CULPABILITY AND UNAUTHORISED PRESUMPTION
OF THE GENTILE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN

REQUIRING THE JEW TO FORSAKE THE LAW OF MOSES,

BEFORE HE CAN BE

ALLOWED PUBLICLY TO EMBRACE THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST :

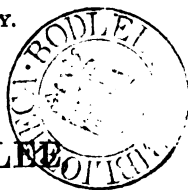
CONTAINING, ALSO,

METAPHYSICAL DISQUISITIONS ON THE GODHEAD;

AND A CONFUTATION OF THE DIABOLARCHY.

BY THE REV. JOHN OXLEY

RECTOR OF MOLESWORTH, HUNTS.



*Εν ἐκάστη δὲ διαδοχῇ καὶ ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει ἔχει, ὡς ὁ Νόμος
κηρύττει καὶ οἱ Προφῆται καὶ ὁ Κύριος.—HEGESIPPUS.*

LONDON:

SOLD BY HATCHARD AND SON, 187, PICCADILLY.

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1845.

LONDON: PRINTED BY W. E. PAINTER, 342, STRAND.

LETTER I.

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,—

BEFORE I proceed to address to your Grace these other THREE LETTERS on the Jewish Question, it may not be amiss to premise some account of the progress and reception which the first THREE LETTERS experienced at the hands of those for whose consideration they were penned; and, especially, from the Committee of that Society of which your Grace is the acknowledged and highly distinguished patron.

Having got to hear of such a Periodical being circulated by the Society as *The Jewish Intelligence*, I naturally felt a desire to have those first LETTERS, not favourably noticed by the editors, as that was quite out of the question; but merely advertised, as a something just published on the Conversion of the Jews, and that in a periodical, which was professing to furnish *Jewish Intelligence* to its Christian readers. Instead, however, of inserting the advertisement as requested, the Committee wrote back to inform me, that they could not think of giving any publicity to a pamphlet, containing statements so derogatory to the honour of our blessed Saviour; referring me to those paragraphs in which Origen is cited for the assertion, that all public prayer ought to be offered up to God the Father only; and not at all to Christ, except as the Melchizedek and High Priest of the Father. To this unmanly refusal I briefly replied, that if any one could imagine for a moment, that Origen or myself had broached anything disparaging to the divine character of our blessed Lord, he must know very little indeed either of the one or the other; that those who think to obtain for themselves the greater honour by overstepping his own authoritative example and precept, are not the genuine disciples of Christ, but mere sycophants; and can expect nothing better hereafter than to be rewarded for their flatteries.

But though I had just reason to take offence at the bigotry and opposition thus offered to my application, it soon appeared,

PRINTED BY W. B. BAKER, 225 STRAND.

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that Providence all the while had been directing it for the best. By chance I got to know of the Anglo-Jewish press in London, and of a recently instituted journal called *The Voice of Jacob*; an interesting Jewish periodical, conducted with great ability by Jewish editors, in support of Judaism; and which the Christian reader, if he really wishes to learn what is progressing amongst the Jews, ought constantly to read, in preference to *The Jewish Intelligence*. The proprietor, then, of *The Voice of Jacob*, being applied to, and thinking, perhaps, that my Letters had been refused publicity in *The Jewish Intelligence*, because they contained more truth than might be quite welcome to the views of the Committee, readily consented to have them advertised in his own periodical; and not only so, but in three successive numbers recommended them to the perusal of every Jewish professor, with so much effect, that I presently had the satisfaction to receive letters, not only from London, but from Liverpool, Oxford, and Birmingham; thanking me for my efforts, extolling the truthfulness and importance of the argumentation, and even expressing a hope, that the sons of Jacob would thereby be reminded of their religious duties, and roused to the performance of them with more strictness and sincerity. Nay, copies were soon forwarded to America; and, as I have since been informed, the whole pamphlet has there been reprinted for the perusal of the chosen race in that part of the world. These testimonies of respect I accept with all thankfulness from the pious sons of Israel, assuring them, as I honestly can, that adopting as I do the whole Bible for my guide, I have no need to practise the least guile or deception whatever, in recommending to their favourable consideration the proper grounds of Christianity; and that, in this Second Address to your Grace, they will not find a single sentiment at variance with the doctrines maintained in the First Address; but, on the contrary, every argument suggested for the combination of the Law with the Gospel, and for the perpetuity of the Mosaic statutes with the lineal descendants of Jacob.

In my former Letters to your Grace I have stated that, by the Law and the Gospel united together, I do not mean modern Judaism, nor modern Christianity, in their present corrupt form; but the pure Law and the pure Gospel—Moses in sincerity and Christ in sincerity; thus plainly intimating, that the vulgar profession of Judaism and Christianity is not so exempt from error and reproach as it ought to be; but that, like every other thing in which human agency is concerned, it is become more or less contaminated, in proportion as it has deviated from its original simplicity, and indulged in the extravagance of fiction and super-

stition. The whole of our practical religion, as well as of our theoretical belief, may be summed up in two words—**FEAR GOD**. But, then, to know in the best possible manner what **GOD** truly is, and what **He** is not ; to entertain correct notions of **His** essence, energies, and attributes ; to learn what commands and what duties **He** has actually enjoined on **His** creatures, and how we ought at all times to fear and obey **Him**, are metaphysical and theological questions not so quickly disposed of. To aim at such consummate knowledge, we must study from morning till night, and from night till morning, not only the **Book of Revelation**, but likewise the **Book of Nature** and the **Book of History** ; which are equally the **Books of God** with the **Book of Revelation**, and equally to be honoured. By neglecting to consider and ascertain what **God** has done **Himself**, or permitted to be done by others ; and by restricting their attention merely to that which **He** has commanded to be written, the sacerdotal order have descended from that exalted station to which their sacred profession ought to lay claim in the guidance and direction of all civil duties and domestic obligations. There is no duty which we owe either to **God**, to our fellow-creatures, or to ourselves, which is not, strictly speaking, a religious duty. But owing to the great diversity and multiplicity of our religious creeds, the national government can no longer be conducted on the principles of religion, but according to the dictates of state policy or political expediency ; which, having to do with the mutual jealousy and hostility of sects and parties existing in the **Christian Church**, is constrained to treat religion as a minor consideration ; and to adapt its laws and institutions, not according to the truth of the **Gospel**, as capable of being demonstrated, but according to the need of that particular church or religious community in the **State** which may happen at the time to be predominant, and to possess the ascendancy. Hence error and superstition, according to circumstances, are equally fostered and promoted with religious truth and sound theology. To combat this state of things, I know of no better plan than to point out the causes from which all dogmatical error and religious superstition, whether to be found in **Judaism** or in **Christianity**, must necessarily spring ; and to urge the paramount obligation imposed upon us of guarding against their influence. To me the two causes mainly contributing to all this error and superstition in religion appear to be vulgar conceptions of the **Godhead**, and the **Belief in a Diabolarchy**.

If we attempt to ascertain what idea our first parents and their immediate descendants entertained of the **Deity**, and may presume to judge from the plural form of the most generally

received, as well as the very oldest of all the names by which He is designated in the Mikra, we shall find it to have been an innocent Polytheism. By *innocent*, I mean that to which no criminality can attach, because of the condition and circumstances in which they were placed. To imagine for a moment, that, as soon as Adam and Eve were created and located in the garden of Eden, they were forthwith taught all the mysteries of Divine Revelation, and especially what relates to the exalted nature and perfections of the Supreme Being, though at present the current opinion, both with the Jew and the Christian, is the very summit of absurdity. Inexperienced and ignorant as they were of the great volume or Book of Nature, as well as destitute of those powers of thought and speech, which can only be gradually acquired from length of time, by deep contemplation and social intercourse, the accomplishment of such an attempt would have been a total impossibility. They had other things first to learn more immediately connected with their temporal welfare; whilst the few facts, detailed to us in the narrative of the fall, at once demonstrate the infantine state of their experience, and the simplicity of their understandings. Instead of pondering duly within her mind, whether the counsel of God or that of the serpent was the more likely to contribute to her happiness and comfort, Eve hesitates not to prefer the latter; and so plucks and eats the longed-for fruit, just as a child might be supposed to do. In like manner, when they both heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden, they instantly ran away to conceal themselves amongst the trees, just as though they could escape from His sight, as from a being of their own form and likeness. To me these infantine acts in the history of our first parents afford the very strongest evidence of its veracity. They are precisely such occurrences as might have been fully anticipated from persons in their circumstances. The simple tradition from Adam to Moses, that man had been created in the image of the *Elohim*, affords a clear intimation of primeval Polytheism. Every angel that appeared from heaven would be deemed an *Eloah*; and as they always appeared to men in the human form, it would naturally be concluded, not that the angels had assumed the human figure for the occasion, but that men, themselves, had been created at the first in the image and likeness of those *Elohim*, who thus appeared to them; as the term, *Tselem*, *Image*, has reference solely to bodily form or figure, and to nothing else whatsoever.

But the antediluvian and primitive use of the plural term, *Elohim*, *Gods*, is a positive proof, that neither our first parents, nor the progenitors of the Hebrew nation, could have enter-

tained any adequate notion of the unity of the Godhead, whether numerical or essential. The singular form, *Eloah*, though occasionally to be found in the later compositions of the *Mikra*, nowhere occurs in the antediluvian history; a sure sign, that with the ancient patriarchs there was attached to the designation of the Supreme Being a plurality of idea, so as to admit even of the construction, *Elohi Elohim*, *the Elohim of Elohim*, or *the God of Gods*; and that Moses himself, though enjoined to inculcate amongst the Jewish people the belief of one God only in number, had it not in his power, at the time, to change the established idiom and common parlance of speech, by substituting the singular for the plural form, which had now been so long and so universally received. It were much to be wished, indeed, that in all the versions of the *Mikra* the original term, *Elohim*, had been retained, as it is; and not rendered sometimes by, *God*, and sometimes by, *Gods*, to suit the exigency of the context and the creed of the translator. Since the Hebrew, *Eloah*, is doubtless the same with the Persian, *Eloah*; the Chaldee, *Elaha*; the Samaritan, *Alaha*, or *Eloha*; the Arabic, *Ilahon*, or *Allaho*; the Turkish, Malay, Hindoostanee, and Tartar, *Allah*; and the Bugis, *Alu*; it may not be amiss to observe, that some of the Arabic lexicographers derive the noun from the verb, *Aliha*, to stand in awe, to adore, to worship; and, therefore, signifying merely the object of our awe, adoration, and worship. This, however, is by no means a probable etymology. Since every object of adoration and worship must have some common designation assigned to it, before we can be exhorted or required to adore it; and as this is the common, if not the only designation for God in the Arabic, it is far more probable that the verb is derived from the noun, than that the noun is derived from the verb. The Hutchinsonian conceit, that it is the same with the term, *Alah*, a curse; and that the three persons of the Godhead are called, *Aleim*, because they had laid themselves under a curse to redeem mankind from sin and death by the sufferings of Christ, need only be mentioned to be rejected. In some passages of the *Mikra* it is thought to be put for the Judges of the land; and that circumstance has induced many Jewish commentators to affirm, that its import, or literal signification, is that of *Shophet*, or *Dayan*, a Judge. This, however, is highly improbable. In no language with which I have the least acquaintance, or of which I possess any specimens, and I have examined about ninety, is there any verb to be found possessing a kindred sound with *Eloah*, in the sense of *to judge*; nor need I hesitate to say, that no such verb is forthcoming. It remains, then, that the

etymology of *Eloah* be sought for elsewhere than in the Semitic tongues; and I cannot but consider it as identical with the Cingalese, *Aleya*, *Light*; or the Tibetan, *Lah*, a *God*, or *luminous inhabitant* of heaven; said to be so naturally refulgent and splendid, that, when they descended into this lower world, though there was neither the sun nor any other planet, the whole universe, on their appearance, immediately shone forth in a most amazing and astonishing manner with their immense and divine light; yea, whatever of light there is now to be seen in the sun, we are expressly told, flows from the *Lahs*.¹ That both the Tibetan and the Cingalese have a common parentage with the Hebrew and the Chaldee, and are of antediluvian date, can scarcely be doubted. In the Hebrew, as is well known, the term for Father, is *Ab*; and in the Chaldee, *Abba*: whilst in the Cingalese, we have *Appa*; and in the Tibetan, *Yabh*, or *Apa*. In the Hebrew, the term for Mother, is *Em*; and in the Chaldee, *Imma*: whilst in the Cingalese we have *Mo*, or *Amma*; and in the Tibetan, *Ma*, *Yoom*, or *Amo*. These coincidences of speech and articulation, to be found in terms so necessary to the expression of our infantine wants and feelings as *Father* and *Mother*, can only be accounted for on the supposition that the languages in which they occur have all a common and antediluvian origin. But the coincidence of articulate sound, in nearly all the languages of the earth, for *Light*, or a luminous body, is still more remarkable and astonishing. Thus, we have the Burman, *Leng*: the Tamul, *Vilakhu*; the Magyar, *Villagossag*; the Gothic, *Liuhath*; the Danish, *Lys*; the Dutch, *Lieht*; the Latin, *Lux*, and *Lumen*; the Armenian, *Lohs*; the Welsh, *Oleuni*; and the Saxon, *Leoht*; all signifying *Light*. The Tartar, *Olar*; the Danakil, *Alhu*; the Sirianian, *Lun*; the Bullom, *Loi*; the Manks, *Laa*; the Irish and Gaelic, *La*; all signifying a *Day*. The Breton, *Heaul*; the Cornish, *Howle*; the Tonga, *Laa*; the Buadan, *Luanha*; the Greek, *Helios*; and the Welsh, *Haul*; severally signifying the *Sun*. The Burman, *La*; the Bugis, *Ulöng*; the Breton, *Loar*; and the Latin, *Luna*; all signifying the *Moon*. The Manks, *Aile*; the Icelandic, *Elld*; signifying, *Fire*: and, finally, the Albanian, *Oul*, or *U*, signifying a *Star*. If to these we add all those words to which the demonstrative *S* has been prefixed, or in which the letter *R* has been commuted for the letter *L*; two principles of human articulation of which the etymologist, in investigating the origin of words, ought never to lose sight, the argument will be still more strongly corroborated. There can be no question, that the Roman, *Sol*, is the very same original term with the Canarese, *Shoorth*; the

Vikanera, *Soorj*; the Mooltan, *Surj*; the Zend, *Houere*; the Danakil, *Ayero*; the Hurrur, *Eer*; and the Celtic, *Haul*. I am likewise equally certain, that the Cingalese, *Rew*; the New Zealand, *Ra*; and the Egyptian or Coptic, *Re*, signifying the *Sun*, are the very same original term with the Tonga, *Laa*; and the Irish, *La*; the one signifying the *Sun*, and the other the *Day*. To the preceding remarks may be further subjoined, that in the Zend we have *Eiere*, for *Day*; in the Tigre and Hurrur, *Werhe*, for *Moon*; in the Galla, *Urje*, for *Star*, and *Erra*, for *Day*; in the Loo-Choo, *Heeroo*, for *Light*; in the Malay, *Haree*, for *Day*; lastly, that the Hebrew *Ur*, *Fire*, and *Or*, *Light*, are commutable into *Ul* and *Ol*, the same with the Celtic, *Haul*, or the Latin, *Sol*, the *Sun*; at once the great source both of heat and light. I conclude, therefore, that the etymological import of the Hebrew, *Eloah*, is *Light*; and that by the plural designation of the Supreme Being, *ELOHIM*, the first human worshippers meant those Heavenly lights or splendours, which shed their benign influence on the earth, and are the cause of all life and energy to the lower world. This is the more probable, because down to a very late period, even the age of Maimonides, the luminous orbs and spheres above our heads were not supposed to be inanimate matter; but animated bodies, possessed of vast energy, and shedding their influx on the inhabitants of the earth.

Now, there can be no doubt, that the term, *Light*, of all the positive terms borrowed from the natural world, is the best adapted to designate and represent the Deity; and has been constantly so employed by the more enlightened and cultivated portion of mankind. The brilliant lights issuing from the lamps of the golden candlesticks in the tabernacle and the sanctuary, corresponding to the supposed number of the planets, were all emblematic of the *ELOHIM*. "The Lord my God (saith the holy psalmist) will enlighten my darkness. The Lord is my Light and Salvation. Thy Word is a Lamp unto my feet and a Light unto my path." In the Nicene Creed we profess to call the Filial Godhead, Light of Light—that is, Very God of Very God. "God is Light (saith the divine apostle), and in Him is no darkness at all." "Every good gift (saith St. James) and every perfect gift is from above; and cometh down from the Father of Lights, with whom is no variableness nor shadow of turning." By the *Father of Lights*, in this expression of the inspired penman, I do not understand the Parent of the luminous orbs—such as the sun, the moon, or the planets; but the Father of the eternal Lights, the emanatory energies of the Godhead, and the Sephiroth of the Cabalists; the Elohim of

the Elohim, or the God of Gods. Hence it is quite apparent, that so far from any incongruity, there is a singular propriety in the use of the plural *Elohim, Lights*, as the common designation of the Deity; in that it implies all the subsisting energies, attributes, and qualities, which may be conceived to belong to it. The constant danger always to be pointed out and avoided is, lest by supposing every Eloah to be an independent, individual, and personal God, we should be induced to invoke severally their special protection; to worship images and pictures in honour of their respective divinities; thus falling into the grossest idolatry and polytheism; or lest, by dividing the subsisting energies of the Godhead, and discarding that correlation in which they stand to each other of cause and effect, we should separate the attribute of Divine Justice from that of Divine Mercy; render the Son independent on the Father, and the Holy Ghost on both; so contrary to the trinitarian as well as cabalistic hypothesis. The first of these cases is the ground on which R. Judah Levita² has attempted to account for the plural form of *Elohim*; saying, that it happened, because the idolaters were accustomed to make themselves images, in each of which they supposed a particular divinity to reside; and so were led to deify them in the aggregate, *Elohim, Gods*, by whom they swore always, as exercising dominion over them from their power in the spheres. In this suggestion, R. Isaac Abarbanel³ so far coincides as to declare, that it is more rational and probable than that of any other author who has handled the question besides himself. The very same remark will apply to the Teraphim, or household divinities of Laban the Syrian, expressly called his *Elohim*; and which the beloved Rachel was so anxious to secrete and carry away with her, as though the furniture of her future domicile would be incomplete without their presence. Nay, in the Book of Hosea, the Teraphim are joined with the Ephod, as one of those advantages or blessings of which they, the Israelites, would have to be deprived, during their lengthened captivity.

That polytheistic notions prevailed throughout the whole world, without exception, from Adam till Moses, and even after the age of Moses, with such individual Israelites as stand chargeable with transgressing the great commandment, is demonstrable from the Mosaic history. They believed in a multitude of Elohim or personal Gods, and anticipated good at their hands respectively, in proportion as they could ingratiate themselves into their favour, or recommend themselves by any extraordinary act or deed to their special notice and protection. The language made use of by the patriarch, Jacob, at Bethel, is a proof of the

fact. "And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, If Elohim will be with me, and will guard me in the road in which I am going, and will give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I may return again in peace to the house of my father, then shall Jehovah be to me for Elohim; and this stone, which I have erected for a pillar, shall be the House of Elohim; and of all that thou shalt give unto me, I will surely give unto thee the tenth part." Here we have Israel himself proposing to accept and acknowledge Jehovah in future for his Elohim, or God, only on certain conditions; and though these conditions may have been uttered, on the part of the patriarch, with the firmest belief, that they would be fulfilled; yet, the very utterance of such conditions would be impious and blasphemous on any other supposition than that he was ignorant of the unity and omnipresence of Jehovah; that he wished to ascertain upon trial what Elohim ought to be his Elohim, and that of his posterity after him; in whose temple they ought to pray and do homage, as the servants of Him who had thus graciously revealed Himself to them, and chosen them for His own. Since the Tetragrammaton, **JEHOVAH**, was first divulged to Moses, as the proper designation of the Supreme Being; its occurrence, in this passage, must be assigned to the pen of the historian; and not to the mouth of the patriarch himself, who could have had no knowledge of any such name, and whose language must have been to this effect: "If the Elohim, who has graciously appeared to me in this vision, will grant me such and such requests, he shall be my sole Elohim; and that of my children, to the exclusion of all other Elohim; and we will worship and serve him alone, in his own house; to the total denial of all other deities, whatsoever and wheresoever." In the Targum of Onkelos the term Jehovah, in this text, is rendered by *The Word of Jehovah*; a very proper translation, and highly significant of the great mysteries of the Godhead. In another passage the same patriarch says: "I will make there an altar unto the God, who answered me in the day of my distress;" thus plainly restricting his feelings of gratitude to a special Elohim. If, as I readily grant, in consequence of that divine intercourse, which occasionally took place between the progenitors of Israel and the Lord of heaven and earth, they gradually became more and more enlightened on the all-important subject of religion; that accrued to them, not because they from the first knew God, and entertained more correct ideas of His divine attributes than the rest of mankind; but because God knew them, and always designed them for a peculiar nation. The fact of the belief prevailing, as well in Judeah as in other countries, that certain Elohim directed and

confined their attention to certain cities, kingdoms, and peoples, may be still further corroborated from the conduct of Amaziah.⁴ That king, having conquered the Edomites, introduced into his own city, to be worshipped, the Elohim of the children of Seir; set them up or established them for his own Elohim; bowed down to them, and burnt incense to them; a thing which he never could have thought of doing, had he not imagined that these Elohim had taken offence at the children of Seir; and, therefore, it would be for his own interest to secure them in future, as his own Elohim, by paying them all due respect, and assigning to them in his own royal city a suitable habitation.

The very first advance made, in the true knowledge of the Supreme Being, seems to have been in regarding and describing Him as the Elohim of the Elohim, that is, the *Chief* of the Elohim; then, as the *Only* Elohim; and lastly, as *One* in number. "For our God (saith Solomon), or He that is our Elohim, is great above all the Elohim." That, however, which authoritatively establishes the doctrine of One God, to the exclusion of the many, is the declaration of Moses: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is One Lord: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." This solemn injunction of Moses, being reiterated by Christ and his apostles, is the doctrine of the Church as well as of the Synagogue; and, when fully explained, forms an essential part of sound Judaism as well as of sound Christianity. "We know (saith St. Paul) that an idol is nothing in the world; and that there is none other God but One. For though there be that are called Gods, whether in heaven or on earth; as there be Gods many and Lords many; yet to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we for Him." Seeing, then, that there is but One God, professed either by Jew or Christian; the question naturally arises—Who is the One God, and what are the characteristics of His nature, so as to distinguish Him from other beings? The Book of Revelation describes Him as, He that giveth all things to all things; He that liveth for ever and ever; He that brought all things into existence, or the Creator; He that ordaineth all things in security; He that ruleth and commandeth; He that rideth on the heavens or moveth; He that hath the clouds for His chariot, and walketh upon the wings of the wind; He that decreeth; He that reviveth, or bringeth to life again; He that destroyeth; He that burneth all, or is a consuming fire; He that thundereth; He that flieth; He that twinkleth not, neither slumbering nor sleeping; He that presideth over paradise, or is the King of the Saints; He that knoweth all

things; He that hath perpetual youth, or whose years have no end; He that is in heaven, and is the heaven itself; He that is the celestial Spirit, or the invisible One; He that is the Lord; He that is the King or Sovereign of everything; He that is a Spirit as to His substance, and the Father of spirits; He that is time itself, at once the present, the past and the future; He that hath no need of anything besides Himself, or the All-sufficient; He that always is; He that is light; He that is the universal Parent; He that is a warrior, a hero, or a giant; He that ruleth supreme in the heavens; He that is the most honourable and most adorable in the heavens; He that is the world itself, or All; He that is a paternal instructor, or a spiritual director; He that is the supreme spirit or soul of the universe, which, if once withdrawn, we all perish; He that is the best or highest Lord; He that is the good Father or good Lord, and love itself; He whose law is perfect, whose book of the law is a lamp or light; He that is the infinite light, or the infinite splendour; He that is an eternal Spirit, having neither beginning nor end; He that emitteth from his mouth a divine fire; He that is a framer or an ordainer; He that is the fountain of living Water; He that is the God of Gods, or the Supremo Deity; He whose weapon is His Word, and His speech an arrow; He that is strong and mighty; He that is good and gracious; He that is merciful and piteous; He that is rich and opulent; He that is wise and intelligent; He that is great; He that is very great and very excellent; He that judgeth all; He that is the Most High; He that is infinite and unsearchable. These are a few, and only a few, of the innumerable perfections of that only One God, whom the Jew and the Christian are equally bound to honour and obey; and though the number of such detailed attributes and perfections might easily have been augmented; yet, however augmented, it could have been nothing else than a mere recapitulation of such divine prerogatives, as the mind of man may be capable of imagining to belong to a Person or Being so vastly superior to himself. In our efforts to discourse and speak of God, we are limited by the paucity of our sensitive and cogitative faculties; and are compelled to describe His energies and operations in terms, already appropriated to the expression of our own mental and corporeal powers, by amplification, by denegation, comparison, or other process; the consequence of which is, that we often mean what we do not say; and say what we do not mean. "In like manner (saith R. Ephraim⁵) all the names or designations of Jehovah, blessed be He, have some reference to what He is, and so inculcate some idea of His essence;

nevertheless, no created intellect is competent to apprehend His essence by virtue of the import of any one of His sacred appellations; nor is the whole of what mortals are fain to learn, from the import of His name, so much as a drop from the ocean, in comparison of that which still remains with Himself, blessed be He; and which it is out of the power of any created being to ascertain or apprehend." Nor is it to be doubted, that to the higher orders of spiritual beings, possessed of more numerous and exalted faculties than ourselves, there may be a million of divine attributes eternally shining forth in their full lustre and splendour, of which we, terrestrial mortals, can have no possible conception; a fact which I am strongly inclined to believe and maintain.

But, however glorious and transcendent those attributes and titles may be, which we thus ascribe to God, due care must always be taken never to attach to Him, in our minds, any personal form, so as to constitute Him an individual subsistency, like one of ourselves. There is no such thing as a *Personal* God; a *Personal* Form cannot belong to God. However we may argue or pretend to the contrary, the only idea which we can entertain of personality, or a personal form, is that of a human personality, or a human individual subsistency, existing apart by itself; and to be distinguished only, as a personal subsistency, by being connumerated or contrasted with other individual or personal subsistencies. Such an individual or personal form may apply to an angel, or a devil; moving about from place to place, like an aeronaut, in the vast expanse of the universe; and occupying a certain portion of space to himself. But it cannot apply to God; who, so far from having any part of the world for His place or locality, is Himself the locality or place of the whole world. The more important question, therefore, to be started and resolved in the best manner we can, is not, Who is God, and, Where is He; but, What is God, and, Where is he not?

First of all, then, absolutely to *Be*, is to be God. That which is created, and became something from nothing, may, at the will and pleasure of its Creator, be annihilated, and become nothing from something. Of such an *ent*, or being, it never can be truly affirmed, that it is; but only, that it has hitherto been for a while, and may still continue to be for a while, just as it pleaseth God. But, absolutely and eternally to *Be*, without any variation of form or mutation of identity, is to exercise the very highest of the divine prerogatives; to be the Supreme of Beings; yea, the Only Being. "There is (saith R. Ephraim) no end to His beginning, nor any end to

His ending ; neither is there any other Being besides Himself." Hence the *Tetragrammaton*, JEHOVAH, *He who is* ; the special designation, appropriated by God to Himself : rendered not unaptly by the British Jews, *The Eternal One* ; called by R. Ephraim and other Rabbinical authorities, *Hashem Shel Haviah*, *The Name of Essence*, or, *The Designation of Being*. The only thing to be regretted is, that the utterance or pronounciation of so divine a Name should be so scrupulously avoided by the Jewish professor ; and, consequently, lost to the worship of the true God, in the synagogue, from the culpability of their existing superstition.

Secondly, to be *Infinite Space*, or, *Ininitely Spacious*, is also to be God. In the *Medrash Rabbah*⁷ it is well observed, that God, so far from having the world for His place, is Himself the place of the World ; and, therefore, unbounded and infinite. The wisdom and philosophy of Solomon had long before taught him the same truth. In the dedication of the temple, he thus prays and says : " Behold, Heaven and the Heaven of Heavens cannot contain Thee ; how much less this house which I have built ;" clearly intimating, that the heavens cannot contain God, but that God contains the heavens. Philo Judaeus,⁸ also, observes that God is called, TOPOS, PLACE, because He surrounds all things, but is Himself surrounded by nothing at all ; because He is the retreat of everything ; and, forasmuch as He is His own Place ; taking in Himself, and borne within Himself. Hence, in the Rabbinical school, the frequent use of the term, *Makom*, or rather, *Hammakom*, *Place*, as a designation of the Supreme Being Himself ; because, absolute space being a divine property, He must necessarily be infinitely spacious ; and so the Place of everything. The like doctrine is maintained by Clemens Alexandrinus⁹ and other Christian Fathers ; that God containeth all things ; but is, Himself, contained by nothing. In the Tibetan language, we have two appellations of the Deity, denoting Infinity ; HOPAME, the Infinite Light ; and, LAMBANGPO, that which is Boundless or Infinite. If we should suppose all space to be the inherent property of matter, and nothing separate or distinct from bodily substance, then would bodily motion be impossible, in that all motion is caused by bodies changing their sites or places, by one portion of matter driving another out of its place, and occupying that space in its stead. Nor will it make any difference, whether we suppose all matter to have originated, at the first, in one solid lump or mass ; or in a countless host of minute particles or atoms ; as, in either case, all motion would be equally impossible, unless there previously existed some absolute and indefinite space,

more extensive than the matter itself, in which it might be caused to move and stir, as soon as created. Bodily motion, however, is visible and undeniable, yea, unavoidable; and, consequently, affords a demonstration, that the infinite space in which all bodily substances move, must be something diametrically opposed to matter, perfectly immaterial, and altogether the property of God; that the matter does not contain the space, but the space the matter; just in the same manner as the occupant does not contain the house in which he abides, but the house contains the occupant. Hence it is quite apparent, that matter can neither be infinite nor eternal. It cannot be infinite; because, if I take into my hand ever so small a portion of any bodily substance, however small a part it may form of the whole mass of matter actually existing, it must still, nevertheless, be acknowledged to be really a part; and if a part, then there must be the whole of it somewhere; as there cannot be a part without a whole, nor a whole without its parts; whole and part being correlative terms, the consideration of the one necessarily including always the consideration of the other. Neither can matter be eternal. However far back we may carry its creation, the unbounded space which contains it must still have existed prior to it in point of time; and that which is prior to another in point of time, stamps upon that other a temporality, which prevents it from being eternal.

Thirdly, to be *Omnipresent*, is to be God. By the Divine Omnipresence, I never mean a virtual omnipresence, or rather pluripresence, by the mere exercise of power and influence without any actual or personal presence; but I mean an essential and actual omnipresence, as much so in the Ocean as on the Earth; and as much so in Hell as in the Heavens; the only difference being, and to us a mighty difference it is, that the presence of God is differently felt in the one place from what it is in the other. "Whither (saith the Psalmist) shall I go from Thy Spirit; or whither shall I flee from Thy Presence? If I ascend up into heaven, Thou art there; if I make my bed in hell, behold, Thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea; even there shall Thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me. If I say, surely, the darkness shall cover me, even the night will be light about me. Yea, the darkness hideth not from Thee; but the night shineth as the day; the darkness and the light are both alike to Thee." This beautiful passage, whilst it precludes all possibility of assigning to Jehovah any personal form, lucidly depicts His actual and essential omnipresence. I am not aware, however, of any language containing a term for the Deity, ex-

pressive of one that is everywhere present. The human race, ever since the creation, have been too much diverted and amused with their supercelestial and personal Gods, to think of designating the true God, from the prerogative of His Omnipresence.

Fourthly, to be *Omniscient*, is also to be God. The omniscience of the Deity is the result of His omnipresence; in the same manner as His omnipresence is the result of His infinity. If I do not know, at the same time, what may be passing at Rome or Constantinople, as well as I do in London, it is because I cannot be equally present at all the three places at one and the same moment; the perdicament of the creature, but not of the Creator. "Great is our Lord (saith the holy psalmist) and of great power; His understanding is infinite." "For if our heart condemn us (saith St. John) God is still greater than our heart, and knoweth all things." God, indeed, not only knows every where, and at all times all actualities which do take place; but, likewise, all imaginable possibilities or potentialities which might, but do not take place; and unless we admit the existence of such potentialities as well as actualities, we cannot constitute man a free agent, nor morally responsible for what he projects; neither can the Judge of all the earth be supposed to take due cognizance of our thoughts and intentions, as well as of our words and actions. In the Sanscrit tongue, amongst other illustrious designations of the Supreme Being I find, *VIBUDHA*; a compound of *Budha*, to know; and, *Vi*, variously; denoting, therefore, One that is conversant in every variety of knowledge, or One that knows a vast; a most appropriate term for the omniscient Jehovah, and not to be passed over on the present occasion.

Fifthly, to be *Omnipotent* or *Almighty*, is to be God. In this attribute are to be included the powers, not only to do, but to undo; not only to create, but to annihilate that which has been created. Hence the Hebrew appellation, *SHADDAI*; which I do not consider with many, as a compound of, *Dai*, sufficient, and the demonstrative or relative, *She*, signifying, *He who is self-sufficient*; but rather as a derivative from the verb, *Shadad*, or *Shoded*, to lay waste, to plunder, to destroy; and so meaning, *a Destroyer*; an etymology favoured by Aben Ezra, Nachmanides, Bechai, and Moses Alshech. Irresistible force, energy, power, and might, are so essential to the efficiency of that divine character which we desire to ascribe to the Supreme Governor of the universe, that we need not wonder at the vast multitude of those sacred designations, which indicate His omnipotency. Hence the Hebrew, *El*; the Samaritan, *Chiulah*; the

Georgian, *Ghmerthi* ; the Hungarian, *Isten* ; the Persian, *Izad*, or *Izdan* ; as also the *Mezdan* of Zerdusht or Zoroaster ; all which, not to mention others, signify Him that is Strong, Omnipotent or Almighty. The Lord Jehovah is described by the psalmist as *Strong* and *Mighty* in battle. " If (saith holy Job) I speak of strength ; lo, He is *Strong*."

Sixthly, *to Give without having previously received*, is to be God. In the Bhotan language, amongst other appellations of the Deity, we have, *JINKYAS*, the *Giver*, from *Jinpa*, *to give*. In the old Egyptian or Coptic tongue, the appropriate term for God is, *Di* ; whence the Greek, *Dis* ; the Latin and Romanese, *Deus* ; the Spanish, Portuguese, and Peruvian, *Dios*, or, *Deos* ; the Lettish, *Deews* ; the Lithuanic, *Dietwas* ; the Irish and Gaelic, *Dia* ; the Welsh, *Duw* ; the Breton, *Doue*, *Doe*, or *Due* ; the French, *Dieu* ; the Catalaunian, *Deu* ; the Italian, *Dio* ; the Sanscrit, *Dewa* ; the Hindoostanee, *Deb*, *Dew*, or *Dewdau* ; the Mah-ratta, *Dev* ; the Tamul, *Tevan* ; the Malay, *Dejica*, or, *Deywa* ; the Canarese, *Dcvra* ; the Assam, *Devtau* ; the Burman, *Deva* ; the Teloo goo, *Divijudoo* ; the Cingalese, *Dhawyath*, or *Dha-wathawa* ; and, finally the Kalmuk, *Dedu* ; unless we fetch this last from the Tibetan, *Deden*, which signifies *Heaven*. Now, there are three possible ways of determining the etymology of the Coptic, *Di*, and its synonymes. First of all, it may be fetched from the Cingalese, *Dha*, or the Breton, *Di*, a Day ; and that, again, from the Sanscrit, *Devi*, the Sky ; *Dewa*, a Cloud ; or, *Diva*, to play in the heavens. Certainly, nothing can be of more vital importance to the human race than the Light of the Sky ; and, if the Lord Jehovah had not announced Himself to be the Ruler of the Day, there could have been nothing wrong in falling down every morning, and worshipping the return of the Daylight. If I could be sure, that the primitive use of the term had originated with the simple and the illiterate, rather than with the thoughtful and the intelligent, I should readily acquiesce in the probability of this etymology. Secondly, it may be deduced from the Tibetan, *Dadhp*, or, *Dapa*, *to live* ; which, though very applicable to the Deity, I do not consider probable for other reasons. Thirdly, it may be, and I think is, derived, from the Coptic, *Di*, or, *Tei* ; which, as a verb, signifies *to Give*. This Coptic verb is of the same root with the Greek, *Didonai*, or, *Donnai* ; the Armenian, *Dal* ; the Irish, *Dtug* ; the Slavonic and Bohemian, *Dati* ; the Arabic, *Dafaa* ; the Pehlvi, *Dabounatan* ; the Persian, *Dadan*, or, *Dadun* ; the Latin and Italian, *Dare* ; the Romanese, Spanish, and Portuguese, *Dar* ; the French, *Donner* ; the Catalaunian, *Donar* ; the Romaine, *Dido* ; the Albanian and Moldavian,

Da ; the Lettish, *Doht* ; the Lithuanic, *Dot* ; the Russian, *Davat* ; the Cingalese, *Dhanawa*, or *Dhada* ; the Hindoostanee, *Dena* ; the Bengalee and Ooriya, *Deōna* ; the Tibetan, *Denba*, or *Danpa* ; the Mahratta, *Dawna* ; the Polish, *Dac* ; the Kurd, *Dem*, *Dei*, or *Da* ; the Sanscrit, *Dau*, *Dada*, or *Daya* ; the Wendish, *Dasch*, or *Dawasch* ; the Vikanera, *Denno*, or, *Dauno* ; the Goojratee, *Devoon* ; the Assam, *Dibale* ; and the Mooltan, *Dhevna* ; all which verbs, severally, contain the syllabic *D*, as their chief constituent part ; and signify, *to give*. This I take to be the true etymology of the designation in question ; and how properly it applies to the Deity, may easily be demonstrated. In the Book of Revelation, God is everywhere described as the Giver of all good gifts ; as Giving counsel ; as Giving salvation ; as Giving life and length of days for ever and ever ; as Giving food and drink both to man and beast ; as Giving recompense both to the just and the unjust ; as Giving breath to the inhabitants of the earth, and spirit to them that walk therein : as Giving all things to all things. There cannot, therefore, be a more appropriate designation of the Supreme Being than that of the GIVER ; and happy are those nations in whose vernacular speech the true God is so called, and actually adored as such. It does honour to their language, as well as their religion.

Seventhly, *to be supremely and absolutely Good*, is also to be God. In the English tongue, the common appellation of the Supreme Being is *God* ; the same with the Icelandic, Sweedish, and Danish, *Gud* ; the Teutonic or German, *Gott* ; the Dutch and Belgic, *Godt* ; the Gothic, *Guth*, or *Goth* ; the Persian, *Goda* ; the Georgian, *Gudi* ; the Breton, *Goe* ; the Greenlandic, or, Esquimaux, *Gude*, or, *Gudib* ; and is evidently derived from the Saxon adjective, *God*, signifying, *Good*. That the term, *God*, designates one of the most illustrious of the divine attributes, and ought never to be uttered without some degree of grateful and devotional feeling, cannot surely be contradicted. In the Gospel, we have a singular confirmation of this truth. Christ having been accosted with the title of *Good Master* ; objected to his being called *Good* ; though the very Son of God. “Why (saith he) dost thou call me *Good* ? There is none *Good* but one, that is God :”—thus establishing the favourite maxim of the pious Moslem, that there is no God but God.

These seven prerogatives of the Godhead I have briefly noticed and detailed, in order to demonstrate to your Grace, that if we wish the world in future to entertain more just and worthy conceptions of the Supreme Being, and would put an effectual check on the further propagation of error and super-

stition; we must cease to describe and speak of Him, as though He were possessed of any personal form or figure, that is in fact, of any human parts or passions; a vulgar notion, which has been the cause of every species of idolatrous worship for the last four thousand years; and will continue such, more or less, for other four thousand years, unless the human mind shall be very differently tutored from what it has been; and the sacerdotal order can learn to pay deference to truth and reality rather than to fiction and popularity. If we once admit as a fact, that God does not contain the world, but that the world contains God; however highly and splendidly He may be enthroned, or however majestically He may be surrounded by a countless host of angels and attendant spirits; we shall still leave room for a million of other Gods besides Himself; and can assign no sufficient reason, why a Jupiter should not abide upon mount Ida or mount Olympus, as well as a Jehovah upon mount Sinai; seeing that for all such personal deities there is plenty of air in which to breathe, as well as plenty of vacant space in which to move and exercise their limbs. There ought to be no demur in admitting to its fullest extent the whole catalogue of Grecian and Roman divinities, males, as well as females, gods and goddesses both, together with all their family successions and pedigrees of sons and daughters, of fathers and mothers; nor ought it to be doubted but that marriage and concubinage must have taken place in heaven, as well as on the earth; seeing that in both places the more potent sovereigns are supposed to act precisely as they please; and to be irresponsible to any powers or authorities for anything in the world that they either do or say. Nor ought we to find the least fault with the worshippers of Bel at Babylon; who carrying out the same principle to perfection, assigned to that idol not only a head, face, and mouth; but also gums and teeth, so as actually to masticate and devour whatever of meat and drink might be taken into his presence: and though the priests and their families might well be supposed to have appropriated to their own use whatever was thus conveyed into the temple; yet, that was too wicked and impious a thought to be entertained by the pious Babylonians; who verily believed, that whatever was thus taken to their God to be swallowed and devoured, he actually swallowed and devoured it himself. But, if we feel disgusted at the bare mention of such a mass of Paganic idolatries, frauds, and superstitions, we must call to mind, and reflect on the grand cause of all this human error; the general belief in a personal Deity, no matter whether one or many in number; falsely assuming as an axiom, that the universe contains the Divine Nature, and not the Divine Nature the universe.

I cannot, however, dismiss this part of the subject without inculcating, in a high degree, those egregious panders to all sorts of popular superstition—the sculptors, the painters, and the poets. It seems not enough that in the East, where Hindooism predominates, we must be compelled to witness the Hindoo triad of deity sculptured in rocky stone, with as many heads, eyes, and arms as may serve to strike terror into the beholder if they can do nothing else; but in the Western world also, where Christianity is or ought to be predominant, we are equally compelled to witness the blessed Trinity itself—the Father as well as the Son Incarnate, and the Holy Spirit, depicted on marble, canvass, or paper: yea, the Virgin Mother likewise elevated into heaven, and enthroned, like another Queen Juno, at the right hand of her Son; the very day on which the Assumption took place being registered in the Church calendar as a glorious event. Such insults and disparagements to the majesty of the Supreme Being, had Christianity made half a step in advance of Paganism, could never have obtained amongst any of its professors; and are to be charged wholly on that Paganic idea, so prevalent with the vulgar, of God having a human, individual, or personal form; and, therefore, capable of being sculptured and delineated, though in a more gigantic and refulgent shape, like one of ourselves. Nor is this all. The artist, undertaking to reveal to mortal sight the forms of the angels, or ministering spirits, tacks a pair of wings to every pair of shoulders; thus making them half birds and half men, as though one of these forms were not of itself sufficiently vain and mendacious, unless accompanied with the other also. In this respect Judaism, at the present day, stands highly distinguished from Christianity: in that the Jew, laudably adhering to the prohibitory command of making to himself neither image nor picture of the Deity, and of allowing in the sanctuary, or place of worship, no likeness or representation of anything, whether terrestrial or celestial, as an object of veneration and worship, keeps himself aloof from all signs of idolatry; whilst our Christian sanctuaries are frequently filled with such like pictures and representations; though we can boast at the same time of the spirituality of our own, whilst we upbraid the Jew with the carnality of his religious services. But as to the poets, let the great Milton himself, the very first of our epic bards, respond for the whole fraternity. In his “Paradise¹⁰ Lost,” he makes the Father consult with the Son how they may make their omnipotence *sure*, by what arms and means, against the Devil, now plotting rebellion. In another passage he makes God say to Gabriel and Michael:

"Lead forth to battle these my sons invincible; lead forth my armed saints by thousands and by millions, ranged for fight, equal in number to that godless crew rebellious. For they weened that self-same day to fight, or by surprise to win the mount of God; and on His throne to set the envier of His state, the proud Aspirer." God himself he describes as located and enthroned in such a pitch of altitude in the very summit of heaven, and surrounded with such hosts of ministering spirits, attendants, and guards, that he leaves it quite doubtful whether, from such a height of exaltation, and encircled by such multitudes, He could actually notice and perceive what might happen to be going on at such a vast distance from Him. Nay, the Devil is no sooner defeated and cast into hell, with the whole legion of rebels, than he is presently made to escape again from his horrors in defiance of and with the unconsciousness of the Almighty, as well as unperceived by any one of the attendant angels; winging his way through the empty space from one part of the universe to the other; chuckling within himself as he flies along at the successful exercise of his callidity in getting out of hell, and meditating the infliction of no trifling pain and mortification on the mind of the Creator from what he was soon going to achieve in the Garden of Eden. The same poet again, on other occasions, describes the Deity as filling infinitude; and denies that the space is absolutely vacuous; thus rendering himself equally chargeable with blasphemy and contradiction, by meaning of God what he does not say, and by saying what he does not mean.

But, perhaps, your Grace may be pleased to ask, if we are thus to discard from the mind every idea and consideration of any personal form, as well as of any human mental energies and perfections, in discoursing of God; how can we address Him in our prayers?—and how can we hold any kind of holy communion with the Divine Presence, seeing that we have no other way left us of giving utterance to our thoughts and desires, than by means of those natural faculties and powers with which we are furnished? Moreover, if heaven may not be deemed His special locality, to the exclusion of other places, and He is to be considered as essentially present in *Shool*, as in *Shammaim*, how can we reconcile such doctrine with the declaration of the creed, that Christ hath ascended up into heaven, and is now there seated at the right hand of God; plainly intimating that the Divine presence is specially located in the heavens—not in hell, nor yet in any other part of the universe? To these supposed queries I would respectfully make answer, that the essentials of our religion, whether regarded as the sum total of our belief, or of our practical duty,

most at all times consist not in praying, singing, or discoursing of God thoughtlessly and impertinently; but rather in meditating profoundly, and acting uprightly. It is a just remark of S. Marcus Eremita,¹¹ That to attempt to utter what is ineffable by any enunciation of human speech is dangerous; and that it is safer to contemplate the Being of God in the mind alone, without having recourse to the voice at all. There is a fine observation, too, in the poet Milton, which I can cite with much pleasure:—That immediate are the acts of God, more swift than time or motion; but to human ears cannot without process of speech be told. Certainly, God is always acting; nor can we pretend to distinguish between one act and another, except with a reference solely to ourselves—the objects of His wisdom and goodness. This consciousness, however, of our incompetency to apprehend what He is either doing or designing, with respect to His creatures, so far from encouraging us presumptuously and audaciously to speechify, ought to restrain us from indulging in all extravagant ebullitions; to make us confess the inaptitude of the most studiously preconcerted forms of address to the throne of grace; and content ourselves with pleading the special example and precept of those righteous servants, those holy prophets and apostles of God and Christ, who have gone before us, rather than any strictness of propriety in what we mean or say. For when we invoke the Lord and pray, “Hear us, O Lord;” or, “Behold us, O Lord;” the Lord is hearing and beholding us all the while, whether we invoke Him or not. Nor can we deny the fact; but what we rather mean to ask is, that He would be graciously pleased to help and comfort us in our pressing necessities; just in the same manner as one of our own species exhibits a token of his forthcoming beneficence by instantly turning his ear to the request of the supplicant, and regarding him with complacency. Since we are created, and sent into the world the born servants of the Most High, we cannot emancipate ourselves from that duty and service which we are bound to profess at all times, publicly as well as privately, so as to thank and praise Him for all the blessings and the being which we enjoy, with the very best member that we have; to extol and magnify His attributes in the most sonorous language, and the sweetest accents to which we can give utterance. But, then, this sense of our religious obligations by no means requires of us for a moment that we should either think or profess to believe that, because we are compelled from the necessity of our nature to address the Supreme Being, as though He were a terrestrial sovereign seated on a throne, with a host of attendants

on his right and left ; therefore, God is truly such a personage as He whom we thus address. That neither sound Judaism, nor sound Christianity exacts any such belief, but quite the reverse, may very easily be shewn. In the first of our Church Articles we maintain, that God is without body, parts, or passions. But, if without *parts*, then without head, face, arms, hands, or feet, or any other bodily member wherewith to be seated and enthroned. And, if without *passions*, then without jealousy, anger, mercy, pity, or any other human affection, whether good or bad. The third of the thirteen Articles of the Jewish Faith is thus stated by Maimonides¹³:—"The third article, or fundamental tenet, is to divest Him of corporeity. For what we profess to believe is, that this one God of whom we speak is neither a body, nor any energy in a body ; that no bodily accidents appertain to Him, such as motion, or rest, or habitation ; neither with respect to substance—nor by way of accident. Hence our sages of blessed memory divest him of junction and separation ; and affirm that in the heaven above, there is neither sitting nor standing ; neither embracing nor pushing away—meaning to say, neither separation or disjunction ; nor yet any embracing or conjunction—that is, union or alighting upon each other ; as where we read :—' And they shall alight or fly upon the shoulder of the Philistines ;' meaning, that they shall propel them on the shoulder, so as to become linked along with them. Moreover, the prophet says, ' To whom will ye assimilate me, that I should have my like ? saith the Lord.' But if He were a body, He would be like to bodies. Then, as to what occurs in the holy Scriptures, which represent Him with bodily attributes ; such as walking, standing, sitting, speaking, and the like : all that is purely metaphorical. Hence our fathers of blessed memory say, that the Law expresses itself in the common parlance of mankind ; though on this question our sages have long since delivered their sentiments at great length. This third fundamental tenet, then, inculcates of Him, according to what is said in the Mikra, ' For ye saw no likeness at all ;' meaning, ye did not perceive Him to be possessed of any likeness ; because, as we have already affirmed of Him, He is neither a body, nor any bodily energy." In like manner Aben Ezra, commenting on the words in Genesis, *And the Lord smelled a sweet savour*, thus expresses himself : " God forbid that Jehovah should be deemed either one that *smelleth*, or one that *eateth* ; as we read, *Who shall eat of their sacrifices* : but the purport of the text is, that He accepted the holocaust—and it was agreeable to Him ; like as when a man feeleth a sweet and pleasant smell." To these

Jewish testimonies of Maimonides and Aben Ezra, I cannot do better than subjoin that of St. Austin,¹³ a very high authority of the Christian Church. "For God (saith this venerable father) doth not repent, like a man; but as God. For like as He doth not show anger as a man, so neither doth He show pity, like a man: nor is He jealous, like a man; but everything as God. The repentance of God is not of any error committed. The anger of God hath no warmth of a mind ruffled. The pity of God hath not the distressed heart of one sympathizing with another; whence in the Latin tongue it derives its etymology. The zeal of God hath no bile. But that is called the repentance of God which is a sudden or unexpected change to men of those things that are under His own special direction and controul. The anger of God is the punishment of sin. The pity of God is the bounty of a helper. The zeal of God is His providence, whereby He suffers not those whom He holds in subjection to love with impunity that which He forbids. Except a person believe that the substance or nature of God is moved, neither with respect to time nor place, he does not, as yet, believe it to be perfectly incommutable. So, when answers are returned to Abraham, it is not said, that God *descended*, but that He *stood* by him; whereas, now, seeing that it is a matter which concerns sinners, God is said to *descend*. Beware that you do not understand thereby any local ascent or descent. It is impious to entertain any such idea as this of a substance which is incorporeal and everywhere present." Thus far, St. Austin. Then as to the ascension of Christ into heaven, there to be enthroned at the right hand of God: it cannot be denied that all the orthodox commentators on the Creed, from Rufinus—the very first that can be named—down to our own Bishop Pearson, uniformly maintain, that neither ascent nor descent has anything to do with the Divinity of Christ; that the Filial Godhead neither descended from heaven unto the earth on being incarnated of the Virgin Mary, nor ascended from earth to heaven after His resurrection from the grave; but that all these, and similar accidents, are to be understood of His humanity only; which, however personally united to his divinity, being a corporeal form, still requires some definite place in which to be allocated: and, if we should be asked where that celestial place may be, we can be at no greater loss to fix it than the Jew himself must be to fix the locality of Enoch and Elijah, whom he maintains to have ascended up into heaven, in their bodily forms—at least Elijah; since whatever answer may apply and suffice for the one query, will equally apply and suffice for the other. There is one censure, however, which I

cannot but pass on certain standard authorities; and especially on Bishop Pearson, who strongly argues for the *Word Incarnate* being allocated in the very highest heaven, beyond and above all the planetary orbs and starry firmament; as though the more invisible, the more unknown, and the more remote—the more glorious and divine the habitation; and as though the larks and the eagles, by soaring into the clouds, could literally make a nearer approach to the throne of God than we human creatures can possibly do by remaining on the earth.

These metaphysical and doctrinal points I have been the more anxious to discuss, not merely for the purpose of demonstrating the truth and importance of them; but at the same time to shew, that in duly maintaining them, sound Judaism is equally interested with sound Christianity; whilst the neglect to propagate and enforce them has been the cause all along of all the polytheism, not to say atheism, that ever has been or ever can be in the world. So long as the different nations of the earth, separated and alienated from each other, as they are, by the difference of their race, territory, language, and religion, shall still continue to profess and adore by name their own individual and personal God; one nation or people calling Him by one designation or title, and another by another, according to their respective divinity vocabularies; so long also will there continue to be, in the minds of men, just as many distinct individual Gods as there are Creeds professed; each party vindicating, to the comparative exclusion of the rest of their fellow-creatures, a higher degree of the divine favour and regard, according to the efforts which they make to spread the glorious name of their own true God, as they naturally esteem Him; and to extend His religion. Thus for instance, in case a Turkish army should engage with a Pagan or a Christian army, and should happen to come off victorious; they would naturally give praise and glory to their Allah, the God of Mahomet, for the victory obtained: whereas, their defeated opponents, instead of yielding any homage or glory to Allah, would feel more inclined to blaspheme and curse Him for what had been achieved. Nay, if two Christian armies should encounter, and the one fairly vanquish the other; the conquerors, no doubt, would be quite prepared to offer a thanksgiving to God Almighty for the battle won; but the conquered would not be inclined to think of God at all; or if they should assemble to express their sorrow, it would not be in the language of their opponents, that God had fought the battle, and thus awarded the victory; but, because He had permitted the thing to be done; thus paving the way for the admission of two principles, the evil and the good.

Such, I maintain, are the inevitable consequences of believing in a personal God of any kind; no matter, whether male or female, whether true or false; as there cannot be one such God allowed to exist without a million of others at the very same time, and even more than that. Nor is this the whole of what we have to deplore and lament. The erudite philosopher and metaphysical inquirer, who has consumed his whole life in exploring the works and operations of the universe: and, therefore, conversant in the Book of Nature; unable to reconcile with his own laboriously acquired knowledge the common parlance of mankind, relative to the personal perfections and local habitation of the Supreme Being, unless he be ready to make the full allowance for vulgar errors, is led to despise all systems of religious worship whatsoever; esteeming one quite as good as another; whilst he neglects them all, and so deprives himself of that unutterable joy and comfort, which would perpetually accrue to him from his regular attendance in the sanctuary to give praise and honour to God. It has been painful to me to hear, as I certainly have heard, of learned men being obliged in their conscience to declare to their friends, in their very last moments, that they neither did nor could believe in a personal God; meaning, no doubt, such a God as is usually depicted to suit vulgar apprehension; a defect in religion which never will be remedied, until higher and more noble conceptions of the Godhead shall be duly taught and inculcated, according to our mental progress and intellectual capacities. It is not enough, for the honour of religion, that the simple and the illiterate be required to believe in a God; and to serve Him, according to the maxims and notions, which have been instilled into their minds by their sages and superiors; but the most erudite and cultivated intellects must be required to take the lead, as they certainly ought to do, in the public worship of that God, whose born servants they are; and, if such be not actually the case at present, then it is a standing reproach to the sacerdotal order, that hitherto so plain and palpable a duty has been neglected and overlooked.

Besides, however, these fatal misconceptions of the Divine Essence and its Attributes, which have been equally productive of polytheism and atheism, of idolatry and fanaticism; there is yet a still greater error to be lamented, the efficient cause of nearly all the grosser superstitions in the present age of the world; and that is, the universal belief not only in the existence, but in the pluripresence and prepotency of a Diabolarch, commonly called, THE DEVIL. *Ne metuas Diabolum—Do not fear the Devil*, saith the truly apostolic and venerable Pastor of

Hermas; and since the most raving demoniac could never exhort us to love the Devil, it necessarily follows, that he ought to be drummed and driven out of the camp of Israel; that we ought neither to think of him nor mention his name, except as a matter of history; but wholly to discard every designation, appropriated to him, from the vocabulary of human speech. To the best of my recollection, it is Archbishop Usher who has somewhere affirmed that the Devil is God's Hangman. This, unquestionably, is a very proper title for His Satanic Majesty; if he may be allowed to exist at all, and to hold office under God. But, if the Devil be really the Divine Hangman, then he ought not to be stigmatized nor reviled, but honoured and respected, as one of the chief servants of God. In the *Sepher Zohar*¹⁴ it is declared, and truly declared, that the world is governed by the two attributes of justice and mercy, according to the works of men. But, if the world be constantly governed by the divine attribute of Justice as well as by that of Mercy, then every capital crime must be visited with capital punishment; whilst every culprit about to suffer, whether sentenced to be hung or quartered, must be punctually attended by the Divine Hangman or Executioner; and, since there will be many such like executions, in different parts of the world, at one and the same time; the individual executioner, no matter whether called the Devil, Satan, or Sammael, must be possessed of the high prerogative of ubiquity or pluripresence; a flagrant insult to the Supreme Being, in that nothing created can ever be pluripresent, but only the Creator. Nevertheless, however exalted or dignified the Divine Executioner may be, he still ought not to be dreaded. If we neither violate the Law, nor offend the Lawgiver, we need not fear the Judge, who has the law to administer; nor yet the sheriff or the gaoler, who have charge of the prisoner; still less need we fear the Hangman, who has the sentence to put into execution; and least of all the halter that has to be coiled round the neck, or the hemp from which it is twisted. But, if we shall have confessedly violated the Divine law; and so stand condemned, as guilty of death; we need not supplicate the executioner, nor any other agent in the administration of divine justice, for the least grain of mercy; as they have nothing to do with the divine attribute of mercy; but we must supplicate the Divine Lawgiver himself, who alone can pardon the offence, and pity the offender. Since God, then, is the sole Destroyer, as well as the sole Saviour of the whole man, I can perceive no godly reason, whatever, why the Diabolarch or Devil should be retained as the Divine Hangman or Executioner, except as the minister or servant of God;

and, if an efficient servant or minister, then doing the work of God, and to be esteemed for his services.

Before I proceed, however, any further, I must distinguish between *a* devil and *the* devil; between satan, *a* satan, and *the* satan; as the whole error of the Diabolarchy, in which both the Jew and the Christian are equally implicated, resolves itself into the want of this distinction. Now, there are three sorts of Satans, or Devils, whose existence I by no means deny. The first of these cases is, when either men or angels appear to be the haters of our peace and prosperity, not that they differ in their nature and qualities from other men and angels; but, because they stand in the way of our plans and movements; and, to the utmost of their power, nullify or frustrate what might otherwise tend to our happiness and comfort. This, indeed, is the proper signification of the term, *Satan*; and the Mikra contains several striking examples of its being so used. The second case is founded on the admission, that there may be a countless multitude of invisible spirits or demons, existing and moving about in the vast etherial expanse; and which occasionally approaching the abodes of men, may, if free agents, wantonly or maliciously injure us; just in the same manner as we ourselves often wilfully and cruelly crush or strike to death those numerous tribes of living creatures with which we come in contact, without their being permitted to know, whence the blow had been inflicted. The third case is that evil nature or propensity to evil, termed by the Rabbinical school, *Hayetser Harang*; which is inherent in every man; and which, if not effectually checked and subdued, when it first begins to show itself, and to put forth its strength; becomes a deadly enemy, a formidable satan, and the most insidious of devils; nor is there any evil demon, roaming without us, of which we ought to stand in such awe, as that which lurks within us. Lord Brougham, distinguished for the brilliancy and fecundity of his elocution, is reported to have said—That nobody ought ever to be astonished at any slanderous story invented by Malice, and her bastard sister, Falsehood; begotten both of them by the Father of Lies on the weakness of human nature; a notable testimony, as well as a beautiful illustration of the procreative energy of *Hayetser Harang*; and not unworthy of that august assemblage in which it was uttered. These are the three descriptions of evil spirits, satans, demons, or devils; whose real existence I am prepared to admit. Their several appellations being all nouns common, and containing a number of individuals under one and the same form or species, exclude all idea of a Diabolarch, superior to the rest. The Greek, *Diabolos*, or *devil*, in the sense of a calumniator,

forms no part of the Hebrew Mikra; but appears, for the first time, in certain passages of the Septuagint version, made long after the return from the Babylonish captivity, for the use of the Hellenists, and so rendered in accordance with the prevailing superstitions. The Jewish term for the Diabolarch is not *Satan*, but *Sammael*, the king of the Satans; so called, saith R. Solomon Ephraim, because he blinds the eyes of mortals, so as to prevent them from beholding a divine vision. The notion of such a monster, described by fanatics, as the individual antagonist of God Almighty, assimilated, in every respect, to the Siva of the Hindoos, and the Ahriman of the Parsees; depicted by the poet, Milton,¹⁵ as carrying hell within himself, wherever he moves; as boasting of his power to subdue the Omnipotent; as holding a divided empire with the King of Heaven; as affecting all equality with God; as denying, that either he or his had been formed or created at all; as seeking to dwell neither in Heaven nor where he was, unless by mastering the Supreme of Heaven; as holding councils with his own angels in the ethereal space, in preference to sitting in hell; called by St. Paul the Prince of the Power of the Air, and the God of this world; by the author of the Apocalypse, the Great Dragon, the Destroyer, the Angel of the bottomless pit; by the Jewish contemporaries of our blessed Lord and his apostles, Beelzebub, the prince of the Devils: by the orthodox Fathers,¹⁶ the Heresiarch, the Prince of the Evil Angels, the Contriver of all Evils, the Prince of Darkness, the Introducer of Death, the Father of every lie, the King of Vices, the First-born Death, the Shadow of Death, the Valiant King, the Ruler of the World before the advent of Christ, the Ape of God among the Gentiles, the President of Evil, the Impudent God of the Heretics, the Head of the Wicked, the Author of Injuries, the Common Enemy of all Mankind, the Destroyer of the Soul, the Father of the Wicked, the King of the Mariners, the Sophist of Ungodliness, the Way of Iniquity, the Beast of the Earth whose teeth are the persecutors of the good, Destruction of Death, the Proud One, the Crooked Snake, the Corruptor of the Soul, the Morning Star, Lucifer, the efficient Cause both of our natural and spiritual death; by Lactantius,¹⁷ the Spirit created by God the second, and next to the Son of God; by the heretic, Valentinus,¹⁸ the Offspring of that wisdom which was the last of the thirty Æons or Divinities, and the Parent of those Devils who fabricated the world: the notion of such a monster, I say, was totally unknown, by name, to Moses, and the old prophets of God; who never polluted their speech, nor defiled their minds, with any such horrid, damnable, and blasphemous superstition; but

every where maintained Jehovah himself to be the Supreme and only Destroyer, as well as the Supreme and only Saviour; the Supreme and only Judge, Ruler, and Governor, not only on the earth, but in the air and the ocean; in hell as well as in heaven. This monstrous and pagan idea of a Diabolarch the Jews first acquired during their captivity, in their intercourse with the Parsees, Hindoos, and other Pagan worshippers; and so, on their return from captivity, brought it along with them into Palestine, where it took deep root, and in the age of the Gospel had become so prevalent, that it was impossible to address the Jews on any question, relative either to the government of the present world, or to the future retribution of rewards and punishments, without instantly adopting it, as the common parlance of the whole nation. Being the vulgar belief of the first converts to Christianity amongst the Jews; and recorded, as their diction, in the pages of the New Testament, it naturally passed from them to the Gentile converts of the Western world, so as soon to become, as at present, the universal persuasion of all Christendom; there being always this great difference between the dissemination of truth and of falsehood—that the former, being hitherto unknown, and not easy of comprehension, is propagated with difficulty; whilst the latter, being either congenial or identical with what is already professed and maintained, is diffused with rapidity, and eagerly embraced.

That *Satan* is no proper name, but a noun common, implying many individuals of the same class or species; and that the translators of our Bible stand chargeable with great prevarication and dishonesty, in not having deferred to the fact, may easily be shown. In the *Pirke Elijahu*,¹⁹ it is laid down, that nouns common may be distinguished from nouns proper by four different marks or characteristics with which they may be accompanied; construction or regimen, plurality of number, affixation, emphasis or demonstration; none of which marks or signs can accompany proper names. But the term, Satan, to say nothing of its signification, is accompanied with such signs; and, therefore, at all times, a noun common. In the Introduction to the Book of Job we thus read: "Now the day arrived, that the Sons of the Elohim came to attend on Jehovah; and there came also the Satan in the midst of them. And Jehovah said to the Satan; Whence hast thou come? And the Satan answered Jehovah, and said; From moving about in the earth, and walking therein. And Jehovah said to the Satan: Hast thou turned thy attention to my servant, Job; as there is none equal to him in the earth, a man perfect, upright, fearing God, and departing from evil? And the Satan answered Jehovah

and said, Is Job fearing God gratuitously? Hast thou not reared up a fence in behalf of himself, his family, and every thing belonging to him round about? The work of his hands thou hast blessed, and his property is extended throughout the land. But only put forth thy hand, and smite all that he hath; whether will he not bid thee farewell to thy face? And Jehovah said to the Satan, Behold, all that he hath is in thy hands; only lay not thy hands upon himself. So the Satan went forth from the presence of Jehovah." In this narrative, the angel, called the Satan, must have been himself one of the holy angels of God, attendant on his throne; otherwise, he could never have been admitted into the divine presence at all; and the reason, why he is here designated *the* Satan, was not because he was a hater of Jehovah; but because the counsel which he suggested was inimical to the pious patriarch, whose Satan he was; and on whose special account alone he is denominated the Satan. The counsel to tempt and try the integrity of holy Job is elicited from the angel, incidentally, in the divine conference; and though he suggested the counsel, yet the express permission and authority to put it into execution proceeded from God himself; and, since every express permission from God is a divine commission, yea, a divine command; whatever the Satan did, on this special occasion, he did it, as the faithful and true servant of God. If the author of the Book had ever heard of such an antagonist of the Almighty as a Diabolarch or the Devil, he was too wise and pious a man to introduce such a monster into the history of the holy patriarch. Accordingly, we find, that in all the animated discussions, instituted between Job and his friends, on the cause of his sufferings; not the least intimation escapes from any one of them, that they might possibly have been brought upon him through the malice and contrivance of their common spiritual enemy, the Devil. They evidently knew nothing of the Diabolarch or Devil, as we now entitle him: and well may we envy their happy lot. On the contrary, the pious sufferer every where complains of his afflictions being sent to him immediately from God; and laments, that he is overwhelmed by an Omnipotency against which he cannot lift up his head. Instead of adopting the superstitious parlance of the apostolic age, and describing Satan as hunting after him, like a lion, and seeking to devour him; he complains of Jehovah, himself, doing all this, and says: "Thou huntest me like a fierce lion." The Book of Job itself, therefore, contains not the least vestige of a Diabolarch; nor was the integrity of the holy patriarch tested by any Devil whatever, but only by Jehovah himself. The Translators, however, by perverting the rules of grammar, in turning a noun

common into a proper name; and so giving us here, as in other places, *Satan*, for, *the Satan*, or, *a Satan*; have contrived, from the Books of the Old Testament, to establish a Diabolarchy; to which the inspired authors, themselves, were totally strangers.

If we refer to the other passages, in which the term occurs, we shall find equal ground for arguing in like manner. Thus, in the prophet, Zechariah, we read:—"And he let me see Joshua, the Chief Priest, standing before the angel of Jehovah, and the Satan standing on his right to be his Satan. And Jehovah said to the Satan: Jehovah rebuke thee, the Satan; yea, Jehovah rebuke thee, who hath chosen Jerusalem." By the Jehovah, who spake to the Satan, we must understand the angel of Jehovah, mentioned at the commencement of the vision. Here, again, we have the term, Satan, constructed as a noun common; and, so far from being understood by any learned Jewish commentator of the Diabolarch, is expounded by Aben Ezra and R. David Kimchi of Sanballat, and his confederates; by Maimonides and others of, *Hayetser Harang*, the evil nature in man; but by R. Isaac Abarbinel of the wicked king, Antiochus; who proved himself the Satan of the Jewish Priesthood; and did his utmost to extinguish it. Supposing, however, this Satan to be meant of a real angel, there will be no need to expound it of the Diabolarch; but of a true angel of God, standing up, as the Advocate of Divine Justice, to impeach the chief priest, as to certain parts of his conduct; just in the same manner as a learned counsellor may be honourably employed in accusing and inculcating the delinquency of a man, as well as in advocating and defending his innocence. So again, in 1 Chron. xxi. 1, it is said:—"And there stood up against Israel a Satan; and he instigated David to take the number of Israel." The Satan here mentioned may well enough be understood of some intimate friend, who advised the king to number Israel; and so called a Satan; because his counsel proved in the end so disastrous to the nation. R. David Kimchi expounds it of that which is planted in the heart of man, from his very youth, meaning, *Hayetser Harang*; very pertinently remarking at the same time, that, in the Second Book of Samuel, Jehovah is said to have instigated David to command that the children of Israel and Judah should be numbered; so that Jehovah, himself, was really the instigator, through the means and instrumentality of the Satan; who is afterwards designated the angel of God; and whom David saw with a drawn sword in his hand, committing havock and destruction, because the children of Israel had offended by their transgressions. In both the preceding passages our Translators, as usual, instead of

the Satan and a Satan, have given us, Satan, the Diabolarch. In other places, however, where the very same term occurs, but where their Satan would ill best the context, they have given us neither Satan nor Devil, but, *Adversary*. Thus, in the First Book of Kings, we have in the Hebrew; "And Jehovah raised up to Solomon a Satan, Hadad the Edomite:" but in the English version we have; "And the Lord stirred up an adversary to Solomon, Hadad the Edomite." So again, in the Book of Numbers, we have in the Hebrew; "And the wrath of God was kindled, because he was going; and the angel of Jehovah stood in the road for a Satan to him:" but in the English version we have; "And God's anger was kindled, because he went; and the angel of the Lord stood in the way for an Adversary against him." This last instance of the use of the term, Satan, in the original Hebrew, will suffice of itself to shatter and demolish the Satanic Throne, as well as King Satan himself. For, if the angel of Jehovah, declared by Rashi to be the angel of mercies, who wished to prevent the prophet from doing wrong for fear he should commit sin and perish; who says to him, "Behold, I have come forth to be a Satan to thee, because the road thou art taking is a bye-road in my sight;" and who further commands him, saying, "Go with the men; only the word which I shall speak unto thee, that same shalt thou speak;" if such an angel, I say, can be called a Satan, and can be allowed to perform the office or function of a Satan; then what opponent will venture to stand up and impugn the truth of the assertion, that all the angels, mentioned, as Satans, by the authors of the Mikra, are the real ministers of God; severally executing their divine commissions, and acknowledging for their Head and Potentate no other Being whatever, except the Supreme Being Himself? Nay, the very angel with whom the patriarch, Jacob, wrestled; by whom he was first named Israel, instead of Jacob; on whose account the place of meeting was called *Peniel*, because he had there seen God face to face, and from whom he craved a blessing before they parted; is interpreted by R. Solomon Ephraim²⁰ of no other personage than of Sammael, the Prince of Esau, the Satan of Joseph, the Angel of Death, the Uncircumcised One, the Diabolarch of the Rabbinical school. This antagonism with the angel is said to have befallen Jacob, because he had not restrained his concupiscence; having acted amiss in marrying two sisters. Moreover, as Sammael or the Prince of Esau is called the Satan of Joseph; so also is Joseph designated the Satan of Esau, that is to say, the antagonist of Esau. In like manner, the orthodox Christian Fathers²¹ hesitate not to call the Devil the Fury of

God, the Beginning of the Ways of God, or the Behemoth, the Questionary of God, the Javelin of God, the Great Mountain, the Day and the Night, the Parching Wind, the Immission of the Whirlwind, the Evil Spirit of the Lord sent to Saul, the Exactor of Tribute for God, yea, the Perpetual Servant of God according to compact ; all which titles and designations imply a strict and regular discharge of such celestial functions and offices as are absolutely necessary and indispensable to the exercise of divine justice, and to the due government of the world by God. If, then, we are required to profess a belief in the existence of such a Diabolarch ; let him be no longer esteemed as the enemy and antagonist, but as the stern servant of God ; causing terror to man, not from any natural enmity to the species, but from promoting the just exercise of the most awful of the Divine Attributes.

Probably, however, I may be called upon to account for the actual admission of such a being as Satan or the Diabolarch both by Christ and his apostles, according to the evidence of the New Testament. The first reply which I have to make is, that the dogma of a Diabolarchy could have been first revealed to the world neither by Moses nor by Christ. Not by Moses ; as neither he himself, nor the ancient prophets that followed him, have left a single word upon record from which any such dogma can be fairly elicited. Nor yet by Christ ; as the superstitious belief of such a monster was already professed and prevalent amongst the Jews before His appearance in the flesh. If, then, we are to admit the truth of the dogma, because it stands uncontradicted in the pages of the New Testament ; let Zo-roaster and other Parsee Divines, from the anterior promulgation of their *Schetan Ahriman*, have assigned to them all the due honour and credit of having first revealed it to mankind ; as neither the Jew nor the Christian can arrogate to himself the real merit of any such divine revelation. It does not follow, however, that because a vulgar belief, narrated in the Gospel, remains uncontradicted ; it is therefore to be reputed as so much standard divinity. Satan is made to declare to our Lord, that all the kingdoms of the earth had been surrendered into his hands, to be given away and disposed of, according to his own will and pleasure ; and the wicked lie, in accordance no doubt with the superstition of that age and country, is passed over without any denial, whatever, on the part of our Saviour. If it should be remarked, that the Devil being the father of lies, there could have been no need at any time to contradict his words, then we may extend the like remark to the possessed of the devils ; who, on being asked their name, said it was, *Legion*,

that is, many, yea thousands, in number; for, if the Prince himself be accounted a constant liar, well may his minions or subordinates be stigmatized with the very same epithet; and yet it should really appear, from the narrative of the Gospel, that there was a very great number of them; and, consequently, that they had told no lie. The prevailing opinion amongst the Jews of that day was, that all lunatics, maniacs, and other patients, labouring under any seemingly incurable disorder, were possessed of evil spirits or demons; that they carried them in their bellies; just as they believe, at the present day, in Siberia, India, and certain corners of Africa, where Dr. Wolff himself appears to have tried his skill at exorcism, but without success. I have already observed, that I am not arguing against the existence of *devils*, nor of *a devil*; but against the existence of any such imaginary individual spirit as the Author of all evil, the Diabolarch, the Prince of the fallen angels, or the Devil, as he is emphatically styled. The fact appears to be, that our blessed Lord never once condescended to enter into any kind of argument or disputation with the Jews of that age, on the absurdity of any of their superstitious opinions; nor do I recollect a single instance of his upbraiding them with any one of their Paganic errors; but, adopting the common parlance, relative to Gehenna and the Diabolarch, he contented himself with the more important business of inculcating on the minds of his disciples those positive doctrinal truths, whether relating to faith or practice, which never could be contradicted nor refuted; leaving them, gradually, to discard their vulgar errors and superstitions, according as their understandings should become more and more enlightened; and advance in the wisdom and knowledge of the true God. Of this we have a very singular proof in the case of Beelzebub, the Diabolarch of the Ekronites, as well as of the Jews, their neighbours. Being accused by his enemies of having a devil, and of casting out devils by the authority of Beelzebub, the Prince of the devils, our Lord does not utter a single word to the disparagement of the majesty of Beelzebub; but assuming the existence of such a princely demon, he briefly points out the absurdity of their reasoning in that, if one Satan be empowered by Beelzebub to eject another Satan, then must the kingdom of the Diabolarch soon come to an end. But, because our blessed Lord does not formally deny the existence of this prince of the devils, am I therefore bound to admit the reality of it? Surely not. I feel no hesitation in declaring, that no such being as Beelzebub ever existed at all, except in the empty pates of the idolatrous Ekronites; and their no less superstitious neighbours, the Jews of that age. Should it even be

deemed compulsory on me to admit his actual existence, at the time of our Lord's ministry, I should still have no need to admit it at present. In the *Chronicon Syriacum* of Bar Hebraeus,²² we have it duly recorded, that in the year of the Hegira 455, or of our Lord 1063, certain Curdean hunters, in the desert, brought a report into Bagdad; how that, as they were hunting in the desert, they saw black tents, with the voice of lamentation, weeping, and yelling; that, on their approaching them, they heard a voice, saying: "To day died Beelzebub, the Prince of the Devils; and every place where there is not lamentation made for three days, we will erase from its very foundation;" that, when the chief men of Bagdad heard this strange tale, they proceeded to the sepulchres; and there sat for three days, yelling and weeping, tearing their clothes and hair, and blackening their faces with the grime of the kettles, in order that they might hereby pacify the devils; and that they might not slay their friends; that the report thus spread throughout all the land of Senaar; and that the very same thing was done in every other place equally as in Bagdad; in Mosul for instance, as well as in Armenia. Hence it is apparent, even on the indubitable testimony of the devils themselves, that Beelzebub, the Prince of the Devils, died a natural death, nearly eight hundred years ago; and was lamented and bewailed, with all due honours, by the municipal authorities of Bagdad, Mosul, and other cities in the land of Senaar. There, then, let his mortal remains peaceably rest, never more to be disturbed, in future, by human curiosity.

If we turn to those passages of the Gospel, where Christ himself, in his doctrine, makes mention of a Satan or a Devil; we shall generally find the term used, either in strict accordance with the language of the Mikra; or else capable of being interpreted of, *Hayetser Harang*, the evil nature or evil creature within us, in accordance with the Rabbinical school. In the Greek tongue, as is well known, the definite or prepositive article is made to precede the noun proper, as well as the noun common; and there is just as much idiomatic propriety in saying *the* Cyrus, or, *the* Jesus; as there is in saying, the Persian, or the Saviour. But in the Hebrew, as well as in the English, the case is quite otherwise: nor does the demonstrative prefix or definite article, *the*, ever come before a proper name; but only before a noun common; and then it limits the signification to one of many. Hence in the New Testament, wherever the Greek, *Satanas*, occurs; preceded, as it constantly is, by the definite article; it ought to be rendered conformably to the Hebrew idiom, *The Satan*; whereas our English translators, carried away by their

diabolarchical superstition, and taking undue advantage of the ambiguity of the Greek idiom, invariably give us, *Satan* ; making it here a proper name, as they do in the Old Testament. Christ does not say, *Satan cometh* ; but, *the Satan cometh* : nor, *Whom Satan hath bound* ; but, *Whom the Satan hath bound* ; nor, *I beheld Satan fall* ; but, *I beheld the Satan fall* ; just in the same sense as the prophet was made to behold the Satan standing at the right hand of Joshua ; meaning the particular or individual angel, then acting the part of a Satan to him. The like observation will hold good of the Greek term, *Diabolos*, or *Devil*, employed by the Septuagint translators for the Hebrew, *Satan* ; that it is never used, nor ever ought to have been understood, as the proper designation of a Diabolarch ; but only in the sense of *a Satan*, or, *the Satan* ; accordingly as it may happen to be employed either with or without the definite article. Thus, in the Greek Version of the first Book of Chronicles, where our Version improperly gives ; *And Satan stood up against Israel* ; we find very accurately ; *And there rose up a Diabolos or Devil in Israel* ; that is, *a Satan*, according to the Hebrew original. Doubtless, one main cause of this prevalent error throughout our English Version is the incompetency of the Latin tongue, from its want of a demonstrative article or prefix, to distinguish between common and proper names ; between Satan, *a Satan*, and *the Satan* ; so that, in turning the Latin Vulgate into English, our first Translators were left at liberty to confirm their espoused dogma of a Diabolarchy by rendering the term, Satan, not as a common, but as a proper designation. In many texts of the New Testament, however, it seems difficult to understand these terms of any evil spirit or demon at all ; but merely of, *Hayetser Harang*, the Evil Creature within us. Thus, our Lord says to his disciples : “ Have I not chosen you twelve ; and one of you is a devil ? ” In another place he says to Peter : “ Get thee behind me, Satan.” Surely, neither Peter nor Judas was actually a Satan or a Devil, that they should be accosted in these terms. But there was within them an active evil principle or nature, always stirring ; which, unless rebuked, as in the case of Peter ; or if left unchecked, as in the case of Judas, soon causes the person to become a hater of that which is good, and an enemy to the doer of that which is good ; consequently, a Devil or a Satan. So again, our Lord says : “ Ye are of your father, the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do : he was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own ; for he is a liar, and the father of it.” Here we have the supposed Diabolarch or Devil declared to be not only the father

or inventor of every lie, and a murderer from the beginning; but possessed, also, of all those carnal lusts and affections, in which we ourselves so frequently and wickedly indulge, by imitating his conduct. But how, I would ask, is it possible to conceive, that disembodied spirits or angels can be subject to bodily passions and affections; or disturbed by any of those carnal lusts and appetites, which are proper, if not peculiar to the human species? The supposition is too monstrous to be entertained for a moment. If, however, by father Satan, we choose to understand the *Yetzer Harang*, as expounded by the author of the *Siphtee Death*, and other Darshans; this as well as other texts of the New Testament will receive a lucid and satisfactory explanation. "Thus (saith R. S Ephraim)²³ it was the will and pleasure of Jehovah, that the woman should walk after her husband, and not that the husband should walk after the counsel of his wife; because with Eve was created the Satan, as we have it stated in the Medrash; how that the letter, *Samech*, nowhere occurs in the Law until Eve is created, according to that which is written: *And he closed up the flesh in lieu thereof*. Wherefore the Serpent was united, as it were, in matrimony to Eve at the very first; as he was well aware, that she would allure him, and finally prevail." "But of Laban (saith the same author in another place)²⁴ he Jacob was afraid, and on his guard, lest he should injure him as to his purse, by designing to alter his hire ever so many times; for Laban became the whole of him inverted into a Nabal; and he acted as much the part of a fool, as did Nabal the Carmelite. Then, again, of the Prince of Esau, the Angel of Death, that is, Satan, the same with the *Yetzer Harang*, he stood in awe; and was on his guard, lest he should cause him to commit sin; as will hereafter be explained." Hence we clearly perceive, that the learned Darshans or spiritual expositors of the Jewish Mikra pursue a method, handed down to them, no doubt, from their predecessors, very different from that of the illiterate and vulgar professor, in describing the origin and character of their Sammael or Diabolarch; and that, if we adopt this doctrinal course, we shall be at no loss for a suitable exposition of the words of our blessed Saviour. Cain, we know, is the first murderer, as well as the first liar, upon record. Though the *Yetzer Harang*, which prompted him to commit the crimes, he may be said to have derived from his father, Adam, as well as from his mother Eve; yet, since it stirred, and became an active creature in her the first of any, there is a propriety in making her *Yetzer Harang* the parent of that in the first murderer, and the first liar; and so the father of all the murderers and liars that ever sprang from the loins of

Adam. In this way, the distinction between a child of God and a child of the Devil is quite intelligible: and we can be at no loss in comprehending the language of our blessed Lord, when He designates his revilers as the offspring or seed of the Devil, and as the inheritors of all his lusts. In like manner, the law of which St. Paul complains, as warring in his members against the law of his mind, and bringing him into captivity to the law of sin; which he calls the body of death, that is, according to the Darshan, the angel of death; could have been nothing else than the *Yetser Harang*, or evil nature within him. So, when he apprises the Thessalonians of a future falling away from the faith, and of the revelation of the man of sin, the son of perdition, opposing and exalting himself above all that is called God or is worshipped, so that he will sit as a God in the temple of God, showing himself, that he is a God; I do not understand by *the man of sin*, a mere individual, such as Nero, Napoleon, or the Pope of Rome; but the *Yetser Harang* in general, enthroned in the heart of man, which is, or ought to be, the temple of God only: thus promoting without restraint infidelity, crime, and apostacy; and doing away with all worship and service, except to himself alone. The orthodox Fathers²⁵ affirm, that Sin is the abode or place of the Devil; and that we bow the knee to him, as often as we do sin: that Satan and the other powers of darkness were seated in the heart, mind, and body of Adam, as their own proper throne, from the time of the principal transgression until the coming of Christ: and that the Devil and the wicked are all one person. These testimonies of the Fathers will appear clear and rational, if we understand by the Devil or Satan the *Yetser Harang*; but in no other manner.²⁶

There is one passage in the history of our Lord, in which Satan is made to act so distinguished a part, that I am constrained to take some special notice of it; I mean the temptation in the wilderness. Since I differ from other expositors in regarding the temptation itself, not as a literal, but as a parabolical occurrence; it will be necessary, first of all, to adduce the reasons for so determining it. The first argument in favour of the opinion is, that as Christ was unaccompanied by any of his disciples when he was drawn by the Spirit into the wilderness of Judea, they could have known nothing of themselves as to what happened to him on that occasion, except so far as he himself might afterwards be pleased to communicate it to them; and since he constantly availed himself of every opportunity to fetch from actual conferences or occurrences some spiritual or parabolical instruction for the benefit of his followers, I cannot but think, that his forty days fast in the desert must have been

turned to the same account. If it should be argued, that in imparting and detailing to his disciples what had there befallen him, he could never have suffered them, however inattentive to the purport of his words, to mistake a parabolical for an historical narrative, I would reply, that such an argument is by no means valid. There appears to me always to have been impressed on their minds a feeling of awe and reverence, arising from the solemnity of his divine presence, which checked their verbosity, and prevented them from putting further questions as to what he had already said, for fear he should upbraid them with their ignorance and want of comprehension. Besides, if his encounter with Satan were a literal occurrence, how happens it that St. Mark, who is supposed to have had his gospel dictated to him from the mouth of St. Peter, should have neglected to detail so marvellous a portion of the history, and have contented himself with the brief remark, that he was in the wilderness forty days tempted of Satan? How happens it that St. John, the prince of the evangelists, should have wholly omitted either to mention or to allude to the fact, had he really been aware of any such conflict literally taking place; appearing to himself, as it must have done, to be a matter of a much more astonishing and marvellous complexion than many of those occurrences which he has actually detailed? Secondly, if we compare the two narratives of St. Matthew and St. Luke, we shall find them differing from each other, so as not to be reconciled, except in the manner proposed. St. Matthew makes the devil take Christ, first to the holy city, to place him on a pinnacle of the temple; and then, after that, to the exceedingly high mountain. St. Luke, on the contrary, makes the devil take him first to the lofty mountain, and then, afterwards, to the pinnacle of the temple, where he is said to have departed from him. This discrepancy, on the supposition that the temptation was a single occurrence, actually taking place, cannot be accounted for without implicating either St. Matthew or St. Luke in a charge of error. Their accounts cannot be both correct, if we insist on the historical feature of the detail. But, admit the suggestion of a parable, and that our Lord in rehearsing it a second or a third time, had somewhat varied, as he might well do, the order of the narrative; then both the evangelists may be equally correct; and so have duly given what they had duly received. Thirdly, the devil is made to take him to a very high mountain, and from the top of that mountain to point out to him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, in a moment of time. Now, in an age when the terrestrial globe was believed to be as circular and as

flat as a trencher, and wholly in accordance with the visible horizon, such language as this would have been quite admissible in a poem or a parable; but certainly not in a mere historical relation. The Satan, thus employed, could not have shown him one kingdom; much less all the kingdoms of the earth, with their glory, from any mountain top whatever. Besides, had this encounter with the devil been a literal occurrence, the particular mountain would have been specified and named, as well as the holy city, and not expressed indefinitely, so as to allow it to be understood of any high mountain whatever, according to the caprice of the reader. Lastly, the devil is made to take him up into the holy city, and there to place him on a pinnacle of the temple. But is it to be imagined, I would ask, that two bodily or human forms could transport themselves through the air, in broad day-light, and sit on one of the pinnacles of the temple, without being noticed and pointed out by the people in the streets? Had so marvellous an occurrence taken place, it would have been duly registered in the annals of the holy city; have been made the subject of inquiry for many subsequent generations; and have been frequently appealed to as a demonstration of the finger of God, as well by Christ himself as his disciples, during their ministry amongst the Jews. Such are the insurmountable difficulties which attend and stand in the way of the temptation in the wilderness, being understood of an historical transaction; whilst, if expounded as a parable, it presents no difficulties at all. Indeed, why should not the Son of Man be made the subject of parabolical instruction, as well as the good Samaritan, or any other personage recorded in the Gospels? The common belief in demoniacs, and of the diabolical mania, is laid hold of by our blessed Lord, as a suitable material for imparting and inculcating religious instruction. "When (saith he) the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places, seeking rest, and findeth none. Then he saith, I will return into my house from which I came out; and when he is come, he findeth it empty, swept, and garnished. Then goeth he, and taketh with himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself: and they enter in and dwell there: and the last state of that man is worse than the first." Here we have strikingly depicted to us the case of an unhappy man, who, for a while, having turned away from his besetting sin, vanquished the *Yetzer Harang* or fleshly Satan, and cleansed his soul from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, returns again to his evil habits, indulging in fresh crimes, adding sin to sin, and so rendering all chance of any future purity of life more hopeless than ever.

So likewise, on the other hand, in the account of the temptation, we have the case of Christ parabolically set forth and admonishing us, how we ought, at all times, to resist every satanic wile, by rejecting the offered blandishments of all mundane glory, pomp, and power; by implicitly obeying the divine commands, and by evincing contentment as well as a firm reliance on God, under whatever difficulties, troubles, or afflictions we may chance to labour. I would briefly subjoin, that in thus divesting the temptation in the wilderness of its literal and historical character, I am under no necessity of doing so to make room for my disbelief in the Diabolarchy; as any angel or satan might have been ordered or permitted to do, what is there related to have been done, without requiring the assistance or presence of a Diabolarch.

Before I bring to a close this part of the subject, it may not be improper to hazard an opinion as to the case of the demoniacs, mentioned in the New Testament. The first question suggesting itself is, how it can have happened, that we meet with no accounts of demoniacs in the history of the Old Testament; and that from Moses to Malachi we find not a single instance upon record of any prophet, priest, or king casting out devils and curing demoniacs? The only satisfactory answer to be supplied is that, when the Mosaic dispensation was in full vigour, there were no devils to be cast out, nor any demoniacs to be healed. The second query suggesting itself is, how we are to account for the fact, that at the present day, when the world is quite as wicked now as it was at the commencement of the Gospel dispensation, and when the Devil or Diabolarch has quite as much deference and respect paid to his name now, as he had then; we should hear so little of the divine power of casting out devils, or releasing the possessed; and that, whilst sects and churches multiply, arrogating to themselves the highest spiritual gifts, we should never hear of the gift of ejecting evil spirits being exercised and professed, either amongst the followers of Moses or those of Christ? The only answer to be given is, that all such wicked spirits or devils must have long since ceased to exist, having been allowed to die a natural death, like Beelzebub their prince in the land of Senaar. In that state, then, let them remain, and enjoy a profound sleep. But, if we turn to Jewry, and sift the case of those who are said to have laboured under any demoniacal influence at the time that our Lord exercised his divine ministry amongst them, we shall find, that actuated by that Paganic superstition, which they had imbibed during their captivity, the possessed, or their relatives, did not consult our Lord, as a sovereign phy-

sician ; intreating him first to tell them what the malady was, and then to heal it : but they themselves presumed to know, and to inform him what it was ; and merely besought him to remove it by the exercise of his superior power. How, then, it may be reasonably asked, and by what infallible signs did they ascertain the fact of their being possessed, and that devils had entered into their bodies ? I would reply, just in the same infallible way that many superstitious individuals of our own times believe themselves to be bewitched ; and who have recourse to the wise man, not to inform them whether they are bewitched or not, for of that they are quite sure ; but to tell them who is the witch, and how the spell may be broken. Had our blessed Lord been supplicated to tell them what their mental or bodily infirmities were, as well as to remove them ; the accounts of the demoniacs in the New Testament, I am persuaded, would have been often different from what they are. He did not always seem to sanction their superstitious ideas, by repeating their own words and expressions. It is a fact, too, which cannot be denied, that the gospel of St. John, the beloved disciple and chief of the evangelists, whilst it presents us with historical details both of the miracles and doctrines of Christ, such as are of the very highest importance both to the Church and the world at large, contains not a single instance, upon record, of the Lord casting out devils and healing demoniacs ; thus plainly intimating to us, that the exercise of such a power was by no means any requisite sign of his being the predicted and true Messiah. In this I am further confirmed by the answer that was sent to John the Baptist. For, in enumerating the several signs or proofs of his being the expected prophet, Christ makes no mention of the ejection of the evil spirits ; but bids the disciples report to their master what, indeed, they themselves both heard and saw ; that the blind receive their sight, that the lame walk, that the lepers are cleansed, that the deaf hear, that the dead are raised up, and that the poor have the gospel preached to them. It is true, our Lord commissioned his disciples, amongst other things, to cast out devils ; but, by casting out devils, I merely understand curing demoniacs, and healing what were thought by the vulgar to be diabolical maladies. Indeed, exorcism, or the ejection of evil spirits, being closely connected with witchcraft and sorcery ; and these things being strictly prohibited by the Mosaic law, would have been a sign or proof of his being a false prophet rather than the true prophet, had it been practised alone by itself, unaccompanied with other powers. The wisest determination, therefore, to which we can come in this

matter, is simply to say, that as our gracious Lord extended his pity and tender compassion to all the decrepit, diseased, and afflicted, without any regard to the distinction of their maladies or complaints; the esteemed demoniacs, being egregiously harassed and tormented both in body and mind, equally partook with others of his mercy and favour; but, whether evil demons had literally taken possession of any, or all, or none of them, seeing that we were not present to witness what took place, we cannot presume to decide; nor is it necessary that we should; it being a matter which does not at all interest us at the present day. One thing to me seems quite certain, that had king Saul, upon whom an evil spirit is said to have been sent from God, lived in the middle of the first century, he would have been pronounced a demoniac; whilst so far from the evil demon being considered as sent by God, Beelzebub or Sammael would have been named, and not Jehovah, as the author of the calamity.

But, though we hear less now than formerly of the legionary demons, of such as may be supposed to constitute the rank and file of the Satanic army; and though the monks and hermits have fewer stories to tell us about the tricks and pranks of the devils; such as are to be found in Matthew Paris,²⁷ who relates a singular fact of a certain Irish hermit, in whose garden the devils met every night, after sun-set, to render an account to their Prince of the various deceptions which, during the day, they had successfully practised on the human race; before whose door, since they could not enter his cell, these same devils had placed naked women to tempt him to violate his vows of chastity: though stories of this complexion, I say, have ceased to be recorded; yet the titles and designations of the Diabolarch are as current as ever; whilst the prerogatives of his omnipresence, omniscience, and omnipotence cut a figure in the conversation of the first circles, and form parts and parcels of the gravest argumentation. Thus, for instance, in case one man in London and another at Calcutta should happen, at the very same time, to commit murder or suicide, without any apparent motive for perpetrating so foul a deed, the common observation would be, that the Devil had entered into their souls, and instigated them to the act; thus constituting the Diabolarch, not merely pluripresent, but, so far as the human race are concerned, altogether omnipresent, in that no mortal man can be supposed anywhere to subsist, and to be thinking either good or evil, without the Devil at the same time standing at his elbow; though he may not be allowed to see him, nor be conscious of the fact. It is only a very short time ago,

that I read in a public journal the reported speech of a certain Irish orator, a member of the Latin Church, who is said to have declared, respecting the Irish government, that he knew nothing of their inward thoughts and wishes; as these were known to their own souls and to the Devil; thus constituting the Devil, so far as men are concerned, omniscient, in that, if he possesses the prerogative of knowing the secret thoughts and wishes of one set of men; he must be equally cognizant of the very same things in others. In another journal of recent date, there appeared a paragraph on Old Bailey justice; in which the Common Serjeant, on addressing the jury, is said to have told them; "That they must look to the original intent of the prisoner. That the question was, when he hired the horse and chaise, did he intend to convert them to his own use? Or having obtained possession, was he suddenly tempted by the Devil to do it? That should they be of the latter opinion, then the felony was not made out:"—thus establishing the prepotency and omnidexterity of the Devil; and so doing away with our moral responsibility in that, if one man may be excused punishment, because he cannot always be on his guard, nor successful in resisting temptation; the very same consideration ought to be extended to every other individual, who may be equally vigilant enough to defend himself against the attacks of the common enemy at one moment; and, yet, be ultimately overmatched or outwitted by him at another. Indeed, I am quite at a loss to reconcile the moral responsibility of man for his actions with the admission of a Diabolarch, possessed of such superhuman prerogatives, faculties, and powers; who being next to God in point of order, called the Beginning of the Ways of God, and the First of the Creation, is thus declared to be the natural and implacable enemy of the whole human race; and who being so vastly superior to them both in art and might, cannot possibly fail to execute against them, with direful effect, the inevitable explosions of his vengeance and enmity; by diverting them from the path of duty, and subjecting them to the censure and anger of the Supreme Judge. If condemned to be eternally punished for what was neither perpetrated, nor devised by their own sole agency; how can such a sentence comport with the divine attribute of justice? It will not suffice to tell me, that God is merciful and pitiful towards sinners; and that the Word Incarnate, by the sacrifice of the cross, has made an universal atonement for the sins of the whole world. I freely and fully acknowledge the boundless mercy of God, and am equally thankful for the all-atoning sacrifice of the cross. But I want to contemplate the wisdom and the providence of God,

as well as His mercy and goodness ; whereas I am prevented from doing this by that monster, the Diabolarch, standing in my way. If our natural weakness be such that, even were there no invisible and potent enemy meditating an onslaught from without, we should still be inadequate to the full duty of walking at all times uprightly, and perfectly maintaining our integrity ; for what wise purpose, I would ask, can we imagine the very First of the Creation to be constantly employed in diverting us from serving and pleasing God ; as though we had been created capable of doing more than we need to do ; and, as though God would be more delighted and satisfied with a part than with the whole of our will and power to honour and obey Him ? Many of our Christian Fathers and Divines were fully sensible of the difficulty of reconciling our moral responsibility with the acknowledged exercise of the prepotency of the Diabolarch ; and, in order to make the one dogma consistent with the other, have so defined and limited his energies, as to render him a very harmless and inoffensive being ; comparèd with that terrific portrait, which is so often given him at other times. Archbishop Usher,²⁸ for instance, firmly believing in the doctrine of absolute predestination, affirms of Satan, that he may shrewdly guess what we conceive in our minds by our gestures, deportment, and outward signs ; but to what end, or wherefore, or what we think, he cannot certainly understand ; for doubtless, if he were certain of the faith and constancy of the saints, he would never so tempt them in vain ; for it is but vain ; because they that are truly sanctified and incorporated into the Head, Christ, by his spirit and their own faith, can never finally fall away from grace given. Thus, the Devil is allowed by our Divines to be either weak or strong, knowing or ignorant, according as the exercise of such prerogatives may interfere or not interfere with the maintenance of their respective creeds. But what an insult to the wisdom and foresight of the Supreme Being, to harbour the thought even for a moment ; that he who, according to Lactantius, proceeded prior to the creation from the hands of God, the Second Spirit in existence, being next in order to the Eternal Son, could have been destined from the very first by his Procreator to perform no other functions than to roam about the terrestrial globe, which, being compared with the rest of the universe, is no larger than an acorn ; to watch the looks and movements of the human species only, which, if connumerated with the other terrestrial species of living creatures, can scarcely be allowed to possess a millionth portion of that vitality appropriated to their planet, small as it is ; to contend with mortal man in giving a direction to his thoughts, words, and actions—

and frequently to be foiled in the encounter ; to be a free agent, and yet to find no other employment, nor pleasure, in his own existence, than that of causing eternal pain, misery, and damnation to mankind ; to be gratified and delighted, to the highest pitch, by being able to disturb the harmony, peace, and order of the universe ; and all this from no other imaginable cause or motive than some unaccountable and secret enmity to the person of the Supreme Being—an enmity for which no rational mind can account, nor which any tongue can be prompted to depict, except that of a maniac ! Fie ! and shame ! on those ministers of religion and professors of theology—no matter whether Jews or Christians—who can entertain such degrading and ungodly cogitations. If they have nothing more noble than this to intimate to the world, then let them give place to *Boz* and *Punch*, the two grand monkeys of their own age and country ; and so cease from dishonouring God, as well as deceiving their fellow-creatures.

The final and concluding argument which now remains to be urged against the received dogma of the diabolarchy, is the important question—how such a monster is to be duly and adequately punished for all the crimes and assaults which he shall have perpetrated, both against God and man, so as to be justly and truly dealt with, according to the magnitude and atrocity of his offences ? If mortal man, whose moral and intellectual faculties are but weak at the best—to say nothing of his being instigated by the devil—is to be punished with an eternity of torments for sins committed in the course of a few years ; what addition can there be made to that eternity of torments in the case of the Diabolarch himself, whose crimes outweigh and outnumber, both as to their enormity and duration, those of the whole human race put together from the beginning to the end of the world ? Surely, if the future punishment of a poor misguided and neglected sinner, the perpetrator of a few unforgiven sins only, is to last for ever and to extend to eternity ; the destined punishment of the Archfiend himself—the Instigator to all sin, the Archrebel against God, the Inventor of all crimes and delinquencies—ought to extend still further ; even to an eternity of eternities, might such an expression be granted. Is one Gehenna to serve all the damned ? And is there to be no distinction made between men and devils—between the devils themselves and the Prince of the devils ? Are the same flames and tortures to suffice for the behemoth as for the adder—for the giant as for the infant, and with the like duration ? Alas ! we have been copying our theological ideas of Satan, and borrowing images—Jews as well as Christians—for the last two thou-

sand years, from the Hindoos and the Parsees : from the former, as to the distinction which they make between their Vishnou and their Shiva, their universal Saviour and their universal Destroyer—from the latter, as to the distinction which they make between their Ormuzd and their Ahriman, their author of all good and their author of all evil ; the one absorbed in excellence—the other absorbed in crime, and frequently called Schetan, or Satan, in Parsee compositions. In this way have we unwittingly succeeded in creating a personal antagonist to the Supreme Being, a Satan to God Almighty ; and, as the Izeds of Ormuzd fought battles with the Dews of Ahriman,²⁹ so the angels and archangels of the Devil are represented by our Christian poets as fighting pitched battles with the angels and archangels of God, and discomfited only after a most dubious and obstinate conflict ; whilst the Diabolarch Himself, instead of being chained down in the deep abyss, and there detained to eternity, soon finds means to escape from the place of his punishment, and so bidding fair to play the like trick in future ; thus leaving the great Jehovah inefficient and powerless in administering due chastisement—incompetent to restrain his hitherto invincible adversary from progressing in mischief—allowing him with all impunity to excite amongst mortals war and tumult, strife and contention, where otherwise might reign peace and concord, harmony and love ; whilst the originator of all this evil is left to exult in the successful issue of his plots and devices, unappalled by any distant sign of his being soon called to an account, and undisturbed by any possibility whatever of his being ultimately tortured and punished according to the magnitude and multitude of his crimes and offences. Such is the blasphemous dogma of the Diabolarchy, replete with insult to the majesty of the Supreme Being, as propagated, and still retained throughout Christendom in general. The Lord pardon such ignorance and folly !

I have now presented and explained to your Grace, as well as to the Jewish and Christian reader at large, what I mean by the present impure state of Judaism and Christianity, and that, perhaps, in a somewhat unusual course of argumentation ; the whole of which may be summed up in three words—that God Himself, the Cause of all Causes, is too little feared and thought of ; but the Devil far too much. I never can sufficiently admire and extol the purity and the simplicity of that Mosaic law in which JEHOVAH is everything, and the *Devil* nothing. The legislator, Moses, and the prophets that followed him, knew nothing either of *Sammael* or *Gehinnom* ; much less did they ever dream of the two goats, upon which the lots fell on the

great day of atonements, being destined, the one for Jehovah, and the other for the Devil : but they stood in fear of JEHOVAH and of *Sheol* only, maintaining God to be the king of *Sheol* as well as of *Shammaim*, and that nothing was going on in either locality, except by His special direction and sovereign authority ; whereas their less simple, but more superstitious, descendants, not only acknowledge *Sammael* and *Gehinnom*, but have constructed nearly as many hells for the damned as the *Naraka* of the Hindoos is said to contain mansions ; all which they have designated with proper appellations, and described with as much minuteness and precision as though they themselves had actually descended into them, and explored them personally.³⁰ Let me, then, invite every pious student and firm believer in the Book of Revelation—every true and sincere worshipper of the Most High, to permit no other Being to be enthroned in the chamber of his soul—no other object to be there adored, feared, and glorified, except Jehovah alone, the only Being who absolutely is, so that God may be all in all, but the Devil, or Diabolarch, nothing at all ; to venerate the memories, but not the relics of the departed—no matter whether patriarchs, prophets, or apostles, not even the Virgin Mother herself—but discarding from the mind all other metaphysical inquiries and doctrinal disquisitions, as of inferior consideration, to investigate the Fear of God only ; to stand up for His honour, and to perform what He commands, since He alone—not man, nor yet the Devil—can recompense our duty and service, as well with peace and comfort here, as with glory and immortality hereafter.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,

Your Grace's most obedient

And very humble servant,

JOHN OXLEE.

LETTER II.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

IN this Second Letter, I propose to ascertain and describe for the consideration of the Jewish as well as the Christian professor, what additional manifestations of the divine will and pleasure the Gospel of Christ may have made to the Law of Moses; how the two dispensations, the one succeeding, but not superseding the other, may be said to combine a gradual development of one universal and true religion for the acceptance and guidance of the whole world; so that the Gospel covenant shall appear to be nothing else than an enlargement, extension, or completion of the Mosaic covenant, in order that the Gentiles, as well as the Jews, may equally become, by a solemn divine compact and agreement, the children of God, and heirs of immortality, through the mediation and intercession of our Lord Jesus Christ. Now, if we proceed to compare and enumerate the doctrinal tenets and different features of the two covenants, we shall find, that Christianity stands distinguished from Judaism by the three acknowledged dogmas of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement; all other differences being either of minor importance, or carried to no greater extent between the Jew and the Christian, than they are known to be carried between one denomination of Christians and another.

That the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity is exclusively Christian, neither taught nor inculcated in the Mosaic Law, cannot be denied. But, though it be fully developed for the first time in the Gospel, it does not follow, that it is either inconsistent with, or indeducible from the plain principles of Judaism; on the contrary, in the First Volume of my work called, *The Doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation considered and maintained on the Principles of Judaism*, as well as in my *Three Letters to the Archbishop of Cashel*, I have demonstrated at great length, and from authoritative testimony which cannot be contradicted, that the Dogma of the Trinity perfectly coincides with the

Cabalistic doctrine of the three higher Sephiroth or Numerations of the Godhead; with the Jehovah, the Memra or Word of Jehovah, and the Shechinah or Habitation of the Targumists; with the Jehovah, the pre-existing Law, and the Throne of Glory of the Darshans; all which positions I have endeavoured to establish on the firmest foundation, anticipating and refuting every special objection, which might fairly be brought against them. I am not affirming, that there is no difference between the Christian doctrine of the three divine Persons, the ten Sephiroth of the Cabalists, and the actual Pre-existencies of the Darshans; but what I do mean to assert is, that these emanatory and personal energies or distinctions are all advocated and maintained on the same metaphysical principles; so that, if there be any fundamental truth in the one, there cannot be much error in the other; and that the Trinitarian hypothesis, if compared with the Cabalistic, contains a still more simple, intelligible, and necessary development of the Godhead; so far as we are capable of receiving any such divine revelation, and are interested in what it unfolds. It is a gross error to suppose, that the Trinity is an incomprehensible dogma, repugnant to human reason; a pure mystery of Religion, implicitly to be believed, because it cannot be rationally demonstrated. The irrationality and the absurdity are all to be found on the other side of the question; in maintaining a numerical unity of the Godhead, or One God in number.

Let us proceed at once to the argument. If I am asked, what is the *causation* of all number, the singular as well as the plural; the answer must be, *Diversity* of some kind. But Diversity, of whatever sort, whether of form, substance, order, time, or situation, necessarily implies three things, a *this*, and a *that*, and a *something* besides, which separates the *this* from the *that*; and prevents the identity or solidity of their being. Hence, there cannot be one without three, any more than three without one; so that the Trinity is the first perfect and necessary number. If, then, I make an effort to view God, as one divine nature or substance in number; there must at least be some intermediate space or substance to separate and distinguish Him from myself, and to prevent the solidity or identity of our being; admitting even nothing to exist, at the time, besides our two selves, the numbered and the numberer. This, however, would do away with the infinitude and the omnipresence of the Deity, by connumerating the Creator with the Created; by allowing the universe to contain God along with other things, and not God the universe with all things therein. There cannot, therefore, be One God in number, any more than One God in person. On the con-

trary, He is designated by the rabbinical school, *Yachido Shel Gnoiam, The Sole One of the World*; and, therefore, excluding all connumeration. The real and full meaning of the first and great Commandment is not—"Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord in number;" but, "Hear, O Israel, the Jehovah, our God, is Jehovah alone by Himself, or, the only Jehovah;" and so, indeed, we have it expounded by Aben Ezra, Bechai, and other commentators. That the Jewish people, in general, understood this unity of Jehovah of a numerical unity, or of an unity of number; and that, in this acceptation, the precept had a salutary effect in condemning the belief of a plurality of Gods, the cause of all idolatrous and pagan worship throughout the world, I readily grant; nevertheless, in maintaining that God can neither be one nor many in number; and that, whenever He is affirmed to be one in number, it is merely to deny of Him a plurality; I am supported by the very first authorities of the Jewish Church. "In this manner (saith R. Judah Levita)¹ is He affirmed to be *One*, to deny of Him plurality; and not to affirm of Him that unity which we ourselves comprehend. For with us, that is one whose parts adhere to each other, and have the same appearance; as when we say, One bone, one hand, or one water; or, when speaking of time in the similitude of a body compacted together, we say, one day, or one year. But the Divine Essence is exempt from cohesion and division; and is called *One* to the denegation of a plurality." "Like as multitude (saith Maimonides²) is erroneously predicated of Him, as an accident; so also is unity erroneously predicated of him as an accident; that is to say, *unity* in Him is not anything in addition to Himself or to His substance; but He is one without being one by unity." "He is *One* (saith R. Jedaiah Ben Bedrashi)³ but that Oneness is not of number; on the contrary, He is exempt from multiplicity and division in every respect." "Know (saith R. Abraham Ben David)⁴ that of the Supreme Being we can affirm number of no sort; neither the singular nor the plural number." These testimonies ought to suffice for the conviction of the Jew, that according to the true science of metaphysics, and the opinion of the first theologians, the Deity can neither be measured nor numbered. Indeed, to regard the Governor of the world, as one individual being or person in number, is impiously to fix Him in some corner of the universe; to place Him, like a merchant, behind his counter, in front of his customers; who occupy a much larger portion of space, in his own shop, than he either does or can do himself. But, though Jehovah Himself cannot be numbered, those things which essentially belong

to Him, His attributes, properties, or energies, may severally be numbered ; and this is the foundation both of the Cabalistic and the Trinitarian hypothesis.

Since I wish to demonstrate the striking coincidence, or rather perfect agreement of the Cabalistic doctrine, in one of its main features, with that of the Trinity, it will be necessary to state our Christian tenet as laid down to us in the Athanasian, or rather Gallican, Creed. The summary is to this effect : that there is one God, Divine Nature, or Godhead in a Trinity of persons or subsistencies ; and a Trinity of persons or subsistencies in an unity or identity of the Divine Nature or Godhead, without any confusion of the persons or division of the Divine Substance, the godhead, the glory, and the majesty being co-eternal and co-equal to all the three persons ; so that whilst all the three—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost—are equally uncreate, incomprehensible, eternal, almighty, god, and lord—that is, divine and supreme—there are not three uncreate, incomprehensible, eternal, almighty, divine, and supreme beings or substances, different and separate from each other ; but only one such Divine Nature or Substance—the same to all the three persons, and equally existing in all the three persons. Such is the language of the symbol, all fairly deducible from the gospel revelation. The only objection to be started is, that in consequence of the incompetency of the Latin tongue to furnish metaphysical terms sufficiently distinctive, the word *person*, which signifies nothing else than an individual human being, is very improperly used for hypostasis or subsistency ; so that, in employing it, we are compelled to mean what we do not say, and to say what we do not mean.

Now, if we turn to the Cabala, we shall find the doctrine of the Cabalists, as laid down by the very first and highest authorities, to be simply this : that there are ten Sephiroth, Numerations, or Splendours—called, also, Aziloth, or Emanations ; without anything besides that can be uttered ; and this nothing besides that can be uttered, is sometimes called *Haqin*, *the Nothing* ; meaning nothing that can be either named or conceived, though necessary to be allowed ; in fact, the Godhead considered in the abstract. The names of the ten Sephiroth are Supreme Crown, Wisdom, Understanding, Magnitude, Fortitude, Beauty, Eternity, Glory, Foundation, and Kingdom. The adoption of the number *ten* is accidental ; occasioned from its numerical perfection, as well as from the mystical import and calculation of the four letters of the Tetragrammaton, *JEHOVAH* ; whilst the first three are made to differ from the other seven, in that they are said to be not mere attributes or

properties, but the intellectual Sephiroth, or Numerations, called Spirit, Afflatus, and Soul: whereas the seven inferior are described as so many divine attributes or properties, necessary for the creation, the direction, and the preservation of the visible worlds. They are all declared to be equally Divine, or God; inseparable from the Supreme Being, as well as inseparable from each other. Thus writes the author of the *Tykhune Zohar*⁵: "Elijah spake and said, Master of the Worlds, Thou art one, but not by calculation: Thou art Supreme above all supremes, and Mysterious above all mysteries: there is no thought that can at all apprehend Thee. Thou hast produced the ten ordinations or constitutions, called by us the ten Numerations, wherewith to govern as well those worlds which are invisible, as those which are visible; and by which Thou hast enveloped and concealed Thyself from the children of men. Thou hast bound and united them together; and since Thou existest in the midst, whosoever divideth the one from the other of those ten, is to be reputed the same, as though he had divided Thee." Since the Sephiroth are deduced from the letters of the Tetragrammaton, JEHOVAH, and Jehovah is solemnly declared to be the ONE—yea, the only ONE—the anathema denounced against those who shall impiously dare to separate any one of the Sephiroth from the rest, is quite intelligible. Let not the reader, however, imagine that because the Cabalist is here found to address the Master of the worlds, existing in all the Sephiroth, and not any one of the Sephiroth by name; therefore he distinguishes between God and the Sephiroth. The whole of the Tetragrammaton is thus awarded to the ten Sephiroth:—The top, or dot, over the *jod* is assigned to the Supreme crown; the *jod* itself, to Wisdom; the *he*, to Understanding; the *vau*, being a numeral for six, to the six following Sephiroth; and the final *he*, to Kingdom, or the last of the Numerations. If, then, we wickedly presume to distinguish between the Master of the worlds here invoked and the ten Sephiroth, we shall distinguish between the Master of the worlds and Jehovah Himself—a thought not to be endured for a moment. The reason why the Cabalist hesitates and scruples to address any one of the Sephiroth by name, or even all the Sephiroth taken together, is because he is afraid to make a rent in the Divine unity, by separating and invoking singly some one of the ten Numerations without the rest, or the subsistencies apart from the substance; and, therefore, he takes care to address the whole Godhead, or Supreme Essence itself, as inseparable from its intellectual energies, attributes, or properties, and inconceivable without them.

But though in the *Tetragrammaton*, JEHOVAH, we have all the ten Sephiroth connumerated, if we take the *Digrammaton*, JAH—and in Jah is Jehovah—we can view and enumerate the first three Sephiroth, or intellectual Numerations, without any regard to the subsequent seven ; and so contemplate the Trinity apart by itself. This truth is finely delineated by the pen of R. Bechai.⁶ “Hence (saith he) it is observable, that of the sacred name JEHOVAH, the first two letters represent His real essence ; but the latter two His attributes. Besides, it deserves to be remarked, that, in the Law, the first two letters of the *Tetragrammaton* form a noun substantive, JAH ; but not so the latter two, as they make no name : and the reason of this is, that, when we make mention of the first two, the latter two are comprehended, because those are the Beginning, and it is impossible that in them there should be any separation ; but if the latter, which are not a name, had really been a name, there would have been a separation of one half of the name from the other half ; and, consequently, the latter two letters are nowhere written as a noun substantive.” Such is the language of R. Bechai, which fully warrants us to make all the distinction that we need to make between the first three of the Sephiroth and the remaining seven, by considering the former as real or essential subsistencies of the Deity ; but the latter, as *Middoth*, or *Temuroth*, as they are sometimes called—that is, divine attributes or properties only. It is further to be remarked, that the *Trigrammaton* AIN, NOTHING, the Cabalistic designation of the Supreme Essence, is expounded, and especially by the author of the *Tykune Zohar*,⁷ as significant, from its three letters of the first three Numerations alone ; the *Aleph* indicating the Supreme Crown, the *Jod* Wisdom, and the *Nun* Understanding. They are said to be those Numerations which are eternal, and are called sometimes *Gnolam Hannaalam*, the Concealed World ; sometimes *Gnolam Hassekel*, the World of Intellect ; sometimes *Gnolam Hammadang*, the World of Knowledge ; and are affirmed to be all *One Head*, to distinguish them from the inferior Sephiroth. That they are meant to comprise the whole Godhead in three distinct, but not separate subsistencies, is apparent from the following gloss of R. Jacob Taamerlesh⁸ on the words ; *I, the Lord thy God* :—“*Anoki, I* : this is *the Crown* ; as we have already expounded it, and as it stands in the *Zohar*. *Jehovah, the Lord* : this is *Wisdom* ; as Wisdom is the letter *Jod* of the sacred name, blessed be He ; and every *Jod* is Being. *Eloheka, thy God*, peace be upon him, amounts to *Binah*, or *Understanding*. Behold *three Supreme Ones* : but this is a general way of considering the

words." Moreover, if we proceed to enumerate their different titles and designations singly, we shall find them corresponding to those of the ever-blessed Trinity. Thus, for instance, the Supreme Crown⁹—the same with God the Father—is called the Stupendous or Hidden Mind; the Primordial Intellectual Light; that First Glory the Being of which no creature can ascertain; the Cause of Causes, or the First Cause; the Spirit of the living Elohim; the Spirit of Holiness; the Infinitude, or Infinite Being; the Mystery of the Point; the Concealed Root; the Most High God; the Possessor of the whole universe; that Source of which Wisdom is the Well, and Understanding the Sea; the I AM; the Ancient of Ancients, or the Most Ancient; the Supreme Thought; the Lofty Height, or the Most High; the Whole, or All; the Uncircumscribed Being; the Great Eternal Light; the Profundity of the Eternal Being in the Substance of its own Truth; the Spirit of all Spirits; the Father of Mercies; the King of the kings of kings; the Place of the World; the Holy of Holies; the Height of Heaven; the God over all; said to be Nothing that can be designated, but only insinuated, and called the Supreme Crown, because the thought or mind of the Supreme Crown extends to all the Sephiroth emanated from it. The second Numeration of Wisdom,¹⁰—the same with God the Son—is called the First Light; Spirit from Spirit; the Spirit of Jehovah; the Beginning to all Existencies; the God of our Fathers; the First-born of the Emanations; the Well of living Water; the Light; the Fountain of Being; the *Yesh*, or that which is, because emanating from the Supreme Crown, called *Ain*, that which is not. The third Numeration of Understanding¹¹—the same with God the Holy Ghost—is called the Waters from Spirit; Spirit from Spirit; Elohim; our God; the Jerusalem that is above; the World to come; the Tree of Life; Glory; the Ancient One; the Right Hand; the High Hand; the Place of Souls; the Celestial Mother; the Spirit which proceeds from the Spirit of the Spirit of God, or the third Spirit from the ever blessed Creator.

But, besides its conformity with the higher Sephiroth of the Cabalists, the doctrine of the Trinity is capable of being still further established by its conformity with the Pre-existences of the Darshans; or those seven things which were anterior to the creation of the world, namely, the Law, the Throne of Glory, the Fathers, Israel, the Name of the Messias, the Sanctuary, and Repentance; the first two of which, the Law and the Throne of Glory, are said to have been actually caused to exist; but the other five only to have been contemplated in the

Divine Mind ; and, therefore, existing ideally, not actually, before the formation of the world. That the Law and the Throne of Glory correspond to the second and third Persons of the Holy Trinity, I have demonstrated at great length in another work ; and may be here briefly set forth from the admirable testimonies of R. Moses Alshech.¹⁹ "The Holy Law here says: Look up, and see ; though you view me black or unseemly, dressed in a somewhat material form ; yet let me not be esteemed vile in your eyes ; for, unquestionably, the honour of my rank is exalted above every thing that is exalted, without either bounds or limits. Is it not a fact, that the Deity caused to emanate the Throne of Glory, whereby to give an aptitude to the diffusion of the creation ? It must be needless, therefore, to say, that I was not created by the Throne of Glory ; on the contrary, I was anterior to it ; and this is the meaning of the Scripture—'The Lord possessed me the Beginning,' not in the Beginning, of the Creation of the material world ; it not belonging to his Way to create corporeal existences : but the Beginning of his Way, that is, the Beginning, whatever it may be, of spiritual emanation, He possessed me singly ; for, doubtless, before those works of His, which were prior to time, those seven things which He wrought before the world, in which is included the Throne of Glory, it being said of it, 'Thy Throne was established prior to time ;' before those works, I say, there was the Beginning, whatever it may be, of His Way to cause to emanate the spiritual existences ; for by me the illustrious Name here mentioned began to emanate, but finished by the Throne of Glory ; as this last also is His Way ; it being, according to the received opinion, a powerful spiritual emanation."—"But to return to the subject : the Law saith, that it may not enter into your minds, that I am nothing but a spiritual subsistency, like one of the angels which attend the presence of the King of the world, distinct and separate from His individual essence ; and, especially, since I have been begotten ; Do behold, and regard the excellency of my majesty ; for I am His Wisdom, blessed be He, and inseparable from His Essence."—"He alone it was by Himself that prepared the heavens, and set the circle ; although I was there with Him : for I am not to be referred to any essence different from Himself, by no means." So again : "For the Law is, *Elahyuth*, a Deity. It was the Instrument of the workmanship of God, whereby He created the world." If it should be here objected, that God the Father of all, having used the co-operation both of the Law and the Throne of Glory, cannot be said to have formed the worlds alone by Himself individually ; the objection is ad-

mitted, but obviated by R. Moses Ilpeles¹³ in such a manner as at once to establish the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. "But if you should ask (says he) why the Law and the Throne of Glory were actually caused to exist, but the others not, I will tell you the reason. It is because Jehovah, the Law, and the Throne of Glory are all one and the same Thing. For like as you say, 'Blessed be Jehovah God, the God of Israel;' you can say, 'And blessed be the Name of His Glory,' that is, the Throne of Glory; 'And all the earth is full of His Glory,' that is, of the Law. And as *Amen* is affirmed after the expression, 'Blessed be Jehovah;' so is it affirmed after the phrase, 'And blessed be the Name of His Glory for ever;' this being what the Psalmist intended by, *Amen* and *Amen*; *Amen* to, 'Blessed be Jehovah;' and *Amen* to, 'Blessed be the Name of His Glory for ever.' He then subjoins: *The prayers are ended*; that is, since I have demonstrated to you the existence of Jehovah, and the creation of the world by Himself alone; and that He and His Law and the Throne of Glory are all one and the same thing; the Prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended." Such is the striking and singular manner in which the tenet of the Trinity is illustrated and corroborated by the Pre-existences of the Darshans.

There is yet another demonstrative argument, handled by me at great length on another occasion, whereby the truth of our Christian tenet may be firmly established; and that is, from the distinctions which the Targumists make between Jehovah, the Memra or Word of Jehovah, and the Shechinah or Habitation of Jehovah. First of all let me observe, that it seems impossible to furnish stronger proofs of the Divine Nature of any Being than that He created the world and the noblest things in it; that He is constituted the God of all true worshippers; nor yet of His Personality or Subsistency, than that He is distinguished from other Subsistencies by a proper designation of His own; that He is endowed with hands, voice, speech, anger, compassion, the power of decreeing events, and the word of prophecy; that He is invoked by His votaries, builds, guards, talks, leads, turns from wrath, multiplies the human species, delights, rejoices, and confers blessings on the deserving. But all these attributes or qualities are predicated of the Word of Jehovah, as will readily appear from the Targumin:¹⁴ "The *Word* of Jehovah manifested itself to the world to create it. The *Word* of Jehovah was splendid and luminous. By His *Word* was the world created. The *Word* of Jehovah created Adam in His own likeness. Jehovah by His *Word* was manifested to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob.

Unless the *Word* of Jehovah shall build the city; unless the *Word* of Jehovah shall guard the city. They heard the voice of the *Word* of Jehovah God. But the *Word* of Jehovah continued to speak with me. The *Word* of Jehovah led the people. The *Word* of Jehovah said to Moses. Turn, I pray, O *Word* of Jehovah, from thy powerful indignation. According to the tenour of the decree of the *Word* of Jehovah. The *Word* of Jehovah you have this day constituted over you to be to you for a God. From the hand of the *Word* of Jehovah. My chosen in whom my *Word* delighteth. My *Word* shall rejoice over them to do them good. Thou shalt receive a word from my *Word*. In proportion as a man disposes himself to do good, in the same proportion will the *Word* of Heaven do good to him; and accordingly as he disposes himself to do evil, so according to his evil, will the *Word* of Heaven cause evil to him." Let the foregoing examples be deemed sufficient for the confirmation of the Divinity and Subsistency of the *Word* of Jehovah. I would just remark, that the designation *Memra*, or, *Memra*, here employed for *Word*, is never used in the Targumin for *Dabar*, meaning a word of prophecy; nor yet for, *Malach*, an angel; as the former is invariably rendered by, *Pithgam*, and the latter by, *Malach*; as often as they occur in the original Hebrew. It is found also occasionally to stand, absolutely by itself, for a divine subsistency, without any accompaniment either of the term, Jehovah, or its suffix; as in the following instances:¹⁵—"For they who are blessed by the *Word*, shall inherit the earth; but they who are cursed by Death, shall be annihilated. By the *Word* shall we vanquish our enemies." It deserves to be remarked, too, that Philo Judaeus,¹⁶ a contemporary, as it were, of the two Targumists, Onkelos, and Jonathan Ben Uziel, speaking of the import of the term, *Place*, affirms not only, that it signifies the space which is occupied by any body; as well as God Himself, in that He surrounds all things, whilst He Himself is surrounded by nothing at all; but, also, the Divine *Logos*, or, *Word*; which God Himself hath filled all in all with spiritual Powers. Let the reader, then, compare the use and application of the Chaldee *Memra* or *Word*, in the foregoing Targumin, with what St. John, in his Gospel, has declared of the Divine *Logos* or *Word*, which became Incarnate; and he will be instantly struck with the identity of their subsistency.

That the *Shechinah* or *Habitation* of Jehovah is another divine Subsistency, the same with the Throne of Glory, and God, the Holy Ghost; may easily be demonstrated from the Targumists, as well as the Talmudists. Thus, in the Targumin we

read:¹⁷ "Because ye have despised the Word of Jehovah, whose *Shechinah* dwelleth amongst you. Thus do I decree by my Word, whose holy *Shechinah* is amongst you. The *Shechinah* of Jehovah, at thy right hand, shall crush kings in the day of his wrath. It is low Mount Sinai, on which the Word of Jehovah desires to fix his *Shechinah*." So likewise in the Talmud:¹⁸ "R. Hoshai supposed the *Shechinah* to be in every place. R. Ishmael also was of opinion, that the *Shechinah* is in every place. For the following is the tradition of the School of R. Ishmael: Whence is it demonstrated, that the *Shechinah* is in every place? From the text: 'Behold the angel who spake with me went forth; and another angel went forth to meet him.' It is not said, 'Went forth after him;' but, 'to meet him;' which inculcates, that the *Shechinah* is in every place. R. Chasda said: At the first, before Israel sinned, the *Shechinah* abode with every individual, according to that which is said in the Scripture: 'For Jehovah, thy God, walketh in the midst of thy camp.' But after they sinned, the *Shechinah* departed from them, agreeably to what is written; 'And He will not view in thee any nakedness; but will return from thee.' R. Eliezer said: Of every man in whom there is the spirit of pride, the *Shechinah* thus speaks in the Scripture: 'For Jehovah is high, and the humble He seeth; but the lofty he regardeth at a distance.'" In the *Medrash Tehillim* or *Shochar Tob*,¹⁹ we thus read: "Here the expression is, *For David a psalm*; but what is meant by, *A psalm for David*? Whenever he besought that the *Shechinah* would rest upon him; it was an aversion, *A psalm for David*. But whenever the *Shechinah* came of itself, it was, *For David a psalm*. Wherever it is said, *For the Precentor with the Neginoth*; it has reference only to the future. Wherever it is said, *A psalm for David*; he played on the instrument first, and afterwards the *Holy Spirit* rested upon him. But wherever it is said, *For David a psalm*; the *Holy Spirit* rested upon him first, and then he played on the instrument." This last citation I have made merely for the purpose of demonstrating to the reader, that, with the authors of the *Medrash*, the *Shechinah* and the *Holy Spirit* are meant of the very same individual subsistency.

The next thing to be done is briefly to show the identity of the second Numeration of the Cabalists, *Hocmah*, or, Wisdom, with the Primordial Law of the Darshans, and the *Memra*, or, Word, of the Targumists; as also the identity of the third Numeration of the Cabalists, *Binah*, or, Understanding, with the Throne of Glory of the Darshans, and the *Shechinah* or Habitation of the Targumists and Talmudists; so that the

former may be clearly seen to correspond to the Filial Godhead, or God the Son; and the latter to the Divine Spirit, or God the Holy Ghost, of the ever blessed Trinity. That the Supreme Wisdom is the same with the Law, is thus attested in the *Sepher Razel*, or Book of Adam:²⁰ "*Cahath* inculcates, that the Supreme Wisdom is the Law; it being the Covenant of our God, who is in Heaven." So likewise in the *Sepher Hechal Hakkodesh*:²¹ "But when He dwells in the third Numeration, we say in His presence; that He is our God; that He is the King or Sovereign over the world; that He is the Beauty, which formed the terrestrial man by the energy or power of the Supreme Wisdom; for in the formation of the first man the Formator was the Beauty, the same with the world; and it formed the man by the energy of the Wisdom, the Artificer, that is to say, the Primordial Law, on which the Holy One, blessed be He, looked and created His own world." So also in the *Siphra Detsenignotha Dayaacob*:²² "For the Mind or Cerebrum of Wisdom is the Law, as is well known; and it puts on a garment in Binah or Understanding." That the Word and the Wisdom are to be understood of the same divine subsistency, is apparent from the testimony of R. Jacob Taamerlesh:²³ "For they were uttered by one word; as the letter *Jod*, is a single point, and amounts to *ten*, the test of the ten words; as Word is Thought, that is, Wisdom, the same with the Supreme Father, according to what is affirmed in the Zohar: The Father says, and the Mother does." That the Word and the Law are one and the same subsistency, is demonstrable not only from the Preaching of St. Peter, as cited by Clemens Alexandrinus,²⁴ which affirms, that the Lord is designated both Word and Law; but also from the subjoined testimony of R. Moses Alshech:²⁵ "For that voice of Jehovah which speaketh, is the Law, whereby He created the world, as is well known.—Nor is this repugnant to the declaration of the Scripture, that by the Word of Jehovah were the heavens made; as the Law is called the Word of Jehovah, according to the text;—For he hath despised the Word of Jehovah."

That the third Numeration of *Binah* or Understanding is the same subsistency with the *Throne of Glory* and the *Shechinah*, may readily be shown. Its identity with the Throne of Glory is thus attested by the author of the *Chemdath Tsebi*:²⁶ "The term, *Peni*, *Face*, amounts by numerical calculation to *Hocmah* and *Binah*, Wisdom and Understanding; and so he apprehended the Face of the *Throne*, the same with *Binah* or Understanding; and his cloud was over him from the Numeration of Wisdom." Since the third Numeration is more especially

designated by the term, *Elohim*, the following exposition of Rashi²⁷ has an immediate bearing on this question; and plainly proves, that *Binah* or *Elohim* is the same with the *Throne of Glory*: "And the spirit of *Elohim* brooded, that is, the *Throne of Glory* stood in the air, and brooded on the surface of the waters with the spirit of the mouth of *Elohim*, and with His Word, like as a dove broodeth over her nest." That it is the same with the *Shechinah* or Habitation, is plainly affirmed in the *Tykkune Zohar Gadol*;²⁸ and as clearly attested in the following passage of the *Sepher Kene Hocmah Kene Binah*,²⁹ one of the first and highest Cabalistic authorities:—"I will go down with thee into Egypt; and so he says, Wherever they went into captivity, the *Shechinah* was with them, the Supreme or Most High *Shechinah*; meaning, the *Binah* or Understanding; because it is the Habitation of the three first Numerations over the seven days of the *Binyan* or Building; or, because the *Binah* is the place, where dwell the six extremities in the mystery of their upper room; and is called the Habitation of His Strength; meaning, the *Shechinah* which giveth strength to the Numeration of Fortitude." The Commentator on this work observes, that the Numerations of Understanding and Kingdom, that is, the upper and lower *Shechinah*, are both called *Shechinah*, because they communicate the Godhead. The author of the *Shephang Tal*³⁰ affords a similar testimony:—"The meaning is, the Most High or Supreme *Shechinah*, that is, *Binah*, or Understanding, through the mystery that is in *Binah*; which is the Habitation or *Shechinah* of Wisdom, and resteth over those Numerations which are below it." That the *Throne of Glory* and *Shechinah* are the same, may be equally demonstrated. R. Solomon Jarchi evidently identifies them in his Commentary on the vision of Ezekiel:—"And behold! there came a whirlwind from the north; that is, the chariot of the *Throne of Glory*, the *Shechinah*, as it is declared in the narrative." R. Isaac Abarbinel³¹ expressly maintains, that they are one and the same divine subsistency: "For certainly (says he) though the heavens be called in Scripture by the term, *Throne*; you will no where find, neither in the Scripture nor in the writings of our learned sages of blessed mercy, that the Heavens are ever called the *Throne of Glory*; as this is a term applied peculiarly, and exclusively, to the excellency of the First Cause; and to the Most High or Supreme Spiritual *Shechinah*." To the same effect writes R. Jacob Taamerlesh:³²—"Therefore the *Shechinah*, blessed be he, returns to his own place; unto the *Throne of the Glory*, which is the mystery of the soul that is cut away from under the *Throne of Glory*." This, too, agr

with the doctrine of the Cabalists, as set forth by the author of the *Tykkune Zohar*:³³—"They are the six steps to the Throne; whence are all the souls, by way of emanation, from the *Supreme Shechinah*, the same with the *Throne of Glory*." There can remain no doubt, then, that the Numeration of *Understanding*, the *Throne of Glory*, and the *Shechinah* or *Habitation*, are all one and the same divine subsistency; and signify, the *Holy Spirit*. In the *Sepher Bahir*,³⁴ the *Shechinah* is declared to be from the First Light, called Wisdom, surrounding everything; and in the *Zohar Chadash*,³⁵ is expressly affirmed to be the Holy Ghost:—"But as to all those, who do not study nor occupy themselves in it, for its own sake, the *Holy Spirit*, which is the same with the *Shechinah*, does not rest upon them; according to that which is written: 'And all remembered that they were but flesh; yea, a wind that passeth away, and returneth not again.' " It is not to be dissembled, however, that occasionally the Jewish Divines contradict and differ from each other in identifying these Subsistencies; and so introduce some confusion, by affirming of one Subsistency what ought with strictness of propriety to be affirmed of another. Thus for instance, the *Memra* or *Word* of Jehovah, as employed in the Targum of Onkelos, is said by R. Menachem Rekanatensis to be meant of the *Shechinah*, so called; whereas it would be much better understood of the *Primordial Law*. Something of the same complexion may be detected in R. Isaac Abarbinel, who has applied to the *Shechinah* or *Throne of Glory* those texts of Solomon which are invariably applied by other Jewish Divines to the Wisdom or Law of Jehovah. The like remark will hold good even of our own Divines and Christian Fathers; and especially of Irenæus, who has actually dilapsd into the same mistake with Abarbinel; having expounded of the Holy Ghost those very words of Solomon, which are exclusively applied to the Word by the rest of the Christian Fathers.

But, besides the striking illustrations and confirmation, which the doctrine of the Trinity derives from its affinity to the higher Sephiroth of the Cabalists, to the actual Pre-existences of the Darshans, to the divine *Memra* and upper *Shechinah* of the Targumists and the Talmudists; there is yet another confirmation to be drawn from the great mystery of the *METATRON*; an argument which I have elsewhere discussed at great length;³⁶ and, consequently, shall decline on the present occasion to repeat it here the second time over. Suffice it to say, that this angel, Metatron, is everywhere described as a Divine Subsistency, corresponding to the second Person of the ever blessed Trinity; being designated in the *Othioth* of R. Akiba,³⁷ *The*

One of all the Sons of the Most High; or, *THE ONLY BEGOTTEN SON*; in the *Sepher Raziel*,³⁸ *The Hand of Jehovah*; in the *Chemdath Tsebi*,³⁹ *The Life of the worlds*; in the *Zohar Gadol*,⁴⁰ *The King of the angels*, and in whom as a Body the Numerations of the Godhead are invested as a Soul. That which I would now more particularly press on the consideration of the reader, is the doctrinal identity of the whole cabalistic scheme of the Sephiroth with the sound tenets of Christianity. Not only do the three supreme Numerations correspond to the three divine Persons of the Holy Trinity, as set forth in the Creed; but the seven inferior Numerations, also, have their correspondents in the *Energies* of the Son of God, or the *Holy Spirits*, mentioned by the Pastor of Hermas;⁴¹ in the *Spiritus Septiformis* of Cassiodorius;⁴² in the *seven* burning Lamps of fire before the Throne of God, or the *seven* Eyes of the Lamb or Word Incarnate, called the seven Spirits of God by the author of the Apocalypse; whose imagery of language is borrowed from the seven Lamps of the golden Candlestick in the Tabernacle, mystically expounded always, as every one knows, of the emanation of the Sephiroth. Indeed, I hesitate not to declare, that such a development of the glorious attributes and energies of the Godhead is perfectly consistent, not only with the writings of Moses and the prophets, but with every part of the Gospel revelation; and that the future Nazarene Church, whenever it shall be established, will do well to cultivate and hand down to posterity the doctrine of the Jewish Cabala, as one of the best human efforts to magnify and glorify Jehovah by intellectual conceptions and the science of metaphysics. Since the Christian professor scruples not to give a subtle interpretation of the text of the Old Testament, quite remote from its literal sense, in order to do honour to Christ, the Son of God; the Nazarene professor ought to be allowed to do the very same thing, in order to do honour to God the Father, who sent us the Christ, whose marvellous operations throughout the universe, and whose exuberant grace and loving-kindness towards the children of men, require to be eulogized and set forth by the most vigorous efforts of human eloquence and ingenuity. The great fault which I have to find with the existing generation of religious professors is, that they pay no attention to metaphysics; that they speak of God, as a compound personal form, material as well as immaterial; that the science which their diction is calculated to propagate, might as well be termed, *Osteology*, as Theology, having quite as much to do with bones and bodily substance, as with soul and spirit; that their minds are too much occupied with the *Creature*, to think sufficiently of

the CREATOR; that whilst the names of St. Peter, St. Nicholas, or the Virgin Mary, can be repeated twenty times in a day; the name of God Himself, the Source of all bliss and happiness to man, if articulated at all, is mentioned as that of some remote and distant Potentate in the heavens, whose visage we cannot possibly see; and, therefore, we cease to think of Him, as a constant object of divine contemplation.

Before I close the present argument, I would briefly subjoin that, to the professor of Judaism, the Christian tenet of the Trinity ought to recommend itself as worthy of admiration and belief, not only for its truth, but for its simplicity. By acknowledging three Divine Persons, or rather three Divine Subsisting Energies in the Godhead—the Eternal Mind, the Ideal Word, and the Holy Spirit, or, according to the Creed, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost—we at once acknowledge, in our conceptions of the Supreme Being, all that can be imagined requisite or necessary, either for the full development of the Divine will to man; or for the perfect accomplishment of that Divine will and pleasure, when once disclosed to us in the form of precept or legal injunction. Man can be made to know nothing, for certain, of the will and pleasure of another being, except by verbal communication, either written or orally expressed; and though the prophets of old were gifted with an infallible spirit, yet were they directed in their messages by verbal signs and audible speech, so as to be rendered secure from committing mistakes in the delivery of their prophecies. The same remark will hold good of the Divine Spirit, as of the Divine Word, that without it nothing enjoined either in the Law or the Gospel can be duly accomplished; whereas, with it, everything may be effectuated that is either commanded or promised in the oracles of God. By the term Father, or the First Person of the Holy Trinity, the Christian professor can intend nothing else than what the Cabalist intends by the first of the Numerations—the Supreme Crown, or the Infinite Being. “God having willed (saith Eusebius⁴⁸) became Father of a Son.” In this short sentence we have an act of the Divine Mind recorded, as productive of a certain effect—namely, the subsistency of a Son; and that again necessarily implying, as such, the subsistency of a Father. But before the Divine Mind willed, there could be no Son, and, consequently, no Father, as every Father necessarily implies a Son, and, as such, cannot subsist without him. It is true, we assert, that the Son was begotten of the Father from eternity, and that there never was a time when either the Father was not, or the Son was not. Nevertheless, this truth will not do away with the fact, that to

beget is an act, whilst *to be begotten* is an act performed; and though the declaration of the Son being begotten from eternity excludes all consideration of the accident of time, yet the act of the Divine Mind, *willing* the production of a Son, necessarily precedes the production of that Son in point of order, if not in point of time; and whatever thing precedes another in point of order, stands, metaphysically, in the same relation to it that the cause does to the effect; so that the existence of the Divine Mind *begetting* must necessarily be anterior to that of the Son *begotten*, and, consequently, to that of the Father, the correlative of the Son; whilst it wholly identifies itself with the Cause of all Causes, or the Infinite Being of the Cabalists; of which, however, they profess to know nothing, neither with respect to its existence, nor its subsistency. Hence it further appears that, by the term Father in the Trinity, we cannot intend merely the correlative of the Son, but the Cause of all Causes, or the Godhead itself considered as the source of all the Divine emanations, attributes, and properties; just in the same manner as, under the designation of the Supreme Crown, the Cabalist comprehends both the first of the Sephiroth and the Infinite Being. I maintain, therefore, that fundamentally, and in reality, the mystery of the Trinity is the same with the mystery of the Cabala; so that if the one be true and correct, the other cannot possibly be wrong, but ought equally to be admitted by both the parties.

The second important dogma in which Christianity stands distinguished from Judaism is the doctrine of the Incarnation, or the manifestation of a God in the flesh. The tenet is, that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man; God of the substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds, and Man of the substance of His mother, born in the world; of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting; equal to the Father as touching His Godhead, and inferior to the Father as touching His manhood; one Christ, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by the taking of the Manhood into God; one not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person. This article of the Christian Creed is peculiar to Christianity, and forms a part of that glorious appendix which was subjoined to the Law of Moses by the promulgation of the Gospel. The ancient patriarchs and prophets of Israel knew nothing of a God Incarnate. They neither contemplated nor anticipated any such event. They were led, in the course of time, to expect from the loins of David a glorious Prince and Deliverer; who, being the Anointed and Beloved of Jehovah, seated at the right hand of God in majesty and power, and occupying the

throne of His Father, David, as the throne of God, should, by his intimate union with the Lord Jehovah, redeem the children of Israel from servitude and oppression, break asunder the iron yoke of the Gentile world, and extend the Law of Jehovah to the very extremities of the earth; but of a Divine Subsistency being literally born in the flesh, or of the Divine Word becoming incarnate in the manner narrated to us by the evangelists and the apostles, they could have entertained no real conception nor belief whatever. Had any such glorious expectation been either broached or propagated amongst the Jews before the birth of our Saviour, they would never have been surprized in the manner they were by the arrival of the wise men from the East, inquiring for the celestial stranger; but they would have noticed the Star themselves, and have been the very first to do homage and adoration to the newly-born Infant. Instead of interrogating Christ as to whether He were the promised Messiah or not, or of feeling incensed at the blasphemy, as they deemed it, of His arrogating to Himself a divine character, and calling Himself the Son of God, they would have been curious to ascertain the extent of His divine energy and power, and have requested to see the signs, not merely of a great prophet, such as had been often sent to them before, but of God Himself in their own form and likeness. This, however, they appear never to have done; which is a proof, that the illustrious personage, whom they had all along been expecting as their promised Redeemer and King Messiah, was not of that divine quality.

But though this be true, that the Jews had formed no special idea, nor cherished the slightest expectation of God Himself appearing in the flesh under the character of their King Messiah, or of His assuming human nature from the womb of a virgin, yet it cannot be denied, that many of those acknowledged predictions of the King Messiah contain such marvellous descriptions of His descent, majesty, power, and universal dominion, assign to him such transcendent honours, titles, and designations, and are expounded of Him by the ablest and most authoritative of the Jewish commentators in so illustrious and glorious a manner as at once to warrant the assertion, that, with the Jewish Fathers, the delineation of His character makes Him all but a God; whilst the Christian Church is fully justified in regarding their Christ as the Word Incarnate, and that Word Incarnate as the subject of all their prophecies. In another work,⁴⁴ long since presented to the public, all these testimonies of the Scripture, which describe more especially the dignity of the Messiah, are alleged and applied to Him on the very first authorities of the Jewish Church. There, besides the antiquity

of His fame, the perpetuity of His praise, the universality of His dominion, the adoration of His person, and many other attributes incompatible with a mere mortal, the predicted Messiah is declared to be from above—to be capable of imparting from His lips the spirit of prophecy—to be miraculous in His counsels—to know the very inmost recesses of the human heart—to be free from sin—to be the vehicle or chariot of Jehovah in preference to any angel—to be Jehovah in the more eminent acceptation of that term—to be the Author of all righteousness to man—to be the mediating God—to be the angel of the great council—to be the angel of the covenant, and the lord of the temple. But all these titles and prerogatives are celestial and divine. They can comport with no other being than the Metatron, the second Subsistency of the Godhead; and, therefore, the Metatron and the predicted Messiah are one and the same personage.

Though, on such an occasion as the present, I may not indulge in any length of quotation, yet I cannot refrain from laying before the reader one or two of those Jewish comments on the sacred text which I have elsewhere adduced in the original at full length, as declarative of the high dignity, antemundane glory, exalted righteousness, and divine character of the King Messiah. In commenting on the 72nd psalm, R. Moses Alsech thus writes:—"Behold, the Psalm has for its subject Solomon, who is the full moon, being the fifteenth from Abraham; as also the Messiah, who is the return of the new moon with a fulness which shall be perpetual for the future." So, also, R. Moses Alpalasi⁴⁷:—"The name of the Messiah, whence proved to be anterior to the world? From the Scripture; 'His name shall be for ever; before the sun, Jinnon was His name; and in Him shall they be blessed; all the nations shall proclaim Him happy.' Look ye: here is one eternity or anteriority, that which was before the sun; for, as to Scripture, 'His name shall be for ever;' that does not denote anteriority or eternity, but only perpetuity; as though he had said, 'His name shall be continual, perpetual, and everlasting.' But with respect to the anteriority or eternity, there is but one such expressed." In commenting on the celebrated prediction of the prophet Micah, R. Moses Alshech⁴⁸ thus expresses himself:—"Or, by the declaration, 'and His goings forth are from antiquity,' may be meant that He has existed from the time anterior to the world: and this will agree with what our Rabbies of blessed memory have handed down; that of the seven things which were before the world, the name of the Messiah was one, according to the Scripture, 'Before the sun,

Jinnon was His name ;' because from that time His goings forth were from Adam, and from David, as He then existed in the Divine Mind ; and so His goings forth having been in contemplation from before the world, would be from the days of the world—that is, from the six days of the creation, called the days of the world, forasmuch as they comprehend all the days of the world, seeing that the world is to exist six thousand years, corresponding to the six days of the creation. Moreover, because the Lord, from the beginning of time, entertained the design of correcting the evils of the world by means of David and the king Messiah ; therefore the Scripture saith, ' Very deep are the thoughts of Jehovah.' See ye, how his goings forth have been in existence before God, from the days of the world." So, in commenting on Isaiah xlii. 1, the same learned Rabbi thus writes :—"Behold, my Servant, on whom I support myself, the king Messiah, who, from the abundance of His righteousness, is a chariot for me ; and this is what is meant by—' On whom I support myself ;' for I have chosen Him in preference to all the angels of my chariot ; and He was mine elect from the time my soul was well pleased with Him, because by Him it is perfected. Then, too, did I put my Spirit upon him—that is, the Spirit which cometh after the perfection of the soul." So, again on Jer. xxiii. 5 : " Look ye, moreover, our Rabbies of blessed memory affirm ; R. Samuel Bar Nachman said : " Three things are called by the name of Jehovah—the Righteous, the Messiah, and Jerusalem. The Righteous, according to the Scripture, ' Every one that is called by my name, &c. ;' the Messiah, according to the Scripture, ' And this is his name, which they shall call him, Jehovah our Righteousness ;' Jerusalem, according to the Scripture, ' And the name of the city from this day is, Jehovah its name, &c.' Nor can there be any doubt, that it is applied to each of these three things, according to its signification ; for Jerusalem shall be such, because, at that time, not the Shechinah alone, but the Great Name, also, shall dwell in it : and the Righteous shall be such, because they will perform miracles which none but Jehovah can perform ; whilst the Messiah shall be Jehovah Our Righteousness—that is to say, by means of the influx of His righteousness and equity, there shall descend from heaven an influx upon Israel, and the Messiah shall be, as it were, the channel through which it shall be properly poured out, and from Him diffused amongst all the people ; and this is what is meant by JEHOVAH OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS ; as though the Scripture had said : Like as Jehovah causes an influx of righteousness unto that which is going to be purified, and which is being purified, so the Messiah shall resemble the blessed Jehovah, and His name

shall be called, Jehovah Our Righteousness ; because from Thee shall be drawn our Righteousness, like as it is from Jehovah. The import of the passage is, that, though in His days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely, nevertheless, they shall not thereupon proceed to give Him a name in consideration of their salvation and security ; but on account of the righteousness and equity redounding to them through His means : and this is what is meant by, Jehovah Our Righteousness, as from this Blessing man shall have ground to designate Him above all the blessings of the world. In other words, the Scripture saith, *And this is His name, &c.*—that is, you have described the Righteous Branch, which is the Messiah ; and since the prophet Isaiah saith, *Every one called by my name, &c.*—that the Righteous are called by the name of Jehovah—what then is the superiority of the Messiah above them, seeing there is no title superior to that ? To this he replies : “ But this is His name, which they shall call Him, **JEHOVAH OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS**—that is, the Righteous shall say to Him, Behold, as to our parts, in that we are righteous, we have the appellation of Jehovah ; but Thy name is far greater than our name, for, so far as we are Righteous, Thou art our Righteousness, because, through Thy instrumentality, we have it infused into us so as to be called Righteous ; and, therefore, all the right we have to be called by the name of Jehovah is to be charged to Thy account, as Thou art truly our Righteousness ; for in that Thou art called Jehovah—that is to be understood in a comprehensive and universal sense, and far transcending that in which it is applied to us.” To the preceding gloss of R. Moses Alshech may be subjoined that of R. Joseph Albo⁴⁷ :—“ The Scripture calls the name of the Messiah, **JEHOVAH OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS**, because He is the Divine Mediator, through whose instrumentality we shall obtain righteousness from Jehovah ; and for this reason it is, that He shall be called by the name of **JEHOVAH**.” The above may be regarded as a brief, but fair, specimen of what might be advanced—yea, of what has already been advanced—in support of the belief, that the promised Messiah of the Jewish prophets and the Saviour of the Christian Church are to be understood of one and the very same personage ; and that the tenet of the Incarnation, so far from being incompatible with, is capable of being fully demonstrated on the principles of Judaism.

That our Lord Jesus Christ is the Word of Jehovah Incarnate, and consequently a God Incarnate, is a dogma which every Christian professor is bound to maintain and defend ; as it may be clearly evinced, not only from the testimony of the evange-

lists and the apostles ; but from the very words and expressions of Christ himself. If nothing more could have been adduced than what St. John has thus stated, in the commencement of his Gospel ; even that ought to be sufficient of itself. “ In the beginning (says he) was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was a God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him ; and without Him was not anything made that was made. In Him was life ; and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness ; and the darkness comprehended it not. He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not. And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt amongst us ; and we beheld His glory, the glory as it were of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth. No man hath seen God at any time ; the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, hath Himself declared Him.” There cannot arise a doubt, but that the Divine *Memra* of the Targumist, and the Divine *Logos* of the Evangelist ought to be understood of the same divine Subsistency ; the Primordial Law of the Darshans, and the Wisdom of the Cabalists. But St. Paul,⁴⁸ as well as St. John, is equally explicit as to Christ being a God Incarnate. “ Let this same mind (saith he) be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus ; who, existing in the form of a God, deemed it no arrogance to be on an equality with a God ; nevertheless, He demeaned himself, having assumed the form of a servant, being made to exist in the similitude of men ; and so being found in figure as a man, He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God, also, hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a name which is above every name ; so that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things in earth, and things under the earth ; and that every tongue should confess, that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father.” So again, in his Epistle to the Romans : “ For I could even wish myself to be accursed of Christ for the sake of my brethren, my own kindred as to the flesh ; who are Israelites, whose are the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the legislature, and the service, and the promises ; whose are the Fathers, and from whom is the Christ as to what regards the flesh, who is a God over all, blessed be He for ever.” Nor is the singular testimony of John the Baptist⁴⁹ to be omitted : “ For He whom God hath sent, speaketh the words of God ; for God giveth not the Spirit by measurement. The Father loveth the Son, and hath placed all things in His hand. He that believeth on the Son, hath life eternal ; but he that disbelieveth the Son,

shall not see life, whilst the wrath of God abideth on him." Nothing, however, can be more demonstrative of the fact than the several declarations, which Christ himself makes in His conference with the Jews; as where he says:⁶⁰ "I and the Father are One." So again: "Before Abraham was, I am. And now, O Father, glorify Thou me with Thine own Self, with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was. But Jesus answered them; My Father worketh hitherto, and I work. Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only had broken the Sabbath, but said also, that God was his Father, making himself equal with God. Then answered Jesus and said unto them; Verily, verily, I say unto you; The Son can do nothing of himself; but what he seeth the Father do; for what things soever He doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise. For the Father loveth the Son, and showeth Him all things that He Himself doeth; and He will show Him greater works than these, that ye may marvel. For as the Father raiseth up the dead, and quickeneth them; even so the Son quickeneth whom he will. For the Father judgeth no man; but hath committed all judgment unto the Son, that all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father who hath sent him. Verily, verily, I say unto you; He that heareth my word, and believeth on Him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life. Verily, verily, I say unto you; The hour is coming and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear, shall live. For as the Father hath life in Himself; so hath He given to the Son to have life in Himself; and hath given him authority to execute judgment also, because He is the Son of man. Marvel not at this; for the hour is coming in the which all that are in the graves shall hear His voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation. I can of mine own self do nothing; as I hear, I judge; and my judgment is just, because I seek not my own will, but the will of the Father who hath sent me." These important declarations of our Saviour admit but of one interpretation, and to this effect: That being the Filial Godhead, or the Son of God, the Primordial Energy, Emanation, and Development of the Divine Mind, He possesses neither Will, nor Wisdom, nor Power, nor Life, nor Executive Authority, separate and distinct from those of the Father who sent him, and whose Son He is; that being likewise the Son of Man, or the God Incarnate, He has placed in His hands by the

same Father all future retribution of rewards and punishments, all execution of the divine judgments on the children of men, whether they involve bliss or torment, life or death; and, consequently, that His Gospel must be embraced, His gracious overtures and divine injunctions strictly complied with and fulfilled, if we would secure to ourselves the approbation of the Father, whose Son and Legate He is; and enjoy that future bliss and happiness, which are promised to the righteous, in the allotments of eternity. In none of His discourses, upon record, has He anywhere represented Himself as a mere prophet of God, sent on some special message or messages, at some particular period of His life; and so temporarily gifted with the infallible and omnipotent Spirit of Jehovah, for the due fulfilment of his errand; but, as the eternal Son of the eternal Father; as one who had left the bosom of the Father, and was destined from the very moment of His incarnation to become the author of some universal and gracious dispensation, whereby the whole human race should be enlightened, instructed, and prepared for the Paradise of God. Hence, by Clemens Alexandrinus,⁵¹ and other Christian Fathers, he is called the Face of God, Wisdom, Knowledge, and Truth; the Paternal Energy, never divided, nor moving from place to place; but is always everywhere, and yet contained nowhere. Indeed, why should not the Incarnation have taken place, both as, and when it did? If it comported with the wisdom and counsel of God, from the very beginning of the world, to make a revelation of His own will and pleasure to Adam in human speech; to embody, occasionally, celestial spirits for the purpose of holding colloquies with the primeval patriarchs, on what was going to befall themselves or their posterity in future ages; to exhibit His presence to Moses and other faithful leaders of the people by pillars of fire and smoke, by articulate sounds and voices; to raise up a succession of holy prophets, filled with the Holy Spirit, that is in fact, with Himself, for the purpose of inculcating and propagating His heavenly word and doctrine amongst those to whom they were specially sent; why should it not equally comport with the same wisdom and counsel of God to address the sons of Adam in a still more plain and comprehensive form of speech; to embody or make manifest in the flesh a still higher personage or energy than any one of the angels hitherto employed, for the purpose of discoursing with mortals on their future destiny; and that, not for a moment or an hour; but for a length of time sufficient to develop the great mysteries of godliness; and to establish a competent knowledge and reception of them with those, whom they so highly concern? If, I say, it was con-

sistent with the wisdom and good providence of God to select from amongst all the nations of the earth the single posterity of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; to distinguish them by His grace and favour, and to give them such a holy Law, as by its due observance would render them happy and blessed, both here and hereafter; why should it not equally consist with His wisdom and good providence to turn a kind and benignant eye on the whole posterity of Adam; to send to them, Jews as well as Gentiles, a common Messiah, an universal Saviour, Expiator, Instructor, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, the Son instead of the Servant; as the Founder of a religious and divine œconomy, which may not be equalled, much less surpassed; and, consequently, doing the utmost service to man, whilst it conduces, in the highest possible degree, to the glory and praise of the Creator Himself? Let the truth, then, of the Mosaic Law and the sound Principles of Judaism be duly acknowledged; and the Gospel of Christ, the result of the Incarnation, will instantly recommend itself, not as superseding the Law, but as the necessary appendix to it; emanating from the same divine source with itself, and adapted to the state and condition of the whole Gentile world.

In treating of the Incarnation, care must always be taken to regard it as a something quite distinct and apart from the Trinity of the Godhead; which was not at all affected by the consummation of the act; but remains eternally the same in every respect, no matter whether the Incarnation had taken place or not. - The Creed very properly avers, that the act was accomplished not by the conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by the taking of the manhood into God; thus affirming it to be an act of assumption, as much so as when a man takes a child into his arms, and still continues the same individual that he was, without any augmentation or diminution of his person. It is not to be imagined for a moment, that the second Subsistency of the ever blessed Trinity, on assuming manhood from the womb of the Virgin, was thenceforward included or contained within the human form thus assumed; and so deprived of that omnipresence which is essential to the Godhead. Such an error is at once condemned by the declaration of Christ himself.⁵⁹ "And no man (saith he) hath ascended up into heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man who *is* in heaven." He does not say, The Son of Man, who *was* or *has been* in heaven; but, who *is* now, at this very moment, in heaven; though, as to the flesh assumed, then standing upon the earth, and addressing his disciples in their own presence. The common parlance applied to him of having left the bosom

of the Father, of having come down from heaven, and of ascending or going back again to his Father, is always to be expounded, not literally, but figuratively; as adapted to vulgar apprehension, which has no other way of contemplating the different states of bliss and happiness than by entertaining the idea of so many abodes or localities. The parting words of our Lord to his disciples were:⁵³—"Lo, I am with you always, to the very end of the world;" thus promising to be everywhere personally present with his Church on the earth; whilst he sitteth at the right hand of the Father in heaven. To expound it of a divine or spiritual presence, is not to do away either with the personal or corporeal presence; as the Spirit of Christ is Christ himself, in the same manner as the Spirit of God is God Himself.

Before the present subject can be brought to a close, there remains one important question to be solved, and that is, in what part of the universe we are to suppose the Word Incarnate to be now existing; forasmuch as the Flesh assumed by the Word, being a human and bodily form, however glorified after the Resurrection, must yet be acknowledged to exist in some place or another. The Creed declares, that after his Resurrection he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, God Almighty; whence he will come to judge both the quick and the dead. But this language is far too general to determine the locality. In the Greek Church,⁵⁴ the Candidate Elect for the Holy Order of Bishop is required to expound the words of the Creed thus:—"Then after he had risen from the dead, and appeared on the earth for forty days with his disciples, he was taken up into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Father. By the right hand of the Father, however, I do not mean that which is local and circumscribed; but I mean by the right hand of God that eternal and primordial Glory which the Son possessing before the Incarnation, still continued to possess just the same even after the Incarnation." The Greek Church, therefore, does away with all locality, whatsoever. Bishop Pearson,⁵⁵ on the Creed, has thus expressed himself:—"So when we say the place into which he ascended was heaven, and from the expositions of the apostles must understand thereby the heaven of heavens or the highest heaven; it followeth that we believe the Body with the Soul of Christ to have passed far above those celestial bodies which we see; and look upon that opinion as a low conceit which left his body in the sun." This exposition, however, of Bishop Pearson appears to me extravagantly absurd and irrational. How do we know, or what ground can there be for surmising, that the extremities

of the universe, those portions of space which we imagine to be lying beyond the planetary orbs and milky way, form the fittest locality for the Throne of God; or that the farther from the earth any celestial region may happen to lie, the more glorious and splendid it must necessarily be? Can it consist with sober sense to maintain, that an animated Body which had been assumed from the womb of the virgin Mary, a terrestrial being unquestionably, would find its proper element in such a locality, or even continue, as a glorified human form, to exist at all, after being conveyed to the remotest boundaries of the universe, to climates having no affinity with those of its native planet; but standing quite opposed to them; no matter whether from their excess of cold or their excess of heat, their excess of darkness or their excess of light? Besides, how is such a fact to be reconciled with the declaration of our Lord to his Church, that wherever two or three should be assembled together in his name; there would he always be personally present to bless them; not to mention the reasonableness and propriety of the thing itself, that since the Son was graciously pleased to assume to himself the human form, and to appear upon the earth for the special purpose of redeeming and saving the lost sons of Adam; there ought he not still to be present, in body as well as in spirit, to superintend the interests of his holy Church, and to consummate its destiny? In attempting to fix the special locality of the Word Incarnate, we can be no more at a loss than the Jews themselves are, in fixing that of their Prophet, Elijah; who died no natural death; but was taken up alive into heaven, in a chariot of fire; whence he is said frequently to have re-appeared, in his own bodily shape, not only to the prophets and celebrated holy men; but to the sages of Israel, in the Law Colleges; and is expected to show himself yet, again, on the coming of the King Messiah. The Jewish authorities are at variance with each other on this interesting question. Some, as R. Levi Ben Gersom seem to have thought, that he still continues in his compound form as he was; though his locality cannot be ascertained. Others, as R. David Kimchi and R. Moses Alshech, entertain the opinion, that his bodily frame was so completely reduced and attenuated, as to leave him a perfectly spiritual subsistancy, and in nothing different from a disembodied soul or celestial spirit. But others again, and especially R. Isaac Abarbinel, who has argued the question at great length, plainly assert, that after his body had undergone a complete change, so as to be no longer a gross corporeal, but an angelic or spiritual frame, he was conveyed to the terrestrial Paradise, into that very Garden of Eden from which Adam had been expelled;

and this, be it known, is the generally received opinion of the present Jewish Church. Now my own individual belief is, that our Lord, after his resurrection from the dead, assumed a glorified, though still material human form; no longer subject to functional derangements, organic diseases, or mortality; but abiding the same for ever; at once in no place, and yet in every place; in no place that we can name or describe; and yet in every place where its presence may be requisite; consequently, both visible and invisible; and all this from its prerogative of being united to the Godhead, whose attributes of omnipotence and omnipresence confer on it this distinction of ubiquity. Christ, thus gloriously incarnate, can never be far from his Church militant upon earth any more than his Church triumphant in heaven; but must always be very near to every one of his faithful disciples; and when once the hour shall arrive of his descent from heaven to judge the quick and the dead, he will suddenly exhibit his immortal form to the world as the first fruits of the Resurrection, and the model of the Saints in Glory. He could not have been far from St. Stephen, when he exhibited himself to the bodily eyes of that protomartyr, as standing at the right hand of God, the Father, in the open Heaven. He could not have been far from St. Paul, when in his journey to Damascus he was struck to the earth by a light from heaven, and heard a voice saying to him:—"I am Jesus whom thou persecutest." Is there any opponent prepared to stand up and tell me, that this articulation of voice and speech issued from some organic bodily structure, assumed for the moment; and not from that very body with which Christ ascended, in the presence of his disciples, to the right hand of the Father? I fancy not.

The third important and fundamental Dogma whereby Christianity stands distinguished from Judaism, is the Doctrine of the Divine Atonement. If we explore the Book of Revelation, and enquire into the principle or ground on which sacrifices and atonements for sin are commanded to be offered up, we shall find it to be simply this: that every offence against God, being an open and wilful violation of any one of His divine commands, is always worthy of capital punishment, the death of the culprit; but that, for the less heinous and serious crimes, the Lord Jehovah was, on the confession and contrition of the sinner, graciously pleased to accept a substitute, the life of a beast for the life of a man, the property instead of the proprietor; so that when the sacrifice should be duly offered up, as an atonement for the offence, the life of the victim would be substituted for his own life, and its blood be shed instead of his own blood.

Had the culprit been required always to suffer in his own person; seeing that we are all the workmanship of the hands of God, and are depending for our existence on His sole will and pleasure; the full punishment, thus exacted, would only have been in accordance with the exercise of Divine Justice: but, since that is not the case; since the attribute of Divine Justice is blended with that of Divine Mercy; the legal institution of sacrifice, as an atonement for sin, by the express direction and command of Jehovah Himself, is an act of Divine Grace, for which the Jewish people must always have been in duty bound to express their gratitude and their thanks. If the Lord has positively declared in the Torah, that on the sinner bringing an animal sacrifice to the altar, as an expiation for his offence; and on his duly complying with the several conditions, there imposed on him; his sin should be actually forgiven him, on the consummation of that act; we are bound to believe the solemn declaration of Jehovah; and that man must be a liar, no matter who he is, who shall presume to tell us, that the sin of the culprit neither was, nor could be truly forgiven him. But, since all these legal expiations and animal sacrifices for sin were prescribed for the benefit and advantage of the Israelites only, and even for them no longer than they should continue to occupy the holy land and the city of Jerusalem; they must have been wholly inoperative and perfectly useless to the world at large, to say nothing of the Jews themselves, at present, in their state of dispersion; unless some equally authoritative, but far more comprehensive provision had been equally made and ordained by God himself for so needful and universal a purpose. Hence the all-atoning sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ upon the cross; the chief end and design of His Incarnation, and of His being sent into the world by the Father. There would, doubtless, be many other important ends in view, which we ourselves can pretend neither to weigh nor number; such as the further establishment and confirmation of the Mosaic Law, both by example and precept; and that, too, at a time when it was soon going to be exposed to the utmost peril and persecution; to forewarn his countrymen of those direful calamities, which would quickly befall them, unless they should repent of their national crimes, and believe in that Son whom the Father had sent unto them; to inculcate the love of God, instead of the love of the world; the forgiveness of injuries and mutual forbearance, instead of malice and revenge; yet I cannot but think, that the grand design of Christ appearing in the flesh was for the general purpose of introducing that gospel Covenant, whereby all sinners, Jews as well as Gentiles, should be

reconciled to the Father, through the voluntary sacrifice of Himself upon the Cross; not absolutely, however, whether they would or not; but, conditionally, and in consideration of their repentance, faith, and obedience. How gracious the motive, then, and how vast the design of the Son becoming Incarnate! How healing that living water, which the Gospel pours forth to those who thirst after righteousness; and how naturally springing from the Law, as from a Source or Fountain! Had not the Law previously discovered to us, that every sin against God requires to be expiated by the blood of an atonement, either vicarious or personal; the one universal atonement of Christ for all sin whatsoever, original as well as actual; could neither have been required nor thought of; and if neither demanded nor thought of, then neither provided nor offered up. The Law, indeed, makes no lasting nor adequate provision for the fulfilment of such a duty. But the Gospel, succeeding in due time, supplies in that respect the deficiency; and so becomes the completion or perfection, not the abolition nor suppression of the Law. It serves as an appendix; and the Law, instead of being curtailed thereby, is enlarged to the Jewish professor. If, as our Christian divines are wont to maintain, the animal sacrifices for sin, under the Mosaic dispensation, were prefigurative of the one universal sacrifice upon the cross, and so accepted on that account; why should not the same animal sacrifices be now deemed commemorative of the one universal sacrifice upon the cross, and so accepted for the very same reason; seeing that a form of commemoration was solemnly instituted by Christ Himself, as obligatory on all his followers; having a special regard to the Gentile believers, on whom the legal statutes and ordinances had never been enjoined? This question I put, not because I entertain the belief, that the ancient worshippers of God, in bringing their sin-offerings to the altar, anticipated any universal future sacrifice of the Word Incarnate, of which their own atoning oblations were merely prefigurative; and, consequently, efficacious. The contrary of all this I believe to have been the fact; that they were not conscious to themselves of having anything to do with mere types and shadows, but only with realities; being assured, that their sins and offences against God, on being expiated and atoned for, according to the manner prescribed in the Law, were actually remitted and forgiven them; because God himself had graciously promised and declared, that so it should be done to them. Had they been aware of their sacrifices being nothing else than mere types and figures of the one universal and all-atoning sacrifice to be offered upon the cross; there would have

been handed down to us some explicit and undeniable record of their anticipations ; nor should we have been left to discover the fact, for the first time, after the event had already taken place. But, whilst those who offered their atonements upon the altar, might not be aware of the all-sufficient sacrifice for sin in the divine contemplation ; it does not follow but that Jehovah Himself might have a constant regard to it, not only in graciously accepting, but in divinely instituting the legal atonements at the first ; and if such legal sacrifices were truly indispensable and acceptable in His sight, because prefigurative ; they may yet, for anything we can advance to the contrary, be still equally acceptable and proper in His sight, because commemorative of the same glorious event. "So soon (saith R. Solomon Ephraim⁶⁶) as the morning of the Messiah shall have arisen, agreeably to the text, *Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion, &c.*, and when once the heart of stone shall be removed from the midst of us ; they will then no longer bring sacrifices or oblations for sin ; but only in the way of a gift or a present, as so many vows or voluntary offerings. Such are called the sacrifices of righteousness, according to the text ; *Then wilt Thou accept the sacrifices of righteousness, &c.*, not such oblations as are brought for sin, because, as it is said, the Lord hath no pleasure in them." The legal sacrifices, certainly, did not cease with the crucifixion ; but only with the destruction of the temple, and the expulsion of the Jews from the holy land. Nor did Christ at any time, so far as we know, forbid his disciples to offer up their legal atonements, as prescribed by Moses. On the contrary, He commanded the cured lepers to go to the Priest, and to offer what was due to him, the trespass or sin-offering wherewith he was required by the Law to make an atonement for them ; and to pronounce them purified or cleansed from their leprosy. Nay, the virgin mother herself, though fully aware, that what had befallen her, was caused by the immediate agency of the Holy Ghost ; and, consequently, that she had incurred no defilement by any act of her own ; yet, repaired to the temple at Jerusalem, there to offer up for her purification the sin-offering wherewith the Priest was required to make an atonement for her, as prescribed by the Law. Indeed, it is astonishing to me, how any Christian man can peruse such Gospel records as these ; and then honestly and conscientiously declare, that the Mosaic Law, as enjoined on the Jews, was superseded and done away with by the Gospel of Christ. So far from being done away with or abolished, it was more authoritatively and firmly established than ever by the express declarations of our blessed Lord ; whilst, at the same

time, it was as rigidly and duly performed, not only by Christ Himself, but by every one of his immediate disciples ; who being of the seed of Israel, and inheritors of the Divine Law, never thought of such sycophancy and impiety as to pretend to do the more honour to the words of the Son, by trampling on the words and commandments of the Father by whom He had been sent. It was one just complaint of our Lord against the Jews, that the reason why they refused to receive Him was, because they did not sufficiently respect nor adhere to the Law of Moses; that, had He come in His own name, they would have paid more attention to him ; but because he came in the name of His Father, their own God, Jehovah, as an immediate legate from heaven, to accomplish the gracious designs of the Father only; they were determined to reject Him, and to put Him to death; thus plainly intimating to us, that the Law and the Gospel are the word of the same God, equally perpetual, and equally binding on those to whom they were addressed ; the Law with the Gospel, as accorded to the Jews, but the Gospel without the Law, as accorded to the Gentiles. Since we Gentiles never formed any portion of the chosen race, nor were ever honoured with the gift and obligation of the Mosaic Law ; it must be idle to talk of our being exonerated from that which was never at any time imposed on us ; and, consequently, never required of us ; whilst it must be equally absurd to confound the Gospel Covenant with the Mosaic Dispensation ; and to make no distinction whatever between the Church of the Nazarenes and that of the Gentiles. The first Christian or Nazarene Church at Jerusalem, containing all the first apostles and presbyters, with Saint James at their head ; and, consequently, possessed of more apostolic authority than any other Church or Christian Community could ever pretend to possess since ; formally pronounced and fixed the distinction between them ; dispensing with circumcision and the Mosaic yoke, in the case of the *Gentile*, but not of the *Jewish* convert.

In setting forth and advocating the Divine Atonement, it is impossible to overrate its doctrinal importance ; as it is the foundation of that Christian Covenant whereby alone we Gentile converts obtain the remission of our sins, and are made partakers of the kingdom of heaven. If, as we read in the *Pirke R. Eliezer*,⁵⁷ Abraham was circumcised on the great day of atonement ; and that every year, on the return of the day, the Lord Jehovah beholds the blood of the covenant of the circumcision of Father Abraham, and it makes an atonement for the iniquities of the children of Israel ; then, surely, there can be no absurdity in supposing, that the same Lord Jehovah beholds the blood of

the covenant of the crucifixion of Christ, as often as it is commemorated in the blessed eucharist; and so accepts it as a general atonement for all the iniquities of the children of Adam. Besides this, there is no other sacrifice or atonement for sin; nor any other covenant of grace and mercy, whatsoever, to which we can put in the least claim. But, thanks be to God, the sacrifice of the cross is of itself all-sufficient; and as such concerns the Jews as well as the Gentiles. In the solemn institution of the Eucharist or the last Supper, this Covenant of the Remission of Sins is expressly and firmly established by the declaration of our blessed Lord:⁵⁸—"For this (saith he) is my Blood of the New Covenant, which is shed for many for the remission of sins." In thus translating the words, your Grace will perceive, that I have departed from the Common Version. The authorized Version in this, as well as in a hundred other instances, copying the established errors of the Latin Vulgate, gives us, *Testament*, instead of, *Covenant*; the Will or Testament of a deceased man, instead of the Compact Agreement, or Covenant of the living God. Since Christ would converse with his disciples not in Hellenistic Greek, but in such Hebrew as at that time formed the common idiom of the Jews in Palestine; the term made use of must necessarily have been either, *Berith*, or, *Keyam*; neither of which terms ever signifies the Will or Testament of a deceased person; but only the compact or covenant of parties that are still living, and so capable of fulfilling the declarations of the agreement into which they have entered. The like remark will hold good of the Greek term, *Diathēkē*, in the Septuagint Version; which was never expounded by any Hellenist to signify a Will or a Testament until after the ministry of our Saviour; but only a written compact or verbal agreement entered into between one party and another. The very first writer who uses, or rather misuses it, in the sense of a Will or a Testament; and so argues from such an acceptance of it, in the Word of God; is the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, certainly not St. Paul; who is followed and imitated, as a matter of course, by the Greek and Latin Fathers of the subsequent centuries. Before the age of that Epistle, I can find no traces, whatever, of any such signification being ever annexed to the term; and I challenge any scholar living to produce an instance of it, if he can. Hellenistic authors, indeed, as well as the Mishnical Doctors⁵⁹ employ the Greek term, *Diathēkē*, for any written tablet or testamentary document whereby rights or property of any sort may be disposed of, and legally conveyed from one person to another; but

without any distinction between the living and the dead ; and in this way it will apply to any deed of conveyance, bond note, or legal assignment of effects whether real or personal ; as well as to the Will of a sick man, which can be of no force or validity until the death of the testator. "But to him (saith Philo Judeaus⁶⁰) who shall have chosen to live after this manner, He promises to bequeath an inheritance by covenants or deeds of conveyance; such an inheritance as befitteth a God to give, as well as a wise man to receive. For He saith, I will establish my Covenant between me and thee. But Covenants are written for the benefit of those who are worthy of a Donation ; so that a Covenant is a sign of that grace or favour, which God hath instituted, as a connecting medium between Himself who bestoweth, and the man that receiveth. This is the very highest pitch of Beneficence; that there should be no other medium of connexion between God and the Soul, except the Virgin, Grace." The concluding remark of Philo contains a sentiment as true and important, as it is sublime and beautiful ; for, certainly, every special Covenant of God with man ; but above all, the Covenant of the Remission of Sins by the Sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, is on the part of God an act of the purest Virgin, Grace. I have further to observe, also, that neither in the Hebrew nor in the Greek Bible is there any such term or expression to be found as that which signifies the Will of a deceased person, or a Testament. Those who lived under the Law, as will readily appear from the *Bava Bathra* and *Sepher Chasidim*, had nothing to do, in a manner, with Wills and Codicils ; the property left by the dead being strictly apportioned amongst the surviving relatives, as directed by the statutes and the decisions of the Mishnical Doctors ; or the sick, and ready to die, sat up on their beds ; and gave verbal orders or commandment, as to the disposal of their effects, in the presence of credible and unimpeachable witnesses ; though a written order duly attested, and not contradictory to the Law, was likewise valid. Such a term or expression, however, in the Hebrew, as a Will or a Testament, may doubtless be forthcoming ; and we might say, *Mitsvath Hammēth*, the Commandment or Order of the Dead ; or, *Michthab Mitsvath Hammēth*, the written Order or Commandment of the Dead ; but how such Designations would apply to the sacred Code or Oracles of the living God, cannot surely be difficult to determine. Verily, in case any one of the primitive presbyters of the Jerusalem Church could re-appear from his grave, and listen to the conversation of the Gentile believers about their Mikra or Bible ; he would be completely

paused to comprehend, what they actually meant by their Old and New Testaments; their Old and New Orders, or Commandments of the Dead.

Closely connected with the record of the Crucifixion and its important result, the universal Atonement for the sin of the world, is the celebrated tradition to be found in *Massecheth Joma*, *Perek* 4; and to the following effect:—"The Rabbans have handed down the tradition, that forty years before the destruction of the temple, the lot no longer ascended into the right hand, nor did the scarlet rag ever turn white, nor did the lamp at even burn—whilst the doors of the temple opened of themselves; until Rabban Jeuchanan Ben Zachai rebuked them. He said to it: O temple, temple, why dost thou terrify thyself? I well know respecting thee, that thy destiny is to be destroyed; and Zechariah, the son of Iddo, hath already prophesied concerning thee, saying; Open thy doors, O Lebanon, and let the fire devour thy cedars." The Jewish commentators on this passage observe, that the spontaneous opening of the doors of the temple was a signal for the enemy to enter in, as well as to prevent them from boasting, that they themselves had burst them open, and forced their way into it. This, however, is a gloss in the sufficiency of which I cannot acquiesce. Forty years appear to me to be a needlessly long notice to give of an occurrence beforehand, unless there were some other reason conspiring, why one generation should be so strikingly warned and admonished of an event which could only befall and concern the next. Besides, the glossers say nothing of the failure of the lot to ascend into the right hand of the priest, that is, of the cessation of the appointed Sacrifice for the general atonement of all the people; and which forms a prominent part of the recorded tradition. The elder Buxtorf,⁶¹ with his usual learning and sound sense, after having quoted the passage in a somewhat mutilated form, thus proceeds to expound it:—"The lot which fell to the right hand was put on the goat placed on the right hand, which was holy to the Lord, and was slain for the expiation of sins. The other lot falling to the left hand, was put on the goat called *Azazel*, or the scape-goat, which was despatched into the wilderness. The scarlet rag was long and broad, in the form of a tongue, whence it was called *Leshon*, or Tongue. This was put between the horns, on the forehead of the goat, which was allowed to escape; as, also, on the gate of the porch of the temple. In case it should turn white after the goat had escaped, they were joyful and highly delighted, it being a sign of the sins of the people being remitted, according to the declaration of the prophet: If thy sins

should be as red as scarlet, they shall become as white as snow. Seeing, then, that the sacrifice for sin ceased, that the sign of the remission of sins ceased, that the terrestrial light, or lamp, was extinguished, that the doors of the temple opened of their own accord, or, as the evangelists express it, the veil of the temple was rent, and parted of itself; what else could all these things denote than a total abrogation of all the ceremonies, and a privation of that celestial Light of which they had rendered themselves unworthy?" Thus far the learned and candid Buxtorf; and if, by the total abolition of the legal ceremonies, we are to understand it for a time only, and not for ever, I perfectly agree with him. But, with the spiritual arrogance and puritanical conceit of such Christian professors as would claim to themselves, by virtue of their acknowledgment of the Gospel, not only the precedence, but the exclusive entrance into the Sanctuary of Jehovah; who would order the chosen people of God, to whom the Law, the prophets, the manifestation of the Shechinah, and the Sanctuary itself were specially given, and from whom, as to His humanity, sprang Christ Himself, the Saviour of the world; to assemble and stand behind their backs in the outer court of the Gentiles, I can hold no community of sentiment whatever; knowing and believing, as I do, that He who shed so many tears of sorrow over the impending fate of the holy city of Jerusalem, and who inwardly sighed at the near approach of those direful calamities with which His devoted and impenitent brethren were soon going to be visited, will be graciously pleased to accept and aid these my best efforts in thus standing up for the perpetuity of the Jewish ordinances; and for the Law of that Father by whom He Himself was sent into the world; whose supreme authority on the earth, as well as in heaven, He ever upheld, and whose word of the Law can never be separated from that of his own Gospel. The above talmudic tradition evidently refers to the very time when our blessed Lord exercised His holy ministry, and suffered death upon the cross; furnishing clear signs and prognostications that the holy temple, or sanctuary, was going to be more free of access than it had been; destined to receive others, besides those who then had the custody of its doors and sacred entrance; that the annual sacrifice, or atonement for the sin of the whole people, was going to be suspended, and, finally, succeeded by something more comprehensive and satisfactory; that the sins of the whole human race, and not those of a single people only, ought to be confessed, atoned for, and remitted before God, and that not by the blood of bulls, and of goats, but by something more exalted and precious in the sight of the Almighty. Such, in my judgment, is the

import of this singular talmudic tradition, which may well be considered as a marvellous confirmation of the great truths of the Gospel; but especially of that divine and universal atonement for all sin and transgression which was offered upon the cross by our Lord Jesus Christ. The expiation thus graciously provided for the sin of the world by the vicarious atonement of the blood of Christ, forms that Gospel, or New Covenant, which He was pleased to establish with all true believers on the institution of the Eucharist, or the Last Supper; and which, like all other Covenants of Jehovah, was an act of pure grace, never to be forgotten, but always to be commemorated by those who wish to be saved with the salvation of God. He who professes to be a Christian, and yet neglects, or refuses, to be a partaker of the symbols of the body and blood of Christ in the celebration of the holy sacrament, is no Christian at all, not even in name; and whatever privileges he may have acquired at his baptism, he must forfeit them all by neglecting to avail himself of that Covenant whereby, alone, they can be secured and conveyed to his soul.

Besides, however, the talmudic tradition thus noticed, there is another Jewish argument which may well be brought to bear on the great doctrine of the Divine Atonement; and that is, the belief in the existence of a Celestial High Priest, called Michael or the Metatron; offering up atonements for the righteous on the altar of the tabernacle, in heaven, of which the one, erected by the hand of Moses, was but a mere transcript or imitation. In the second volume of my Work, on the Trinity and the Incarnation, I have pursued this argument at great length; and there remarked, that, if the dispensation of things in heaven be such that atonements for the souls of the pious must of necessity be offered up before God, and that by the hand only of the Metatron, the Prince of the Divine Presence; the language of the Christian Church, that in heaven we have a tabernacle not made with hands, whither Christ, the Son of God, is actually entered, in the character of the Celestial High Priest, to make intercession for us; is but a more comprehensive and perfect transcript of the Jewish Cabala, whatever we may say or imagine to the contrary; and that in maintaining the Head of the Celestial Hierarchy to be the Word or Wisdom of Jehovah, styled by Philo, the Chief Priest of the Universe, the Jewish and the Christian Fathers do strictly accord with each other; the only difference being, that the former deny the assumption of our human nature by the Word, for the purpose of being visibly offered up as a sacrifice upon the cross; whereas the latter affirm it, and are prepared to evince

the truth and propriety of it, as well from the miracles accompanying the event, as from a more liberal explication of the Divine Law in its development of the different relations between man and his maker.

That the Metatron is no mere angel, in the common acceptation of that term; but the primary effect or emanation of the Godhead, has been demonstrated elsewhere. Thus we read in the *Zohar Chadash*:⁶² "Moreover, Rabban Jeuchanan Ben Zachai said; How much pain must it have caused that man of whom it is written, *Not so my servant Moses, who is faithful in all my House*; to desire to see one minister that ministered before Him, but had not the permission granted him; as it is said: *Let me, I pray, see thy Glory*. This Glory, said Rabban Jeuchanan Ben Zachai, is called the Glory of God, the same with the Metatron, the Prince of the Presence." So again in another passage of the same work: "*In a vision, that is, according to the Scripture; And the sight of the Glory of Jehovah was as flaming fire upon the top of the mountain*; and this was the Metatron, who brought him before his Creator.—*And above the likeness of the Throne there was the likeness, according to appearance, of a man upon it at the top*. Here, he saw the middle Pillar united to the Shechinah; and he saw it from within the Metatron, who is the Almighty.—The Metatron, whose name is the Almighty; who is the Keeper of that Gate of which it is said, *This is the Gate of Jehovah*." So in *Reshith Hochma*:⁶³ "But man, when by his sin he had descended to the very husk, was obliged to have recourse to these operations; and the Holy One, blessed be He, in order to purify and sanctify us, so that we might adhere closely to Him, raised us from the six working days of the week, and constituted in Israel a holy government, through the instrumentality of the Metatron, who is the Prince of the world; and as it is said in Joshua, *I am the Prince of the Host of Jehovah, now am I come*: for though Moses rejected him; yet was he obliged to receive him; and how much more now, when we are in exile, is it to be maintained, that the government is in his hands, as explained in the *Tykkunim* and other works." So in the *Marganitha Saphira*:⁶⁴ "Nor does that escape me, which Ramban of blessed memory has left upon record; and to the words of the wise we are to listen with attention. His exposition is, that the phrase, the God of the earth, is an appellation of that angel who is set over the single nation, to wit, Michael; who being the Propounder of the Righteousness of Israel, is called by name, *The God of Jacob*. He is the great Patron, who will stand upon his right hand until he shall have brought to light

the judgment of Israel, even of the worm, Jacob." So especially in R. Bechai:⁶⁵ "*For my name is in him*; my own name is in him, for in Jah is Jehovah; and this is clearly intimated in the targum of Onkelos, *Behold his Word is in my name*, meaning, that whatsoever he saith, he saith it not but in my name. The same is further demonstrable in that his Voice is the Voice of the Most High; this being plainly intimated in the words, *For if thou wilt hearken to his Voice, and do that which I shall speak*: it is not said, *What he shall speak*; but, *What I shall speak*; an irrefragable proof, that his Voice is the Word of Jehovah and His Pleasure; as by Him he speaketh; the one being the Person who diffuseth, and the other the Person that is diffused; He who sends, being the Person diffusing; and he who is sent, or the angel, the Person diffused, who is emanated from Him; just as in the inferior creation, the woman is emanated or drawn from the man, according to the Scripture; *This they shall call woman, because she is taken from man*. In like manner we find in the Law, that wherever there is written, *It is an oblation*, or, *It is an offering by fire*; the, *It*, written, is masculine; but the, *It*, read, is feminine; clearly manifesting, that the, *It*, feminine is included in the, *It*, masculine." So again:—"But it is necessary to observe, that with respect to what you find in this Section, that God Himself tempted, but that the angel of Jehovah countermanded the order; by following the Cabala, the eyes of your understanding will be enlightened to perceive, that this angel was not one of the pure separate intelligences; but one of the Plants, in which it is not lawful to make any separation or amputation. Because, if he had been but one of the separate intelligences; Abraham would not have so far obeyed his Voice as to nullify the commandment of God. Neither could the angel have been authorised to say, *Thou hast not kept from me*; but, *from Him*. The truth is, this angel was one of the Plants, that is the Great Angel, and of whom it is said; *And the Angel, Elohim, marched*; the two terms not standing in construction, but in apposition. So here, in styling him an Angel, it means the Angel in whom is the name, JEHOVAH; and of whom it is written, *For my name is in the midst of him*; whence he is mentioned in the text, The Angel, the Redeemer, &c. as being in the midst of the land. He is the Lord in whom are the Mercies; and because he is the Lord, he uses the expression, *From me*; but because he is the Mercies, he says after the oblation, *By myself, have I sworn, saith Jehovah*." No terms can assert the Divinity of the Metratron more clearly and satisfactorily than these of Bechai. He is declared to be no abstract spiritual intelligency,

like other angels; but one of the Plants, that is, one of the Sephiroth or Numerations of the Godhead, the divine unity of which may not be severed or separated without incurring the most unpardonable blasphemy.

The next step is to show from testimonies equally authoritative, that this Metatron or Michael, as he is called by both these names, officiates as the celestial High Priest in the tabernacle of Heaven. In *Massecheth Chagiga*,⁶⁶ we thus read: "The Heaven called Dwelling, in which are Jerusalem, the Sanctuary, and the Altar built; as also Michael, the great Prince, standing and offering thereon every day, according to the Scripture; *I have built a temple for Thee to dwell in, a fixed place for Thee to reside in for ever.* But what is it that he offers? Do you imagine, that there are there oxen and sheep to offer? But what is it, I say, that he offers? The souls of the righteous." So in *Medrash Rabbah*:⁶⁷ "R. Simon said; at the same instant that the Lord commanded Israel to erect the Tabernacle, He intimated to the ministering angels, that they should also make a Tabernacle; and so no sooner was the terrestrial Tabernacle erected than the celestial one was erected too; which is the Tabernacle of the Metatron, wherein he offers up the souls of the righteous to make an atonement for Israel in the days of their exile. For this reason it is written, *The Tabernacle*; because there was another erected along with it. So saith the Scripture: *Thou hast made, O Lord, a Building for Thyself to dwell in; Thy hands, O Lord, have constructed a Sanctuary.*" Moreover, the doctrine of a mundane temple, and of the great angel, called the Divine Word, officiating therein, in the quality of High Priest, is plainly inculcated by Philo Judaeus,⁶⁸ as I have elsewhere demonstrated. That we hence derive a very important proof of the reasonableness and consistency of the doctrines of the Incarnation, and the Divine Atonement of Christ, is evident to the least discerning. The sum of the tradition is, that with the Supreme Being there is no remission of past guilt, no entrance into paradise, no participation of His glorious Presence, not even for the most righteous, without a divine atonement; and that the illustrious personage, who alone has power and authority to make that acceptable atonement, is the Lord of the Presence, the Metatron, the Wisdom, or the Word of Jehovah. The asserted fact, that He offers up the souls of the righteous, as an expiation, at once demonstrates the purity of that vicarious atonement, which is absolutely required by God; though only for the benefit of Israel alone; and how precious that vicarious atonement must needs be, which can satisfy the Divine Justice

for the sin and transgression of the whole human race, may be more readily felt than expressed. The language of the Christian Church is, that the Word Incarnate, having suffered in the flesh upon the cross, as an expiation to redeem mankind from sin and death, then ascended into heaven from whence he came, and entered into the Sanctuary of the heavenly Jerusalem, where he now abideth in the presence of the Holy One, blessed be He; and though He does not offer up the souls of the righteous, according to the tradition before us; yet has he a something to offer up and plead of far greater price; His own righteous and spotless soul, which He assumed of the virgin for the purpose of offering it upon the cross; and which having but once offered, in the sight of the holy tabernacle at Jerusalem, He is perpetually pleading before the Father, as an adequate atonement for Adam and his Posterity; for the Gentiles as well as the Jews; but more properly for those, who shall have laid hold of the promises of God through faith in the Redeemer, the guileless and spiritual Israel. There exists, therefore, no ground for denying, that the tradition in question is highly corroborative of the doctrine of the Divine Atonement; and as such may fairly be urged as an adequate reason, why the great mystery of the Incarnation should appear consonant to the Divine Will; there being for Israel, according to the Jewish Church, no admission into the Divine Presence without an atonement; and no atonement to be offered up, but by the hand of the Metatron; nor yet any oblation fit to be made to God, except that of a pure and immaculate Soul.

In this way have I attempted briefly to define and expound the three grand fundamental tenets of the Christian Religion, yea the whole substance of the Christian Scheme of Salvation, considered as a distinct and special Revelation from heaven; not for the information of your Grace, but for the information and conviction of the inquiring Jew; and for the purpose of demonstrating to him, that the essential dogmas of our Faith originate and blend with his own; are capable of being confirmed and illustrated by them; that between sound Judaism and sound Christianity there is no repugnance nor discrepancy, whatsoever; but that the Gospel is a glorious Appendix to the Law, rendering it more efficacious and complete; and arranged in such a manner as to comprehend within its salutary sway the whole Gentile world; thus fulfilling that remarkable promise made to Abraham; that in his Seed, not on the extinction or disappearance of his Seed, and their amalgamation with the Gentile Church; but in or through the actual existence of his Seed, regarded as the instrumental cause, all the nations of

the earth should be blessed, by being invited through the preaching of the Gospel to acknowledge and adore one and the same God, Jehovah; one and the same Divine Word, as well as one and the same Holy Spirit; thus forming one universal Israelitish family of true worshippers, actuated by the same religious principles, and directed by the same divine, though not the same political nor domestic œconomy.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,

Your Grace's most obedient

And very humble Servant,

JOHN OXLEE.

LETTER III.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE—

IN this Third and Concluding Letter, I shall endeavour to compare the respective merits of the Law and the Gospel; which may well be characterised, as a Mother and her own Daughter, forced away and kept asunder by the frowardness and violence of their own children, who profess respectively, to own the one; but to reject the other, as nothing akin to them; and so causing interminable enmity and quarrelling in originally one and the same family; to describe the happy effects of their being once again permitted to embrace and salute each other; as also to point out in what manner the professors of the Law and the Gospel ought, in the interim, to act and behave towards one another, until that happy sign of their union, the restoration of the Jews to the holy land, shall have actually arrived; an event winging its way towards us with the velocity of a comet, and destined to take place at some future period of time; though, possibly, far remote from the present.

The most satisfactory way of vindicating the respective merits of the Law and the Gospel will be to allow them, separately, to assert their own claims. Let the Law, then, speak first: "Hear me, O ye Gentiles, who call yourselves Christians, the possessors of the Gospel, the heirs of Salvation, the spiritual Israel, the Elect of God, the predestinated from eternity to Eternal Life, and I know not what besides; whilst you presume to despise my statutes and precepts, my sacrifices and oblations, my rites and ceremonies, as of no avail in the sight of God; unless they happen to form a part of your own creeds and liturgies; and who upbraid me with being discarded and forsaken of Jehovah; as no longer the vehicle of his mercy and goodness to such as adhere to me; but rather an impediment to their salvation, as being now an obsolete and antiquated covenant, which can serve them in no stead. Is it not a fact, attested by those very oracles which you admit as divine, that, though after-

wards delineated on stony tablets, and inscribed on parchments with a pen, I originally proceeded from the mouth of Jehovah Himself; and, therefore, must have been existing in the Divine Mind from eternity? Is it not affirmed of me, that I am holy, perfect, and perpetual; an everlasting covenant, never to perish; containing marvellous things, the truth; that on which the isles shall wait; better to the holy psalmist than thousands of gold and silver; his heritage for ever, his delight and his meditation all the day long, sweeter than honey to his mouth; pure, and therefore to be loved; the truth from the very beginning; restoring or converting the soul, and affording great peace to those that love me? Is there anything that can be named besides as appertaining to yourselves, so exaltedly spoken of, so magnificently described? Did I not divide the holy land amongst the several tribes of Jacob, assigning and securing to each family its own paternal inheritance, never to be wrested from it; or, in case of being pledged and sold from necessitous circumstances, then, at all events, to revert to its owner again on the return of the jubilee; thus preserving to the people, severally, a due equality of landed estates and hereditary possessions; and so preventing them from encroaching upon, or impoverishing one another? The only privilege or advantage, which I award to the heir, or eldest son, above the rest of his brethren, is the *Pi Shenaim*, or, Double Portion; that he shall have two mouthfuls for each of the younger brothers one mouthful, a superabundance of privilege in all conscience; whereas your princes and nobles enlarge their landed possessions and hereditary estates without end or limit, and leave to their next heirs, exclusively, the whole of their real property; so that the great bulk of your families have no landed estate nor paternal inheritance at all. Have I not ordained, that all servitudes, obligations, incumbrances, and personal restraints, from whatever cause arising, shall entirely cease with the return of the jubilee or the fiftieth year; so that once in half a century, at least, every individual throughout the land might boast of enjoying perfect freedom and civil liberty, not a single imprisonment or personal restraint being permitted; which is more than ever could be said, or ever will be said, of any kingdom in Christendom, so long as they continue to remain in their present lawless and heathenish condition? Have I not enjoined, that in case one Israelite should have occasion to borrow money of another Israelite, the lender shall not exact nor receive any usury for the loan of his money; but be content with the return of the loan without any interest added to it, however long the interval of its being thus employed? On the other

hand, you allow all such acts of friendly accommodation to be converted into selfish profits, by legalising usury to a considerable extent. It is true, the Jew is not required to deal thus with strangers; and being dispersed amongst all the nations of the earth, he is wont to take and exact usury for the money which he lends to Christians, and to accumulate wealth by means of his wealth; but this is to be attributed to the ethnic character of your own unholy legislation, which suffers members of the same Christian community to exact interest one from another for money lent; otherwise, to my great satisfaction, the Jew would have no opportunity allowed him of practising usury at all; and so my voice and edict would be universally obeyed. Moreover, have I not commanded the seventh day of the week to be kept a holy Sabbath unto the Lord Jehovah, in commemoration of His omnipotency in the formation of the worlds; to be devoted and set apart for His worship and service alone; directing the very beasts of burden to cease from their toil and labour; not permitting even so much as a fire to be kindled on that sacred day, for fear it should be polluted by the cooking of victuals and other profane work; and so the adoration and praise of the Supreme Being be neglected and forgotten? But the Sunday, which you profess to observe as a Sabbath to Jehovah, so far from being wholly dedicated to His worship and service alone, is devoted to mundane pleasures and social amusements; is polluted by servile toil and drudgery of every description; by the cooking of splendid dinners, the yoking of carriages, the sociable rides and excursions of parties into the country, or upon the waters; so that the whole day is in a manner consumed in the delights and frivolities of fashion; whilst with the mass the performance of divine service in the house of God is neither attended to nor thought of, as a duty; in the rural districts there not being one in six, and in dense populations not one in a hundred, who ever thinks of repairing thither, unless attracted by the novelty or celebrity of the preacher. These form a few of the more striking differences, in which my sanctity and spirituality may be advantageously contrasted with your own; though, with the utmost satanic malice and puritanical pride, you would rob me of my glory, and annihilate me, if you could. Furthermore, as to all capital crimes, felonies, thefts, acts of injustice, violence, and wrong; which it is the bounden duty of every civil government to take cognizance of and to punish; as also all litigious disputes and quarrels, which it is equally necessary to investigate and decide; do I not appoint the judges of the land to hear and determine of themselves all such causes and appeals with-

out delay ; and without any favour or partiality either to the rich or the poor ? But you, instead of bringing the culprit, on being charged with any crime, immediately to his trial ; send him to prison for months together, no matter whether innocent or guilty of the offence ; and then, when the time arrives, you place him before the judge ; not to be examined, sifted, and tried, acquitted, or condemned by the judge himself ; but to have the case ingeniously argued, in his presence, by two feed lawyers before a jury ; the one standing up to accuse, but the other to defend the culprit ; so that either one or both of them must be frequently uttering and insinuating what they know in their own hearts to be feigned and untrue ; thus divesting their profession of all moral responsibility, causing trouble and expense to the parties employing them, and so making the law a terror instead of a relief to the injured ; there being for one wrong redressed, at least twenty submitted to and borne in silence, for fear of incurring an expense which must aggravate the loss already sustained. Thus, by discarding the Divine Law, you necessitate the Laws of the State ; constitute man, not God, the protector of your lives and fortunes ; allow the precepts of religion to be overruled by the maxims of state policy ; and so debase Religion itself, as a mere tool of the legislature, subservient to its dictates. You have the statute law, the common law, the canon law, the municipal law, the bankrupt law, and the poor law, not to mention twenty other laws ; and yet, with all your laws and state provisions, you cannot maintain amongst yourselves any thing like a due observance of justice and equity ; such as ought to be maintained in religious communities, arrogating to themselves the covenant of salvation and the privileges of the Gospel of Christ. Then again, as to the minor precepts, the minute observances, rites, and ceremonies, which form so distinguished a part of my religious, social, and domestic œconomy ; but which you presume to deride as unmeaning and frivolous ; they will all be found, on due examination, calculated and intended to check the tyrannical and brutal passions of human nature ; to promote health and comfort ; or to excite in the minds of those, so occupied and engaged, the most lively feelings of gratitude and praise to the author of all good. Human propensities to evil are numerous and various, and require to be controuled by a variety of statutory edicts or legal enactments, which are not frivolous, because minute ; but efficacious, because designed to curb lust and cruelty, before they have time to wax monstrous, and to set all law at defiance. Hence, under my sway, you read of no parents murdering their own children, nor of children murdering their own parents ;

crimes which degrade human nature below that of brute beasts ; but which amongst yourselves, notwithstanding your evangelical spiritualities, are of weekly, yea of daily and hourly occurrence. Have you, amongst yourselves, any annual rite or custom, equal to the command enjoined on the Israelite, to take in a basket to the priest the first fruits of his land ; and to make, at the same time, a public acknowledgment of the fulfilment of the divine promise ; which, at once, lays the sure ground of perpetual gratitude and thanks to God for all His temporal as well as spiritual blessings ? Can such a man, think you, carry his basket all the way ; and never once be duly reminded, by the circumstance, of the purport of his own errand ? Finally, the matter of animal sacrifices and oblations for sin is not so destitute of reason and argument, as you are prone to imagine. It is perfectly true, that the blood of bulls and of goats cannot put away, nor atone for sin ; so neither can the blood of any thing else atone for, or put away sin ; not even the blood of the Word Incarnate ; unless it be previously appointed and graciously accepted, as an atonement, by the Almighty Himself. The commandment which I give, is not to sin, and then to offer an atonement for it ; but not to sin at all, and so to have no need of any atonement or sacrifice for sin, whatever. Hence it is quite plain, that sacrifices for sin, according to my enactments, were never commanded by God ; but only provided by God, in the event of His precepts being violated, or not duly fulfilled. The sure pardon of sin, accompanied with the restoration of the sinner to the divine favour, is always an act of Grace ; no matter, what the atonement may be, as the required condition. So long, then, as animal sacrifices for sin were rightly and duly offered upon the altar, in behalf of the penitent sinner ; they were efficacious and accepted ; having been provided and ordained by God Himself, until something more noble and efficacious should be substituted in their stead. The animal sacrifice, thus offered, served three high purposes ; first, as a mulct for the offence, in that the animal could not be provided without some cost ; secondly, as a perquisite to the priest for his attendance at the altar ; and thirdly, as an atonement to God for the offender, in lieu of his own soul. On the other hand, in the case of your own delinquencies, for a mulct you pay a sum of money ; and as to the choice fatlings, beasts or animals, which you slay in abundance, clean as well as unclean, you sacrifice them all to those personal gods, called your own Bellies ; the God over all, on such occasions, never once entering your thoughts ; much less the priest, that attends at His altar. Think not to confound me by boasting, that you are

possessed of the Gospel. The Gospel is more mine than yours, more nearly related to me than it is to you ; having descended from the same divine origin with myself, and glorying in the same Jewish parentage. Had there been no Law, there could have been no Gospel ; if no Jews, then no Christians. But where, I pray, does the Gospel authorise you to calumniate me, to deny my perpetuity, and to denounce me, as no longer availing, nor obligatory on those sons of Jacob to whom I was exclusively vouchsafed, and sent from heaven ? The blessed author of the Gospel, himself, every where inculcated and enjoined on his followers the performance of my precepts ; the smallest as well as the greatest. The same thing did his own immediate disciples ; especially the chief of them, St. Peter, St. James, and St. John. I have nothing to do with the pretended successors of St. Peter, in the Gentile churches, who would scarcely have been allowed to eat at the same table with him ; but I vindicate to myself St. Peter in person, as the senior disciple of the Lord Jesus ; who distinguished between clean and unclean meats, partaking of the one, but refusing the other ; who, for the like reason, preferred eating with the Jewish to eating with the Gentile converts ; who conducted himself, as a pious and conscientious Jew, all his life long ; though not afraid to suffer the most painful and ignominious death in behalf of his Lord and Master. The same remark will hold good of St. James, the first metropolitan christian bishop of that mother of all christian churches, the church of Jerusalem ; who was placed in the episcopal chair by the joint consent of all the apostles ; who never forsook the service of the Jewish temple ; leading the life of a Nazarite as well as of a Nazarene, and so practically uniting the Law with the Gospel in his own person ; who, for his sanctity and strict adherence to the precepts of the Mosaic Law, obtained the surname of James the Just ; not from your own Gentile Christian progenitors, who never saw him ; but from the more pious and godly sons of Israel ; though other wicked and malicious opponents could precipitate him from the top of the temple, and occasion him the most horrid death. The Rule with St. John was to regulate and celebrate the festival of Easter, according to the Passover ; but that Rule your ethnic progenitors discarded, because it was Jewish. The great Gentile apostle, as he is styled by way of eminence, St. Paul, you cannot arrogate to yourselves any more than the other apostles ; for though I can firmly maintain my cause without his testimony ; yet, if no other portion of your New Testament had remained, except the Pauline Epistles, I could have vindicated my honour, perpetuity, and divine authority with the sons of

Jacob, both from his doctrine and his practice. Indeed, how little is it that you either know or retain of the primitive Gospel, as it first appeared in the holy land ! Influenced by the terror of the sword or the sovereign command of your Gentile princes and governors, you consented, at the first, to be baptized by thousands and tens of thousands, yea, millions¹ at a time ; with all your ethnic rags and superstitions still clinging to your backs ; assuming the profession of the Gospel, as a mere necklace with which to adorn your collars ; the only celestial ornament of which you can boast ; and so continuing more or less in your motley apparel, half heathens and half gospellers, to this very day. It is true, many of those pagan and horrid superstitions, which were so prevalent a few centuries ago, have in some measure quitted their hold on the minds of the vulgar, and partly disappeared ; being scouted and ridiculed by the better educated and more intelligent portion of the Christian community. This, however, has been effectuated and promoted, not by virtue of your Religion ; but in spite of your Religion ; by the irresistible energies of physical science and natural philosophy ; the Book of Nature being equally the Book of God with the Book of Revelation.” Such may be considered the fearless and energetic Apology of the Mosaic Law, though much abbreviated and condensed in the report.

Let the Gospel now stand up in its own behalf, and speak next. “Hear me, O ye sons of Jacob, ye stubborn and everlasting opponents of the Gospel, who, though designated, and rightly designated, the Chosen Race ; and as ready, if not more ready to vindicate the honour of the true God than any other posterity that can be named ; have yet been always doing some wicked and abominable thing to irritate and offend the Lord Jehovah ; as your own prophets, in their several expostulations, very loudly and justly complain. Does it reasonably follow that, because your ancestors centuries ago, instigated by blind passion and fury, perpetrated an act of wickedness, neither to be paralleled nor forgotten ; you ought still to persevere in approving and applauding the deed ; and is there no additional experience to be acquired, nor any further inference to be drawn from the result and marvellous consequences of an historical fact, after an interlapse of eighteen hundred years ? How has it happened, that the name of that holy Teacher, whose word I am ; but whom your forefathers reviled, and caused to be crucified ; should now, for centuries past, be deified, worshipped, and adored, throughout this lower world, by the most powerful and intelligent nations of the whole earth ; whilst the sculptured idols of pagan superstition are exter-

minated, polytheism abolished, and the names of the old Grecian, Roman, and Scandinavian deities, such as Jupiter and Mars, Thor and Woden, which used to be dreaded and adored, are no longer articulated, except as mythological designations? How can you account either for the actual or future fulfilment of that remarkable promise to Abraham, that, in or through his Seed, should all the nations of the earth be blessed; whilst the only Blessing, which the Gentile Christian nations either profess to have received, or can ever expect to receive, from the loins of Abraham, is the manifestation of God in the flesh; the appearance of that Messiah, whose Gospel they have already embraced; into whose Church they have entered; whose Covenant of salvation, mercy, and truth they have gladly accepted, and now enjoy, as their eternal inheritance; as their privileged surety of peace and prosperity in the present life, as well as of glory and immortality in the life to come? Do not proudly imagine in your hearts that, because you have always been a highly-distinguished and favoured people; therefore, you are the only nation or people, on whom the Lord Jehovah ever conferred any special grace or favour; that Palestine is the only land, which He ever called His own, or appropriated to Himself; that Sinai is the only mountain-top from which He ever caused His divine presence to appear, and strike terror into the beholder; or that Moses was the only true and faithful servant, whom He ever charged with a public mission; or sent, as a prophet and a legislator, to instruct and direct a nation or people in their civil and religious duties. The Mikra itself attests the fact, that to the children of Esau, the Moabites and the Ammonites, on account of their kindred affinity with the chosen posterity of Abraham; the Lord gave and awarded the possession of their respective territories; fought their battles for them; and drove out their enemies from before their face; long before He brought you forth out of the land of Egypt; and that, when He did bring you out of Egypt into Palestine, He gave you a strict and solemn charge, never to attempt to take away any portion of their lands from them; but to allow them to enjoy in peace their respective inheritances; being already appropriated to them by God, and as sacred as your own. Indeed, if, as you yourselves maintain, Jehovah be the sole Creator and sovereign Proprietor of the whole universe, and the earth be His with the fulness thereof; then are all its occupants, of whatever age or country, mere tenants at will; are in duty bound to acknowledge the sacred tenure under which they hold their respective portions; and to thank the Lord for the gift of their hereditaments equally with yourselves.

But, as to prophecy and divine vision, or revelation, was not the Gentile Balaam a true prophet of God; and did he not receive visions and revelations from the very same Jehovah with Moses himself? The introduction of the name of Balaam, it is true, is an incidental circumstance in the narrative of the Pentateuch; but from such an incident you are left to draw the conclusion, that God never suffered this lower world to remain without some revealed testimony or witness of Himself; that, if other Gentile prophets cannot be named, besides Balaam, the son of Beor, it is not, because none have existed; but, because the Book of History, in which their names are registered in heaven, and which is equally the Book of God with the Book of Revelation, is concealed from your knowledge; and so leaves you in ignorance of what has been passing amongst your fellow-creatures. Moreover, fully conceding as I do, that every positive declaration of your Law is a positive truth; that animal sacrifices for sin, when once committed, are plainly commanded to be offered up; that on such sacrifices being duly made, the particular sins or transgressions for which they were offered, were actually atoned for, and the sinner himself truly forgiven and reconciled to God; nevertheless, such a mode of cancelling and obliterating the guilt of sin must have been wholly inoperative and unavailing, even amongst yourselves, ever since the cessation of your temple service; and, as to the Gentiles or the world at large, on account of their vast distance from Jerusalem, it never could have been rendered efficacious, nor applied to their benefit; however eager they might have been to fulfil the Law of Moses, and to comply with its ordinances. Here, then, you cannot but acknowledge a deplorable defect in the legal provision made for the atonement of all sin in general, as well as of your own national sins in particular, for which the Law itself neither supplies nor suggests a remedy; so that had not the same divine author, who gave you the Law, made some further provision by the promulgation of the Gospel; there could have been no adequate and available ransom pleaded, either for the sins of the Jews or the sins of the Gentiles. Tell me not, that though you cannot any longer offer up the appointed oblations for sin and transgression; you can repent and bewail your sins, and implore forgiveness at the hands of God; as you have been directed to do by the mouth of the holy prophets, and with the assurance, that you shall be heard. Supposing, that so gracious a promise as that of forgiving all your sins, on your sufficiently lamenting and bewailing them, should be actually fulfilled in your behalf; and that you should really obtain the remission of them, on the annual return of the great day of atonements;

such a dispensation might suffice for the sons of Jacob ; but it would do nothing for all the other sons of Adam ; who are equally the workmanship of the hands of God, and equally entitled to the divine pity and compassion with the posterity of Jacob. If atonements were requisite for the sons of Israel ; they must be equally requisite for every son of Adam, in order to obtain mercy. The fact, however, is, that as you have been banished from the holy land, and deprived of that paternal inheritance, which was appropriated to you, as a perpetual possession, by the Lord Jehovah, solely on account of your sins ; there can be no adequate nor demonstrative proof of your sins being actually remitted, nor of your being restored again to the divine favour, until you shall have regained the possession of the holy land ; and occupy that patrimony to its utmost extent, as the Covenant of your forefathers. To do this, without the concurrence and support of those nations, which profess the Gospel of Christ ; and to which the Lord Jehovah has given the chief controul and dominion of the earth ; must remain a moral impossibility. But to expect, that they should agree to do this, or suffer it to be done, so long as you continue the open enemies of the Gospel ; and deny, that its professors derive from God any covenanted title to life and immortality, through the death of the Redeemer ; must be highly absurd ; as that would be, at once, to renounce their belief in Christ, and to belie their professions. It remains, then, that sound Judaism and sound Christianity be cordially united in the confession of that universal atonement, offered upon the cross by your Lord and Saviour, in order that the acknowledged deficiency of the Law may be supplied ; that the divine promise awarded to you of retaining the land of Canaan, as a perpetual inheritance, may be firmly ratified and established ; and that your restoration to the divine favour may be visibly demonstrated, and confirmed, by your once again possessing the patrimony of your forefathers. Do not suppose, for a moment, that I am hostile to your Law ; or stand opposed, in any way, to the exercise of its supreme authority. The primordial Law is the offspring of God, and I am the offspring of the primordial Law ; the one being the Word of Jehovah from eternity, the other the word of that Word of Jehovah ; a Light from God to enlighten the Gentiles, and at the same time to be the Glory of his people Israel. How, then, can subsistencies, emanating from the same essence of truth, be repugnant to each other ; or contain any contrariety of sentiment in their doctrinal declarations ? No where can you find me repudiating the divine and perpetual authority of your Law ; inculcating its statutes, or disparaging its ordinances.

On the contrary, I everywhere uphold and maintain the duty of your keeping and performing the Law. The first apostles and immediate disciples of the Lord Jesus, together with the whole church at Jerusalem, being Jewish converts, adhered most strictly and uniformly to the Mosaic Law; a duty which they could have learned to practise only from the example and precept of their blessed Lord and Master. True it is, that in the course of a few years, when the Nazarene church of Jerusalem had disappeared, in a manner, with the destruction of the holy city and the temple, and the professors of the Gospel consisted of the Gentile converts only; there gradually sprang up amongst the Christians, against the Jews, a degree of rancour and animosity, quite equal to that which the Jews had exercised towards the Christians, at the commencement of the Gospel dispensation; and, as the Christian powers quickly gained the ascendancy in the Western world, you have been suffering, all along, at their hands the most direful calamities, troubles, and persecutions. But this part of their conduct stands diametrically opposed to the plainest precepts of their own Gospel; and I am no more accountable for such ebullitions of fury and malice, on the part of Christians towards the Jews, than the Law of Moses is accountable for similar acts of outrage and oppression, on the part of your own princes and rulers, towards the unoffending and true prophets of God. Nevertheless, though far too many of my dominant professors have been cruelly harassing and persecuting you all along; it will yet be found, on enquiry, that I have always been, and still am the divine instrument and providential cause, not only of you yourselves being preserved to this day a distinct people; but also of your Mikra being read, known, circulated, and handed down to posterity entire; more than any other thing, that can be named. The ten tribes of Israel were led away captives by the Assyrians, at a time when there was nothing prevailing throughout the world, but heathenism; and where are they to be found now, with their Torah or Mikra? The tribes of Judah and Benjamin, on the other hand, and those that returned with them from the Babylonish captivity, were driven from Palestine by the Romans, soon after my glad tidings of salvation had begun to be preached; and they not only continue their existence; but wax great, and multiply to this very hour. The difference of their fate is easily accounted for. Before the expiration of three hundred years my Authority, as a divine Revelation from heaven, was publicly acknowledged and professed by the Head of the Roman empire. From that time, forward, the Believers in the Gospel became all powerful; and as they plainly perceived, as well from the Jewish oracles, as

from the Pauline Epistles and other portions of the New Testament, that the children of Israel, though now banished and dispersed, are yet a chosen race, destined to be restored again to the divine favour, and to form with the Gentile Church one family of God, under the same Lord and Saviour; they were always naturally anxious to promote their conversion to the Christian faith; but as constantly failed to accomplish their design, because actuated by an erroneous idea, that, in order to become Christians, they must cease to be Jews. In thus attempting to convert them, they had recourse to methods, equally futile and abominable; but to this simple principle, nevertheless, they always adhered; that the sons of Jacob must either become Christians, or remain Jews; that, if they refused to become Christians, they must not be allowed to turn Mahometans, nor yet Heathens; otherwise, the prophecies, in behalf of the Church of God, can never be fulfilled. For the like reason, in their furious efforts to crush rabbinical literature, and to destroy such books as, in their own estimation, contained nothing but Jewish fables and talmudic superstitions; though they could burn the Talmuds, the Medrashim, and the Agadoth; they never dared to burn the Law, the Prophets, or any other portion of the Holy Mikra. Had they done so, they must have deprived the Gospel itself of all its fundamentality; and so burnt their own fingers. Of this they were fully aware; and, therefore, invariably shrunk from so wicked and abominable a thought. Nay, so far were they from wishing to destroy the Torah, or to obliterate a single character of the Hebrew Mikra, that they frequently sought out, and at a vast expense procured for themselves the most ancient, complete, and valuable Hebrew manuscripts, both of the Law and every other part of the Old Testament; had them deposited in their university or college libraries, and subsequently printed or collated; so that, had you been negligent in transcribing the Law, or so circumstanced as not to have been able to retain it in its present purity; the Christian Church at this day would have been competent to furnish you with perfect copies of it, correctly transcribed by the hands of your own Rabbies. That which is your Mikra or Scripture, was the Mikra or Scripture of Christ and all his apostles; they knew no other. The Bible of the Christian Church is not deemed a Bible, unless it contains the whole of your Mikra. There is not to be found, in the Old Testament, so much as one single moral obligation, which I do not enjoin on every Gentile believer; nor, in the New Testament, so much as one moral maxim or devotional sentiment, which is not either immediately copied from the Old Testament, or some

improvement upon it. Moreover, in the records which I have preserved of the birth, parentage, and ministry of the great Saviour of the world ; what honour and glory do I not accumulate on the Jews, as a posterity and a nation ? Had Christ been born immediately from some lineal descendant of King David, actually sitting on his throne at Jerusalem, and covered with military glory ; there might not have been any thing so vastly marvellous and incredible in his name becoming celebrated and adored, in the course of a few centuries. But when it is considered, that he was born of a humble and modest virgin of Israel, espoused to a husband equally humble and unambitious with herself ; that he was nurtured and brought up in the strictest conformity with all the rites and ceremonies of the Mosaic Law ; that he remaineth subject to the controul and authority of his parents, until he arrived at a certain age ; that though he sat down, when young, with the Mishnaical Doctors in the temple, hearing their decisions and asking them questions ; he did not commence his public ministry, until he was thirty years of age ; nor did he exercise it longer than three years, and that wholly confined within the small territory of Palestine ; that no sooner had he actually entered on the discharge of his divine mission, than he was immediately opposed by the heads of the community ; was presently taken up and brought to his trial ; was accused of high treason by the Jew, but sentenced to be crucified by the Gentile ; was followed and hooted to the cross by the Jews, but stabbed and pierced by the Gentiles ; when it is considered, I say, that notwithstanding all these disadvantageous circumstances, attending the execution of his great errand ; his Gospel took root, and his church was planted, not only where the seed was first sown, and the stone was first laid ; but quickly penetrated to the farthest corners of the earth, so that at this day, after an interlapse of eighteen hundred years, the Church of Christ, like an adamant rock, can bid defiance to the worst assaults of infidelity, of Judaic or Satanic malice ; verily, this must be a portion of strictly Jewish history, which has no parallel in the history of the world ; nor is it possible to refer to it without feeling the most unbounded veneration and respect for the country in which he was born and exercised his ministry ; for the language in which he spake ; for the family from which he sprang ; for the religion in which he was trained and brought up ; for that Law which he practised and adorned ; which he vindicated and divulged to the world by the light of his own Gospel. Because the Gospel was preached to the Gentiles ; therefore, the Law became equally diffused and known to the Gentiles. How, then, can Christianity stand

opposed to Judaism, or Judaism to Christianity? The professors of the Law and the professors of the Gospel, instigated by their own carnal impulses and frail propensities, may be induced to hate and kill one another; but the Law and the Gospel themselves are of too heavenly an origin, too closely allied and confederated together to cherish animosity; or to admit of that connection being severed, whereby they are eternally united and bound to each other." Thus far the pure Gospel in its own Defence; nor has all been said that might have been said.

From these two Apologies of the Law and the Gospel, your Grace will instantly perceive, that I argue for the perpetual duration and authority both of the Law and the Gospel; of the Law, with the Gospel united for an appendix or supplement to correct and supply its deficiencies, as the Covenant of the Jews; and of the Gospel, with all the moral, social, and theological maxims of the Law incorporated into it, as the Covenant of the Gentiles. Hence in case I should be asked, and I have been asked the question; whether a Jew ought to abandon the Law of Moses, in order to embrace the Gospel of Christ; my advice is, and always will be, not to embrace the Gospel on any such terms; that, if he may not be allowed to become a professed disciple of Jesus, without ceasing to be a disciple of Moses; then to content himself with the less objectionable alternative of striving in secret, with all purity of heart and sincerity of affection, to love and adore the Lord Jesus Christ; to practise the precepts of the Gospel privately, if not publicly; and to the utmost of his power to copy the example of the Saviour Himself; no matter what the various Christian professors of the present day may urge to the contrary. Let him remain a Nathanael, if he cannot become a Barnabas or a Peter. Let him be an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile; a genuine disciple of the apostolic age, and not a Jewish apostate disciple of the nineteenth century. Since, if a Jew myself, I could not conscientiously discard and renounce the Law of Moses in order to be allowed to profess the Gospel of Christ; I scorn to give that advice to the Jew, which I could not freely and honestly follow myself; knowing and firmly believing, as I do, that no such apostacy was either taught, practised, or encouraged either by Christ himself, or any one of his apostles; and that it is as unprofitable to the soul of the believer, as it is contemptible and odious in the sight of God. Nothing can be more apparent, from the whole course of Jewish history, than that the children of Israel were designed from the very first to continue a separate and peculiar people, by whose instrument-

that the other nations of the earth should ultimately be blessed and saved with the salvation of God ; whereas, by our ignorant and vain glorious attempts to detach them from their Law, the only thing which separates them from the rest of the world, we are thwarting and contravening, to the utmost of our little power, the all wise and gracious purposes of Jehovah ; and that, too, under the specious pretence of uniting in one body, under one head, both Jews and Gentiles ; as though the Christian Church, in its present divided state, presented anything like a centre of unity with which all the other worshippers of the true God could be amalgamated into one body, in a spirit of peace, unanimity, and concord. Nor does it follow, that because the sons of Jacob are thus selected ; the other sons of Adam are despised or neglected. Those servants, who are the most honoured, and the best remunerated ; are always supposed to perform the most numerous and the most valuable services. If a servant humble himself, so as willingly and cheerfully to perform the most mean and painful, as well as the more easy and pleasant things, for his lord and master ; he becomes doubly dear to him ; and is beloved and recompensed, not simply for the mere service which he performs, but for the promptitude and alacrity with which he performs it. In like manner, if the Jew cheerfully submits, and even rejoices to perform all those minute rites, ceremonies, and enactments of the divine Law, which no other religious professor would be ready to perform ; but instantly reject, as an insupportable yoke ; he becomes doubly dear to that Jehovah, who originally dictated and enjoined the Law ; and so entitles himself to a higher degree of divine favour and affection, as the recompence of his services. In fact it is the very best and surest criterion of his fidelity and attachment to his Lord and Master.

Though I cannot be expected, on the present occasion, to notice all the misconceptions and false arguments of our Christian divines, in their endeavours to seduce the pious Jew from the observance of the Mosaic Law ; there is one glaring error, promulgated for the last sixteen hundred years, of which I feel bound to take some notice ; and that is, the perverted interpretation which they furnish of the words of our Lord, where he says : " Think not, that I am come to destroy the Law or the Prophets ; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil." The verb, *to fulfil*, they tell us, in this place does not mean to perform the Law, literally ; but mentally or spiritually ; and, therefore, to substitute something better in its stead. Now, to *fulfil* a thing is literally to *fill* it *full* ; and it must depend entirely on the quality of the object accompanying the verb ; in

what sense we are to understand the affirmation of its fulfilment. To *fulfil* a day, a week, or a year, is to perfect or complete it. To *fulfil* a hundred benedictions or a hundred foreskins, is to complete that number. To *fulfil* a word or words, is to verify or confirm them. To *fulfil* the will or pleasure of any person, is to do all that he desires. To *fulfil* the hand of any person or thing, is to empower it or render it efficient for some office or function. To *fulfil* with the hand anything spoken, is to accomplish or perform it with the hand. To *fulfil* the shields, is to complete the number of the shields. To *fulfil* the stomach, is to fill it full of meat. To *fulfil* the heart is to instigate it. For the heart to *fulfil* a man, is to prompt him or urge him on. To *fulfil* after a person, is to be closely attached or devoted to his service. To *fulfil* a prophecy or a promise, is to accomplish or give existence to that which is predicted or promised. In all these idiomatic and constructive phrases, we have in the Hebrew tongue one and the same verb, *Millê*, to *fulfil*, from, *Malê*, to *be full*; and that it never can be tortured to signify, to abrogate, to abolish, or to substitute the will for the deed; must be apparent to the least discerning. Doubtless, a thing may be filled so full as at once to burst and destroy it; but such a fulfilment, or rather overfilment, can never apply to the Law, which Christ expressly declares, he had not come to destroy in any way. It is equally true, that in the Hebrew there is another verb, *Hekim*, which may be employed in the sense of to fulfil or to accomplish; but its proper import is to establish or set up, quite the reverse of to demolish or set aside. I contend, therefore, that in the sacred code, to *fulfil* the Law, or any commandment, promise, or prediction of the Law, never signifies to do away with it, to substitute the spirit for the letter, the bare thought or contemplation for the actual performance of it; and I challenge any scholar living, no matter who he is, or where he is, to produce me a single instance of it, if he can. Such a manifest distortion of the sacred idiom I am prepared to denounce, not merely as ignorant and erroneous, but a wilful and wicked perversion of the language of the Saviour. His own declaration is, that it formed no part of his divine mission to annul and destroy either the Law or the Prophets; but on the contrary to fulfil both the one and the other; to perform the commandments of the Law, and to accomplish the predictions of the Prophets: whereas our Christian divines have had the audacity all along to contradict this plain statement; and to maintain, that by his coming, and the introduction of the Gospel, all the solemn injunctions and enactments of the Mosaic Law, imposed on the Jew by the mouth

of Jehovah himself, were wholly abolished, and its authority nullified. They can find nothing in the Old Testament, except types and shadows of the New Testament. The clearest announcements in the Prophets of the return of the Jews from their lengthened captivity, of their repossession of the holy land, and of the renovation of pure Judaism, at some future period, they apply exclusively to the Gospel dispensation; and point to some imaginary epoch, when all these glorious promises shall be realised and fulfilled in the exalted state of the Christian Church; an era of which, after an interlapse of eighteen hundred years, we cannot catch the least glimpse; and may well despair of doing it for other eighteen hundred years, unless we pursue a very different course from what we have done, and less repugnant to the holy oracles of God.

No wonder, that such infatuated interpretations of the Old Testament should have immediately led, even in the second century, to the heresy of Cerdon and Marcion; who boldly maintained, that the old god, Jehovah, the creator and framer of the Old Testament, was a cruel, stern, belligerent, and naughty God; but that the new God, Jesus Christ, the author of the Gospel or New Testament, was a kind, beneficent, gracious, and good God; consequently, that the authority of the Old Testament was very happily annulled by that of the Gospel or New Testament. Tertullian, though he fully coincides in the general belief of the Church of his own day, that the discipline of the Mosaic code was set aside by the introduction of the Gospel; yet finely rebuts the argumentation of Marcion; and as the reasoning there employed has an immediate bearing on the present question, I cannot resist the impulse of citing his high authority.² "The separation of the Law and the Gospel from each other is the grand and singular achievement of Marcion; nor will his disciples be able to deny, that they hold it as the main instrument whereby they are initiated and confirmed in the heresy. For such are the antitheses or opposing contrarieties of Marcion, tending to evince a discrepancy between the Gospel and the Law; so that, from a difference of the sentiments contained in the two Covenants or Instruments, they should seem to demonstrate, at the same time, a difference of the Gods. Therefore, seeing it is nothing else but the separation of the Law and the Gospel from each other, that has introduced another God of the Gospel, as opposed to the God of the Law; it must be quite apparent, that, before such separation, the God who became known by virtue of the separation, was not known by any one *to be*; consequently, that he who existed before the separation, was not even revealed by Christ;

but discovered by Marcion; who instituted a separation, repugnant to the peace of the Gospel and the Law; which heretofore, from the appearance of Christ to the audacity of Marcion, had never been handled at all, but left untouched by that course of reasoning which maintained no other God of the Law and the Gospel than the Creator Himself; in opposition, to whom, however, after so protracted an interval, a separation is introduced from the Pontic sea. To this very brief demonstration some further defence is necessary, on my part, against the noisy babblings of the opposite party. They tell us, that Marcion, by the separation of the Law from the Gospel, did not introduce any new rule so much as that he restored the old one, which had been hitherto adulterated. O Christ, thou very patient Lord; who hadst to endure, for so many years, the distortion of thy own preaching, until Marcion came to thy help! Hence they oppose to us, by way of argument, both Peter himself and the others that were pillars of the apostolate; as having been blamed and reprehended by Paul, because they did not advance straight away to the truth of the Gospel; by that very Paul, to be sure, who being as yet rude in grace, and, in a word, trembling for fear he should have been running, or might still be running in vain, then for the first time engaged with those, who had been apostles before him. Forasmuch, then, as being still a mere novice, he thought from the fervency of his zeal against Judaism, that there was something in their conversation or rule of living, which deserved to be censured; to wit, the common food which they refused to take; though, afterwards, himself going to be in practice all things to all men, in order that he might win all; a Jew, as it were, to the Jews; and to those that were under the Law, as it were one that was under the Law; that reprehension of the mere mode of living, which was afterwards going to be quite agreeable to the accuser himself; thou wishest to be thought equally suspected and demonstrative, as to a prevarication or diversity of preaching with respect to God. But, as a confirmation of the unity or identity of the preaching, they had joined hands, as we have read above; and, by the very distribution of the office, they had come to a perfect understanding or agreement with each other, with respect to the sharing of the Gospel; as farther appears, also, from another passage, where he says:—*Whether it be I, or whether it be they; so we preach.*" Thus far Tertullian; whence it is easy to perceive, that the great body of our christian divines, by making the Law to be superseded by the Gospel, and by opposing the two Covenants the one to the other, they must entertain many expositions of the sacred text in common with

the Marcionites; but with this distinction in favour of Marcion, that he was consistent with himself in maintaining two different and opposite Gods to be the authors of the two different Testaments; whilst they stand chargeable with inconsistency in opposing one Testament to the other, and yet contend for the identity of their Author.

That the prophets themselves never dreamt of the Mosaic Covenant being to be abrogated or superseded by that of the Gospel; but cherished a firm belief in the perpetuity of the Sacerdotal and Levitical functions, is demonstrable from the words of Jeremiah²: "For thus saith the Lord, David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel; neither shall the priests, the Levites, want a man before me to offer burnt offerings, and to kindle meat offerings, and to do sacrifice continually. Thus saith the Lord; If ye can break my covenant of the day and my covenant of the night, and that there should not be day and night in their season; then may also my covenant be broken with David my servant, that he should not have a son to reign upon his throne; and with the Levites the priests, my ministers. As the host of heaven cannot be numbered, nor the sand of the sea measured; so will I multiply the seed of David, my servant, and the Levites that minister unto me." Nothing can be more absolute and express than the form of these predictions. But how, may I ask, are such divine promises to be performed and accomplished either wholly or in part, or in any fashion whatever, except by the restoration of the Jews to the holy land again, and the reconstruction of their temple service? To say, that they will not or cannot be fulfilled in the manner foretold, would be at once to deny the truth of all prophecy; and to set aside the inspiration of the oracles of God. There can be no more incongruity in advocating the perpetual celebration of the Passover and other Jewish festivals, as prescribed in the Law, than in advocating the perpetual celebration of the Eucharist or any other gracious ordinance, as instituted in the Gospel. The conceited puritan, indeed, may stand up, and thus say to himself: "Surely, I who am born again of the water and spirit both; who have had my sins all washed away by the spiritual laver of regeneration; who have the love of God shed abroad in my heart; who feel the Spirit of God moving within me; who have been predestinated to eternal life from eternity, and can never finally fall away from the grace once given me; surely, surely, I need not be required to commemorate the sufferings of Christ; nor be reminded of His death by sitting down, every now and then, to partake of such corporeal symbols as bread and wine; which may benefit

the belly, but can do no good to the soul. Beggarly elements of this complexion may be well enough adapted to the condition of babes in Christ ; but not to such as myself, who am a full-grown man." In this way might the spiritually-minded believer be disposed to reason within himself ; but our blessed Lord reasoned very differently ; and in order that the recollection of so important an event as His death upon the cross, might be constantly kept alive by the frequent repetition of a symbolic and commemorative ordinance, solemnly enjoined on all His disciples the constant celebration of the holy eucharist, in imitation of, not as a substitution for the Passover ; though, to the great reproach of the main body of Protestant professors in this country, as well as to the great scandal of the Church to which they belong, they seldom or never think of it ; and there have been thousands, yea hundreds of thousands, who have lived and died without ever having received it so much as once during the whole of their lives. It is not improbable, but that, at some future time, when the sacrament shall have become still more neglected than it is at present ; and there shall be some little grumbling or difficulty experienced in procuring the bread and the wine ; the spirituality doctors will be prompted to assure their fellow Christians, that, if only influenced in their minds by the grace of God and the Holy Spirit, they may do just as well without the ordinance as with it ; and that it was instituted by the Lord, at the first, merely in consideration of the Jewish habits and Jewish prejudices of His disciples.

There is yet another important question to which I would invite attention, and that is, the incompetency and insufficiency of the Gospel by itself, when separated from the Law, for the due government and controul of the multitudes or mankind in general. The Gospel is a message of Reconciliation and Peace ; containing the glad tidings of a Redemption from sin and eternal death ; and to such as truly and sincerely embrace it, it procures pardon and salvation from God, as well as honour and esteem amongst men. But those who thus regulate their lives simply by the dictates of the Gospel, form but a very small number. The great bulk of mankind, in their social intercourse, are deterred from the commission of crime, and kept in the way of duty, not by the promises of future glory, or the threats of future punishment, as set forth in the Gospel, of which they seldom or never think ; but by the penal statutes of that Law under which they live ; knowing for certain that, if they perpetrate murder, felony, or swindling ; they shall either be hanged, transported, or imprisoned for the offence committed ; and, consequently, are thus wisely and providentially restrained from in-

juring their fellow-creatures, and from pursuing those courses of wickedness and vice into which they would be daily and hourly straying, in despite of the Gospel. Hence in our own country, we not only have a gigantic code of laws and statutes; but a learned and talented set of professors, whose sole occupation it is to study all the subtleties and intricacies of these laws and statutes, and to administer them according to the intention of the legislature; and yet, notwithstanding all this legal apparatus, supported at a vast expense to the community, the land is full of wickedness and villainy; is becoming more and more degraded by the reckless perpetration of the most enormous and abominable crimes, murders and suicides; such as parents killing their own children, and children their own parents; and all this, too, with the pulpit and the bar acting in full concert; much more would it happen, if Religion were unassisted by the Law, and left to its own working. How then, let me ask, can Christians, and especially such as anticipate their return to the holy land, entertain for a moment so absurd and irrational a thought as that the Jews, on their embracing the message of the Gospel; for to them it was a pure message, not a change of government; ought forthwith to discard that divine code of statutes and ordinances, which they received immediately from heaven; as though, on their becoming Nazarenes and the disciples of Jesus, they could direct their civil polity without any legal code; or as though, trampling on the statutes and ordinances of Jehovah Himself, and in complaisance to the Gentile Church, they ought to select a code from the laws of christendom; laws which have been either framed on the spur of the occasion, and to meet the exigencies of the crisis; or else derived from the Roman, Grecian, Teutonic, Celtic, and other pagan sources. Such a step, on the part of the Jew, would be a flagrant insult offered to that God, who originally framed and adapted the whole Mosaic code, so as to preserve the children of Israel separate and distinct from the other children of men; and which, to the great wonder and amazement of the rest of the world, after being dispersed all over the earth for eighteen hundred years, still continues to preserve to them their nationality; yea, and will always preserve it to them, so long as they retain their own ordinances, and meddle not at all with the customs of the Gentiles. Being appropriated to the country of Palestine, in which they were originally placed, and in which at some future time they are destined to be replaced, it is not altogether suited to other climates and countries; nor are we Gentile Christians required to copy anything from it farther than it may contribute to our social happiness and domestic comfort;

but to the Jews the Covenant of the Law is an everlasting Covenant, never to be broken nor set aside on their part, except by the forfeiture of all those blessed promises which were made to their forefathers.

Having thus briefly, yet clearly demonstrated, that the Law and the Gospel contain nothing dissonant nor repugnant to each other; but on the contrary, that as the latter forms an appendix or supplement to the former, sound Christianity is actually a part of sound Judaism; I shall now proceed to suggest a few recommendations, how the children of the two Covenants, the professors of the Law and the professors of the Gospel, ought to comport themselves towards each other, in order that by gradually discovering reason to cherish mutual respect, and by ultimately doing away with all unnecessary family distinctions, they may at length form in this lower world one vast and countless terrestrial host, all praising and magnifying the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; the Great Jehovah alone by Himself, from whose Word Incarnate and most Holy Spirit all blessings whatsoever, whether temporal or spiritual, redound to mankind; and to whom alone they are in duty bound to offer up, at all times and in all places, their gratitude and thanks. It is the assertion of St. Paul,⁴ that there will be an end of the present christian dispensation, so soon as Christ shall have delivered up his kingdom to God the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, authority, and power, as well as all enemies under his feet, the last of these enemies being death: that when all things shall be thus subdued unto the Son, then will the Son also himself be subject to that Father who shall have put all things under the feet of the Son, that God the Father may be all in all. Hence it is fully apparent from the language of the apostle, that there must be a point of time winging its way towards us, on the arrival of which all worship, adoration, and praise throughout the universe will be ascribed exclusively to God the Father, as the Supreme Head of Christ; and in whom alone all divine energy, authority, and power will be regarded as pre-eminently existing and wholly concentrated. Let not the Jew imagine, for a moment, that the Gospel does away with the true unity of the Godhead. The king Messiah, it is true, as well as other kings, has his sycophants; who laud and flatter, in order that they may win favour. The Pseudo-Barnabas, for instance, concludes his Epistle thus: "Here, then, with respect to the Majesty of Christ, you have it shewn, how that all things were made for him and by him; to whom be glory, honour, and power, for ever and ever." A doxology without any reference or allusion

to the Father of Christ; and, therefore, unchristian. There is nothing, however, in the speeches of our blessed Lord, more remarkably uniform than the constant reference to the Father, as the Source of all his divine Mission and Authority; whose very Bosom he had left for the purpose of becoming manifest in the flesh; and of bringing life and immortality to the fallen sons of Adam. The salvation of the world was too majestic and sovereign an act of grace to be achieved by the hand of either man or angel; and, therefore, the glory of the achievement is ascribed to the Word of Jehovah personally becoming incarnate, and suffering in the flesh. Had Christ announced himself a celestial legate, distinct and separate both in substance and in person from the Supreme Jehovah; or even a mere man, sprung from the loins of David, but raised up by God to be the Saviour of mankind; the Gentile believers, in accordance with their prevailing polytheism, would have hailed and worshipped him, as their special Protector, celestial Guardian, or national God; nor would they have bestowed so much as a single thought on the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. But, by declaring himself to be the only begotten Son or Word of that Jehovah, who gave the Law to the children of Israel by the hand of his servant Moses; he prevented all possibility of their detaching him from the person or presence of Jehovah; rendered it necessary to combine the Old and New Testaments together, in order that they might possess a complete and authoritative code of divine revelation; and, consequently, has so connected Judaism with Christianity, that they can never be separated without the one being deprived of its foundation, and the other of its consummation.

The *first* thing, then, which I would recommend both to the Jew and the Christian, is to study more generally the Book of Nature and the Book of History, along with the Book of Revelation. They are all the Books of God, and calculated to throw light on each other; the first demonstrating to us what God has created and destined to go on from the beginning; the second what has been actually done by God himself, or permitted to be done by others; the third what He has been really and constantly saying all along, by way of oral communication, to the children of men, in order that they might gain His love and favour, and perfect their own bliss. Not only the theologian, but the profound naturalist, and the recondite historian are equally to be styled divines; being occupied in studying the works and ways of God, and in glorifying His name; whilst they communicate their knowledge and experience to the rest of their fellow-creatures. By the Book of Nature, I do

not understand every hypothesis in physical science, which may happen to have been broached, whether true or false ; but only such facts and principles as are incontrovertible, and cannot be contradicted. Nor by the Book of History, do I mean every occurrence there to be found narrated and handed down to posterity, whether real or invented ; but only such transactions and occurrences as have actually taken place, and are registered in the court of heaven. It is an idle distinction, which is usually made between sacred and profane history. That which is false, is always profane ; whilst that which is true, is always sacred ; no matter, whether to be found in the Bible or not. God is truth ; and nothing that is bottomed either in physical, historical, or doctrinal error, can be referred to God, as truly divine ; nor form any part, whatever, of our holy and revealed religion. In case, then, any statement in the Book of Revelation should seem to be defaced by some error in physical science ; such error must not be perpetuated on posterity, as necessary to be believed for salvation ; but, so far the ignorance of the holy functionary, whether priest or prophet, must stand corrected always by the skill of the naturalist. There is nothing in which human agency is concerned, absolutely free from error ; and there is nothing to be found amongst men, not even the written Word of God itself, in which human agency is not concerned. Unless we proceed on this comprehensive principle of extending all the boundaries of knowledge and experience, of combining natural with revealed religion, and of separating truth from error, wherever it may be detected ; we shall still continue, as we have done, to witness the grossest superstition and fanaticism amongst the vulgar and illiterate ; but a general neglect, if not contempt, of all religion, whatever, amongst the more learned and better informed. Men can neither admire nor love that, which they depise in their hearts ; and they cannot but depise in their hearts what they know, from their own personal investigations and researches, to be founded in ignorance and mistake. It is not enough for the honour of the Supreme Being, that the common people be taught all the precepts and duties of religion, in order that they may be deterred from the commission of capital crimes by the fear of hell torments ; but the very highest personages, as well as the most cultivated intellects, ought to be amongst the most conspicuous and devout, in performing unfeigned adoration and due homage at His footstool ; otherwise, instead of receiving all honour and glory from men, He will rather be insulted and disparaged by the meanness and inferiority of those, who are left to appear, by themselves, in the courts of His Sanctuary.

The *second* thing which I would strongly recommend, is constantly to study and peruse the original Scriptures; the Old Testament in the Hebrew, and the New Testament in the Greek; to consult all the earliest manuscripts, impressions, and versions, that can possibly be found; and, in the case of every doubtful reading, to determine conscientiously always according to the best evidence. There is no such thing as any *written* Word of God independent on the word of man. The Lord Jehovah may have uttered the whole Law from Mount Sinai; and, yet, Moses may not have accurately recorded it. Moses may have accurately recorded it; and, yet, those who succeeded him in the direction of public affairs, may not have taken all due care to have it correctly transcribed. Those who succeeded him, all along, may have taken all due care to have it correctly transcribed; and, yet, the men of the great synagogue, after the return from the Babylonish captivity, may have enlarged, curtailed, or altered it, in order to adapt it to the circumstances in which they were placed. The men of the great synagogue and their immediate successors may have handed it down uncorrupted and entire; and, yet, it may have been very erroneously rendered into Hellenistic Greek, and other languages, either from ignorance or design. The same reasoning will hold good of the prophets, and all the other portions of the holy Mikra; that they may have been interlarded, mutilated, mistranscribed, or mistranslated. In the like manner, the Gospel may have been fully preached by Christ; and, yet, the evangelists may not have fully recorded it. The evangelists may have duly recorded it; and, yet, those who received it from them, and succeeded them in the government of the churches, may not have taken all the necessary pains to have it faithfully transcribed and handed down to posterity; or it may have been wilfully perverted and mistranslated, either from the ignorance or the bigotry of the translators. So, likewise, all the other portions of the New Testament have been equally exposed to all the accidents of transcription and human caprice; nor is there any other account to be given, at this day, than that we have received, and now possess the whole text of the New Testament, whether in the original or in a translation, just as it may have been preserved and delivered to us by the diligence of our predecessors. It is the duty, therefore, of every individual theologian never to rely altogether on the fidelity and industry of any editor or publisher of the sacred code; but to inspect manuscripts, to collate texts, and to compare versions, in order that he may be enabled to decide for himself as to the truth, antiquity, or probability of the reading. It is a fact which can-

not be denied, that the Pentateuch, though by far the oldest portion of the whole Bible, has come down to us with fewer various lections than any other part that can be named; owing, no doubt, to the singular circumstance, that for the last two thousand years and more, it has been annually and publicly read in every Jewish synagogue; and, therefore, always subjected to public scrutiny and the inspection of the Chazans. Had the Greek gospels, or any other portion of the New Testament, been regularly and publicly read in like manner, from the very first, in all our christian churches; such a course of liturgical discipline would have been equally attended with the like happy effects.

The *third* thing which I would recommend, is to acquire a competent knowledge of those venerable and primitive authorities, which may instruct us both as to the canons admitted, and as to the senses affixed by the ancient Fathers to the text of the Holy Scriptures; such as the Targumin of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uziel, the two Talmuds, the Tracts of the Geonim, the Books on the Cabala, the Medrashim, the Agadoth, and the more celebrated Perushim; without which no adequate acquaintance with existing Judaism can be obtained; so likewise, the works of the Greek, Syrian, Latin, and Armenian Fathers of the Christian Church, together with all the canons of the General Councils and Provincial Synods; especially such as were celebrated in the first five or six centuries; without which no adequate acquaintance with the Christian religion, as it now exists, can be duly acquired. It is not enough for the Christian divine to be able to read the Old Testament in the original Hebrew; nor for the Jewish divine to be able to read the New Testament in the original Greek; to assert, that the particular church or synagogue to which they severally belong, must be quite right; and that they have nothing more to do than vigorously to maintain that system of faith and worship to which they have been inured from their very cradles. Such conduct may be calculated to do honour to that particular religious community to which they belong; but not to the God of heaven and earth, whose faithful soldiers and servants they all equally pretend and profess to be. In order to judge correctly of our present position, we must first understand and know, how we have arrived at it; how religion, whether Jewish or Christian, has been progressing all along from the beginning; a portion of theological science, or spiritual knowledge, not to be acquired without the Book of History; which, as I have already affirmed, is one of the three Books of God; and without which, the Book of Revelation, itself, can neither be fully nor duly

interpreted. It is the declaration of Aben Ezra⁵ that, had it not been for the men of the great synagogue, the mishnical and talmudic doctors, the Law of their God would have utterly perished, and been totally forgotten; since they alone established everything on its pure principles, and have plainly and clearly elucidated to us all the commandments and the judgments precisely as they had received them. Though I cannot go the whole length of this statement; there can be no question, that we are entirely depending on their wisdom and veracity for many things received; and more especially for the Jewish canon of the Old Testament, as we now possess it. In my former Letters I have intimated, that neither the Book of Ecclesiastes, nor the Book of Job, nor the Song of Songs, probably formed any part of the Jewish canon until after the ministry of our Saviour. I am further of opinion, too, that the *Terignasar*, or twelve minor prophets, were wholly compiled by the men of the great synagogue from materials in their possession; and so handed down to us, in the manner we now have them. The inspired penmen or prophets, themselves, exercised no controul in the formation of the sacred canon; that being left entirely to the discretion of the Supreme Sanhedrin. In the Babylonish Talmud, *Massecheth Shabbath*, we read, that the sages were strongly in the mind, at one time, to have concealed and withdrawn from common inspection both the Book of Proverbs and the Book of Ecclesiastes, on account of certain contradictions, which they seemed to involve; but that, in consequence of some redeeming traits, which they detected in the works, they at length determined to let them remain; otherwise, had they decided differently from what they did, we should have had, at this day, neither the Book of Ecclesiastes nor the Book of Proverbs. I need say nothing of the Hellenistic or Greek canon of the Old Testament, so different from the Hebrew or Jewish; and, yet, retained all along by the greater portion of the Christian Churches. Similar argumentation will hold good of the canon of the New Testament; which, at the first, was different from what it is now, even in the Latin or Western Church, of which our own is but a detached portion. In the Canons of the Apostles, as they are generally called; besides the received Books, it is made to contain, also, the two Epistles and the Ordinations of St. Clement. In a fragment of the second century, comprising the Latin Canon of that day, the Epistles of St. James and St. Peter, as also the third Epistle of St. John, and the Epistle to the Hebrews are all omitted; whilst the Book of Wisdom by the Friends of Solomon, and the Apocalypse of St. Peter, are

inserted. In the Greek Church, the Canon, as detailed by Eusebius, contains only two of the seven Catholic Epistles; the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, the second Epistle of St. Peter, the second and third Epistles of St. John being mentioned apart by themselves, as of doubtful and contradicted authority; nor is the Revelation of St. John admitted without some hesitation. If we turn to the Canon of the Chaldean or Assyrian Church, we shall find from the Catalogue of Ebedjesu, that it contained neither the second Epistle of St. Peter, nor the second and third Epistles of St. John, nor the Epistle of St. Jude, nor yet the Apocalypse. In the old Armenian Canon of the New Testament, we have not only the two Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians, but also the Epistle of the Corinthians to St. Paul, together with his Answer to that Epistle; constituting, therefore, three Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians. In the second century, there was extant the Gospel according to the Egyptians; cited by learned heretics for divine authority, equally with the other Gospels. These and similar facts must satisfy both the Jewish and the Christian professor, that they ought not to remain content with the vulgar belief and dogmatical theology of the age in which they live; but to study and investigate every important question for themselves; if they would be the true ministers and servants of God, and not the mere sycophants of the church or synagogue to which they belong.

The *fourth* thing which I would ardently recommend, is to cease from mutually despising and reviling each other because of their religious differences; to cultivate higher feelings; such as are more worthy of a divine parentage; by yielding both to the Law and the Gospel their just portion of honour and esteem. The rancour and animosity to which I allude, have generally appeared in the liturgical services. There can be no doubt of the truth of the charge, brought by Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho, against the Jews of the second century; that they were cursing in their synagogues those that believed in Christ. It is well known, that the twelfth of the *Shemoneh Gnesreh*, or, Eighteen Prayers, recited in the Synagogue service, is intended to apply to the Nazarenes or Christians, under the designation of heretics and apostates, saying: "Let there be no hope to them, who apostatize from the true religion; and let the heretics, how many soever they may be, all perish as in a moment." In the Liturgy of the London German and Polish Synagogue, it is somewhat modified and reads thus: "Let there be no hope for the calumniators; let all those who do wickedness, perish as in a moment;

let them all be instantly exterminated; and do thou humble them, forthwith, in our own day." But in the Reformed Liturgy of the West London Synagogue of British Jews, it is entirely omitted; which is highly creditable to the Community, in that they have thus set a noble example both to the Jews and the Christians, not to anathematise nor implore calamity and disaster on their religious opponents. The discipline of the Christian Church all along has been not so much to curse and damn the Jews, as to prohibit all religious intercourse with them; and to compel them, in case they apply for christian baptism, openly to renounce every particle of their Judaism. Thus, in the Canons of the Apostles⁶ it is ordained, that in case either a clergyman or a layman should enter into a Jewish synagogue to pray to God; or should celebrate either a fast or a festival with them; or should accept from them any hospitable present, such as a morsel of unleavened bread, or a passover cake, or any such like thing; he is to be deposed, if a clergyman; but if a layman, then excommunicated. In the Greek Church,⁷ before an adult Jew can be admitted to baptism, he is required to flout the whole Hebrew nation; to renounce all their customs, rites, ceremonies, and ordinances; all their immolations, sacrifices, offerings, unleavened breads, prayers, sprinklings, purifications, sanctifications, fastings, festivals, new-moons, sabbaths, chantings, and synagogues; their meats and their drinks; and, in a word, everything, whatsoever, whereby Judaism is distinguished from other religions. This is that Gentile tyranny, attempted to be exercised over the Jewish convert, against which I am raising my voice; bottomed, as it really is, in nothing else than Gentile ignorance, Gentile bigotry, and Gentile folly. In our own excellent Office of Baptism for adult persons, there is no inquiry made nor question previously put, whether they have been born Jews or Pagans; and though this omission may facilitate the apostacy from Judaism to Christianity, without any truth or sincerity of profession; it yet leaves a path open, in which a movement may be made, towards the establishment of that Nazarene form of faith and discipline, which was taught and practised by Christ and his apostles. That the English Church, if compared with other Churches, has always entertained liberal sentiments towards the Jews, may be easily made to appear from the language of its Homilies on Good Works and the Peril of Idolatry.⁸ "What man, having any judgment or learning, joined with a true zeal unto God, doth not see and lament to have entered into Christ's religion such false doctrine, superstition, idolatry, hypocrisy, and other enormities and abuses; so as by little and

little, through the sour leaven thereof, the sweet bread of God's holy word hath been much hindered and laid apart? Never had the Jews, in their most blindness, so many pilgrimages unto images, nor used so much kneeling, kissing, and censing of them, as hath been used in our time. Sects and feigned religions were neither the fortieth part so many among the Jews, nor more superstitiously and ungodly abused than of late days they have been among us." So again: "You will say, peradventure, these things pertain to the Jews; what have we to do with them? Indeed they pertain no less to us Christians than to them. For if we be the people of God, how can the Word and Law of God not appertain to us? St. Paul alleging one text out of the Old Testament, concludeth generally for other Scriptures of the Old Testament as well as that, saying, Whatsoever is written before, meaning in the Old Testament, is written for our instruction; which sentence is most specially true of such writings of the Old Testament as contain the immutable law and ordinances of God, in no age or time to be altered, nor of any persons of any nation or age to be disobeyed, such as the above rehearsed places be." Thus far the authoritative language of our Church Homilies, in perfect accordance with my own sentiments and argumentation.

Besides, however, the disappearance of all rancorous spirit and hostile feeling, I should rejoice to witness some avowed and undeniable testimony of their religious sympathy for each other; and especially in their acts of public worship and devotional exercises. Since the whole of the Jewish *Mikra* is not only adopted into the Scriptural Canon, but publicly read aloud in the Christian Churches; there ought to be no want of further proof, that in their religious and theological tenets the Christians do really and truly sympathise with the professors of Judaism. In our English Liturgical Service for the Fast of Ash-Wednesday, after the Litany, we are required to read the *Communion*; which consists of ten curses or denunciations of the divine anger against sinners; nearly all selected word for word from the Torah or Law of Moses; such as; "Cursed is the man that maketh any carved or molten image, to worship it." This *Communion* I have publicly read myself; and could any Hindoo stranger have entered the church at the time, with the Pentateuch in his hand; he must have taken it for granted, that I was a disciple of Moses, and enforcing the religion of the Torah with all my might. Now, why should not every Jewish community insert in the Liturgy of their respective synagogues that perfect model of holy supplication, that beautiful specimen of pure devotion, the celebrated Prayer,

which our Lord himself taught his own disciples; so that, on a Dramin or any other Pagan entering the synagogue, he might be led to mistake the chazan for a minister of the gospel, in the same manner as he would have mistaken me for a minister of the synagogue? Such a step, on the part of the Jewish professor, would be nothing more than a proper return, an act of gratitude and thanks, to the author of that gospel, which has been so providentially instrumental in preserving and propagating a knowledge of their Law; and giving it a celebrity amongst men which, otherwise, it could never have obtained; a due mark of honour to that prophet of all prophets, who has caused the whole prophetic dispensation to be held in reverence and esteem throughout the Gentile world; and so unequivocally asserted its divine authority, that it never can be separated from that of his own Gospel. Such a conciliatory course, I am of opinion, would do more towards consolidating their peace with the christian nations, and promoting all their dearest interests, temporal as well as spiritual, than any other thing that can be named. It would at once evince, that they cherish no enmity against the Person of our Lord; but rather the contrary, that they consider him to have been a holy messenger sent from God; and that their forefathers did wrong in causing him to be put to death, instead of listening to his words. It would ultimately lead to an inquiry amongst Christian Princes, whether a people, thus affected towards the Saviour, and allowed by all to have been a chosen race, ought not, forthwith, to be restored to that holy land, which was given them by God, as a perpetual inheritance; and whether, by so determining, they would not be acting in conformity with the divine counsels, as well as yielding to the tender sympathies of the blessed Saviour himself. That many upright Jews think highly of the sacred character of our Lord, I am fully persuaded. Nay, some of my Jewish correspondents, and I feel a pleasure in stating the fact, have proceeded so far as to express their belief, that he was a true Jew, that he advocated pure Judaism; and in so thinking they are quite right, and perfectly justified. He said to the Samaritan woman: "Ye worship ye know not what; we know what we worship; for salvation is of the Jews;" thus identifying his own personal religion with that of the whole Jewish nation. But, if no other proof could be furnished than his own answer to the Syrophenician mother; that it was not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it to the dogs; even that response of itself would be a sufficient voucher, yea a clear demonstration, as well of his firm attachment to Judaism, as of his strong partiality and invincible affection for his own Jewish brethren.

The *fifth* and last thing which I would recommend is, that instead of the one disparaging the Law and the other the Gospel, they should mutually exhort one another, faithfully and sincerely, to practise that which they do profess to maintain and believe; and that, in case the Jew cannot be fully convinced of the indispensable necessity of combining the Gospel with the Law, in order to obtain for himself both pardon and peace, he do not feign a belief with his tongue, which he does not feel in his heart; nor hope to achieve by deceit and hypocrisy, what he cannot accomplish by an honest and ingenuous confession. Hypocrisy and dissimulation, in every department of life, are vile and contemptible; but in things appertaining to God, they are despicable beyond measure; and call for the severest punishment that can be inflicted on the sinner. This caution is the more necessary with respect to the existing efforts, now used by Christians of every denomination, to convert the Jew to a belief in the Gospel; for, if hypocrisy may be suspected, when he is only required to admit the divine mission of Jesus, without discarding the Law of Moses; much more is it to be suspected and anticipated, when he is required to renounce and forsake those special ordinances of Jehovah, which were expressly enjoined on the posterity of Jacob, as an everlasting covenant never to be rescinded. The Law or Word of God, whether it be the Torah of Moses or the Gospel of Christ, is equally perpetual and eternal with God himself; and is never to be reputed as absolutely defunct, merely because there may happen to be nothing existing, that is either willing or competent to attend to it. The obligations, therefore, imposed on each party are sufficiently clear and distinct. The Christian professor, knowing that the divine message of the Gospel concerns the whole human race, and that it applies to the Jew as well as to the Gentile, is in duty bound to preach it to the Jew, and to urge him by every fair argument to embrace and profess it; but not to absolve him from the statutes and ordinances of the Mosaic Law, so as to amalgamate and confound the seed of Abraham with that of the Gentiles: for, however he may be encouraged to do so by the rulers of the church or community to which he belongs, he is wholly unauthorised by any divine command thus to pervert the message of the Gospel; whilst he involves himself in the direst guilt by doing his utmost to annul the oath and covenant of Jehovah, made to father Abraham; that his posterity should be kept separate from all other nations of the earth, and continue his own peculiar people to the very end of the world. The Jewish professor, on the other hand, having neither any divine command nor selfish motive, but quite the reverse, for making a proselyte of the Chris-

tion to Judaism, or indeed for making any proselytes at all, is never likely to make any such absurd attempts; whilst, as he cannot but perceive, that the Gospel is bottomed on the Law, and in perfect accordance with all its moral and statutory precepts; he is in duty bound to wish it every favourable reception amongst the Gentiles; and to chide its numerous followers, when they stray from its principles. That the Nazarenes or first disciples of the Lord judaized in all their religious, social, and domestic œconomy; and enjoyed frequent intercourse with those devout and pious Jews who professed the Law only, cannot be questioned. Jerome, in his *Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, giving some account of the celebrated Alexandrine philosopher, Philo Judæus, a descendant of Aaron, informs us, that on his second embassy to Rome to the emperor, Claudius, he not only formed an acquaintance with St. Peter, but enjoyed the intercourse and friendship of that apostle; and that the Book, which he afterwards wrote, on the Contemplative Life of the monastic devotees, in the Alexandrine territory; he composed in honour of St. Mark, the disciple of St. Peter, and founder of the Church at Alexandria; because that primitive Church he beheld still judaizing, and doing credit to his own nation. But, if these monastic devotees really formed a part of the first christian church at Alexandria; and of this Jerome, himself, appears to have entertained no manner of doubt; notwithstanding their zeal and propensity to spiritualize the letter and to allegorize the sense of the Mosaic Law; which they regarded as an animated body, and as containing a soul capable of being wonderfully developed, as to its hidden meanings or ideas; they must, yet, have felt an invincible attachment to ordinances commemorating the history of their own people, in that the very last thing, which they are described as performing at the conclusion of their Pentecostic festival, was a kind of choral movement of the men with the women, in imitation of the Israelites, after escaping from the Red Sea; the chief senior heading the men, as the representative of Moses; and the chief matron heading the women, as the representative of Miriam the prophetess.

Though I must already have advanced quite sufficient ground to warrant my complaint of the culpability, the unauthorised presumption, and blind infatuation of the whole Gentile Church, in obliging the Jew to forsake the Law of Moses, before he can be allowed, publicly, to profess the Gospel of Christ; I shall here condense a few further remarks, in order to convince the reader, still more fully, of the unreasonableness and impropriety, not to say folly and impiety, of all such attempts. First of all,

let me observe, that, in my own presence, infidels and sceptics have been heard to boast and say ; that, for the existence of all the other religious phenomena throughout the world, they could satisfactorily account in their own minds ; either from the cunning and dexterity of the teachers, or from the weakness and simplicity of the taught ; but that, for the nationality or existing state of the Jewish people, after a total dispersion and banishment from their native land for eighteen hundred years, they could not account, except by granting at once, that they must be under some providential controul ; and that, in their wonderful preservation and separation from all others, there is truly displayed the real finger of God. But, if we could succeed in taking from them that religion, on which their nationality is wholly founded and depending, by amalgamating the whole body with the Gentile Church, so as no longer to be separated nor distinguishable from them ; we should annihilate one of the most striking arguments, at present existing, of the visible interposition and special providence of God. Besides, there is another proof, forthcoming, of the total impracticability of so ungodly and vain a project. The whole Christian Church is too much divided into separate and hostile communities to think of effectuating, in common, any one of those general purposes, in the secret counsels or contemplation of the Supreme Being ; who is a lover of unity and concord ; not of strife and contention. Besides our English Church, there is the Scottish Church, and the Latin Church, as distinguished for its zeal as its bigotry and superstition ; not to mention all the other Churches, both in the East and the West, all eager and ready to preach the Gospel to the Jews ; but following no other rule than that of stripping them of their judaism, and initiating them in all their own special dogmas and discipline, whether genuine or corrupt, whether true or false ; so that, if such jarring efforts might be allowed by Providence to succeed and prosper, they would not only cause the sons of Jacob to become amalgamated with the Gentiles, and to cease from being a nation, contrary to the solemn Covenant of their Lord Jehovah ; but, by intermixing and dividing them amongst contending and hostile communities, they would place them in the inevitable position of despising and reviling, of hating and anathematising one another, on account of their religious differences. Surely, such a state of things, and especially in the universal kingdom of the Messiah, can never be in the divine contemplation. Should it be urged, that to the holy catholic and apostolic church, which every where maintains an uniformity of doctrine and discipline, such an objection can never apply ; I would make answer, that there

is no visible portion of the Christian Church in general, which can be styled catholic or apostolic, to the total exclusion of the remainder; and that, if there were, still that would not do away with the objection, because the Jews are scattered all over the earth, in regions where the supposed catholic and apostolic Church can exercise no influence; and even if it could, that would not prevent the other christian communities or churches from zealously taking a part in what they conceive to be the glorious work of bringing the lost sons of Jacob to a true knowledge of the Saviour; so that the Christian Church at large, circumstanced as it now is, is wholly incapable of giving any direct impulse towards the happy consummation of those divine counsels, whereby all Israel is destined to be restored to the full favour of God; so far, at least, as the divine will and pleasure, according to prophecy, can be duly ascertained and soberly interpreted. Such Societies as the one patronised by your Grace, may make Jewish apostates or Christian sectarists of their several converts; but they cannot constitute them the genuine disciples of Christ; such as attended him to the temple and the synagogues; there to worship God according to the Jewish Ritual; and who, after they were left to themselves, still continued to do the same things to the very end of their lives; nor could the Gentile apostle, himself, have proclaimed the message of the Gospel in any of the synagogues; unless he had first taken an active part in its liturgical service, and conducted himself, from beginning to end, as a disciple of Moses, and a member of the Jewish Church. To imagine for a moment, that the Anglo-prussian Protestant Church, now attempted to be established at Jerusalem under the episcopal rule of Dr. Alexander, can ever form a nucleus around which the dispersed Israelites may ultimately be collected in the land of Palestine, as converts to the Christian faith; is highly preposterous and absurd. So soon as Dr. Alexander shall have got into his chapel, if ever such a chapel is to be built, some thirty or forty adult Jewish converts; the Greek, the Latin, and the other Christian communities there located, will become envious of his success; and so endeavour to outstrip him both in the number and rapidity of their Jewish conversions. In the mean time, supposing such rivalry to prosper, the Turkish sabre will have to be brandished to preserve peace amongst the contending parties; but that, only, so long as the Turks themselves are at peace with the powers of Christendom; for when once the existing political amity shall be dissolved, the sabre, at first elevated to protect them from injury, will quickly be allowed to fall upon their heads, and cut them to pieces

Besides, however, the inexpediency and futility of the methods, hitherto practised, for the conversion of the Jews ; there is yet another distinguishing feature, in all such like proceedings, at which I have always felt much disgusted ; and that is, the constant shifting, dissimulation, and hypocrisy with which such like designs are usually commenced at the first, and subsequently conducted. It is a fact which cannot be denied, that the London Society, when first founded by a few individuals in 1808, had, for its avowed object, the relieving of the temporal distresses of the Jews ; as well as the promotion of their spiritual welfare.¹⁰ This Society, from its apparently benevolent and charitable motives of action, very soon attracted the notice of the good and the pious, the clergy and nobility of the land ; of learned and talented members, not only of the Church of England, but of the Church of Scotland, and of dissenting communities ; who thus coalesced to benefit the Jews, temporarily as well as spiritually ; though, it cannot be doubted, from very different motives, and with a variety of anticipations. Church evangelicals and Chapel evangelicals all vied with each other in the ardent desire to enlighten and save from destruction the lost sheep of the house of Israel ; and to be either the mediate or immediate instruments, in the hands of God, for restoring them to their ancient inheritance ; and so fulfilling all the prophecies. The union of churchmen with dissenters, for the accomplishment of so glorious a design, was thought to be a manifest demonstration of the finger of God ; and an unerring sign of the speedy fulfilment of all their holy aspirations for the salvation of Israel ; at least, such were the express anticipations in which several of the speakers at their general and public meetings frequently indulged. In the month of May, however, 1809, the Directors came to a determination, that the *Society for the purpose of visiting and relieving the sick and distressed, and instructing the ignorant, especially such as are of the Jewish nation* ; should, thenceforward, be called ; *The London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews* ; the idea of temporal relief being thus withdrawn from the designation of the Society, as a matter of inferior consideration, and not sufficiently evangelical for heavenly-minded men. In this manner progressed the affairs of the Society until the year 1813, when His Royal Highness, the Duke of Kent, condescended to become its Patron. From the very first, the Royal Duke appears to have entertained some secret misgivings, that those who managed the affairs of the Society, would be having proselytism and conversion, rather than beneficence and charity, in contemplation. Accordingly, on the day on which the first stone

of the Episcopal Chapel was laid, His Royal Highness, occupying the chair of the meeting, took occasion to observe, that though the intention of the meeting and its benevolent object ought to admit of no dissenting voice; yet an impression had gone forth, and was seriously entertained by some of the most respectable persons of the Jewish persuasion, that the ceremony at which he had been presiding, was to a certain extent intended *offensively* to them. He, therefore, expressed a hope, that what he should say on the occasion would be duly circulated; that it would be understood, that he was the friend of religious toleration upon the broadest basis; though proud as he felt on being requested to take the chair of the meeting, he should not have accepted it but with the full and complete understanding, that the establishment now formed was one intended to receive with open arms the children of all those of the Jewish persuasion who either of themselves, or, if little children, whose parents voluntarily come forward to ask their assistance; and that not the most distant idea of proselytism existed in any part of the establishment. This public renunciation, on the part of the Royal Patron, of all idea of making proselytes of the needy Jews, must to those who were cherishing nothing but proselytism in their hearts, have been extremely mortifying. Accordingly, those who immediately rose up to address His Royal Highness and the rest of the meeting, contented themselves with qualifying the declaration, as well as they could; some affirming, that Societies ought to be formed for the purpose of overturning error, superstition, and idolatry, wheresoever they may be found, and that the Jew is not to be neglected: others, that no undue measures would ever be adopted for the purpose of proselytism; but that, if the charge of proselytism should be brought against the Society for preaching him whom Moses had held up under the type of the brazen serpent, and they should be reputed vile on that account, they would be viler still. Soon after this, His Royal Highness had another opportunity of expressing his sentiments in a Royal Letter forwarded to the nobleman who occupied the chair at a subsequent general meeting; in which he further declares the necessity of keeping it in mind, that every idea of proselytism must be excluded from the grand object in view; that though he sincerely adhered to the christian religion, as taught in the established church; yet he could not consider it a right spirit of christian benevolence to go beyond the extending of our arms to receive into the bosom of our church either the Jew or the Mahometan, who from *unbiassed* conviction becomes a convert to Christianity; and finally, that he could consent to continue

the Patron only on the supposition and understanding, that such like principles would be acted upon by the Society. The plain meaning of His Royal Highness was, that the Society ought first of all to assist the temporal wants of the needy and destitute Jews; and then in case any of them should voluntarily request to be instructed in the principles of the christian faith, they should be duly attended to. But these sentiments were far too noble, too disinterested, and too ingenuous to square with the constituent feelings of such a puritanical and bigotted association. It would neither do for their holy prophets, nor their evangelical lecturers, to have their gifts of grace and their spiritual energies thus fettered and confined to a few worldly maxims. Had there been either truth or sincerity in the original pretence for the formation of such a Society, the wisest course would have been to have handed over the collections of money made to some respectable Jews, with the request that they would distribute such alms to those who stood most in need; and that they would endeavour to have the ignorant children instructed in the Old Testament; and taught to know as well as to practise the divine maxims of the Mosaic Law. Such a step would have done honour to the name of Christ; and at the same time have promoted the best interests of Christianity. Then, as to the bounden duty of the English church, as well as of every other church, to preach the Gospel to the Jews in particular; that duty would have been the most faithfully discharged by consecrating a chapel for the express purpose; and by fixing there a competent minister, whose office it would have been to instruct his Jewish audience in the true principles both of Judaism and Christianity, without the formation of any Society at all; and so saving the expense of paying secretaries, sending preachers, printing reports, and employing other contrivances to obtain notoriety and support. Nothing, however, of this sort ever entered the heads of the Society, who aimed and looked forward to nothing less than a stupendous conversion of the whole Jewish nation to the Christian Church, through their divinely favoured and special instrumentality; the Church evangelicals occupying one pulpit, and the Chapel evangelicals another; both the parties professing to separate, and yet to unite upon principle, very stringent principles to be sure; publishing, every now and then, their particular reports of the wonderful conversions and baptisms of adult Jews; but never once informing us, where these baptized converts, after being thus incorporated into the Church, had assembled together to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; an act of gospel discipline of equal necessity and importance with bap-

tism itself; nor could they have ventured to furnish any such information without betraying, at the same time, the counterfeit concord and fellowship of their own religion; or else representing their converts, as not holding communion with each other. In 1815, all this evangelical harmony, from which such glorious results had been so fondly anticipated, was suddenly dissolved; and in the year immediately following, His Royal Highness requested to be considered no longer Patron. The causes of the dissolution, as alleged, were said to be two; first, that there were many of the clergy who wished to co-operate in the achievement of so noble a work, but could not think of fraternizing with the dissenters; secondly, the proposal for liquidating the debt, which was, that the Church evangelicals should take upon them to defray one portion of it, and the Chapel evangelicals the other; but because the latter refused, the former undertook to discharge the whole of it, and so got the whole concern to themselves. How the dissenters brooked all this, may be more easily imagined than expressed. The Head of the Church evangelicals, alias the Simeonites, observed that, before, the idea of union had carried them forward; and that now he hoped a separation, accomplished in a truly christian spirit, would do the same thing; and that they should agree to differ. The dissenting secretary declared that, though he saw himself encircled by ministers and members of the established church; he still considered himself as surrounded by his brethren; and that, though he had readily resigned his office, when the good of the object required it, his heart would never cease to breathe a fervent prayer for the success of the cause itself. This open declaration seemed to give satisfaction to all present. In a Letter, however, penned and sent to me by one who had always taken a very active part in all the proceedings of the Society, I perfectly recollect the statement; that though an episcopalian himself, had it been in his power, he should not have allowed the *high hats* to have had so much of their own way; thus employing an expression sufficiently indicative of his scorn and contempt for the dominant party, as well as the state of his own feelings at the change which had taken place. Henceforward the Society was to be denominated; *The London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, conducted on the Principles of the Established Church*. Hitherto the Journal or Periodical, which furnished the details and correspondence of the Society, had been called, *The Jewish Repository*; but now it changed its name, and was called, *The Jewish Expositor* or *Friend of Israel*; and appears thus to have continued until the year 1881, when, by a Resolution of the

Society's Committee, their monthly intelligence was withdrawn from that Periodical; and so there was an end both of the Jewish Repository and the Jewish Expositor. How the Journals and Proceedings of the Society may have been since conducted, I profess to give no account; as I ceased to pay any attention to them; but it seems their official Journal is now called, *The Jewish Intelligence*; that is, such Jewish Intelligence, and such only, as may be calculated to promote the immediate interests of the Society; and to secure to those who are dependent upon it, their proper pensions and places. Such will always be the dissembling and ever varying attitudes, aims, and efforts of any Religious Society, whatsoever, compacted together for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews, according to the existing bigotry and narrow principles of the Gentile Church; and if no other proof could be adduced, it would be quite sufficient to point out the difference between the London Society, as now patronised and conducted, and as it was patronised and conducted from thirty to forty years ago. They seem ever prepared to practise any delusion, and to keep secret any counsel, so long as it has a tendency to augment their funds and the number of the conversions; but how these Jewish converts are to dispose of themselves in future, whether they are to intermarry only with the sons and daughters of Israel, and so keep themselves and their posterity separate and distinct from the Gentile Christians; or whether they are to intermix, as they like, with any sect or party, orthodox or heterodox, papal or protestant, so as to become at last altogether identified and confounded with the different portions of the Gentile Church; seeing that these and such like questions are calculated to generate much discrepancy of opinion amongst their supporters; they are cunningly silent, and never venture to promulgate a word, for fear of damaging the interests or causing the dissolution of the Society itself. If they maintain the future restoration of the Jews to their pristine inheritance; how, let me ask, are such converted Jews to be forthcoming, if wholly amalgamated and confounded with the rest of the Christian world? Should it be suggested, that whenever the time shall arrive, there will always be the living generation of the newly-converted Jews distinguishable from the Gentile professors; then how, I pray, are those converted Jews, on returning to the holy land, to harmonise and hold communion with each other, issuing as they must necessarily do, from christian communities so totally at variance both as to the doctrine and the discipline, which they profess to maintain, as necessary to salvation? Such are the insurmountable difficulties besetting

the whole question; if once we require the Jewish believer to forsake the Law of Moses, and to follow the example only of the Gentile Church.

Since I appear, with many others, to advocate the actual return of the Jews, as a nation or people, to their old inheritance, as well as the restoration of the temple service; I may be expected, perhaps, to state, how and when I anticipate the consummation of so long foretold and glorious an event. This I will cheerfully do; merely premising, that for every actuality which does take place, there are thousands of potentialities which might, but do not take place, constantly present to the mind of the Supreme Being; and though I may point out one, it can only be one of the many ways in which the divine prediction may eventually be accomplished. Let us suppose, then, that the learned, pious, and reflecting Jew, after ruminating on the vast and mighty changes which have taken place throughout the heathen world, for the last eighteen hundred years, by means of the Gospel; and knowing, that the author of this Gospel was one of his own brethren; and, therefore, matter of glory to himself; an undoubted prophet of God, if ever there was a prophet, whose character could be vindicated as such either by the transcendent importance or the marvellous success of his divine mission; gradually becomes convinced of the truth of the Gospel, as well as of the divine character of its blessed author; plainly perceiving from the very history of its introduction, that it was never designed to supplant the Law of Moses with the children of Israel; but only to be a real completion of it, at the same time that it contains of itself a perfect system of faith and worship for the whole Gentile world, on whom the Mosaic Law never was nor ever will be enjoined; consequently, that as the Gospel honours the Law, so ought the Law to honour the Gospel; that as the Christian is in duty bound to impart to the Jew the Word of the New Testament and to exhort him to embrace it; so is it for the interest of the Jew to impart to the Christian the Word of the Old Testament, and to urge him to the due performance of it, so far at least as it is commanded and enforced by the precepts of the Gospel. Let us again suppose, that from due consideration and reflection, he becomes fully sensible of the great need which he has of that universal atonement, offered upon the cross, supplying as it does every defect inherent in the Mosaic Law; that he is truly and sincerely anxious to avail himself of so divinely ordained a propitiation for all his sins; that he is constantly supplicating the Lord Jehovah to pardon the great wickedness of his people, in having caused His only begotten Son to be put

to death, as a malefactor ; and so rejected the overtures of his mercy ; that he not only makes a public profession of his faith in this great Saviour of mankind, but affords a clear demonstration of the sincerity of his profession, by duly reverencing his holy name and his word ; whilst he does not abandon a single particle of the Law of Moses ; but performs the whole of it, to the utmost of his power ; knowing that every ordinance or commandment of the Lord Jehovah is perpetual, never to be violated nor neglected under any pretence whatever. Let us still further suppose, that it is not one or two hundred ; but, in the due course of time, hundreds of thousands of Jews, in all parts of the world, who thus think and act ; comporting themselves as a Nazarene community, and showing themselves to be the strictest followers of Christ and the first apostles ; consequently, the very best Jews, as well as the very best Christians. The grand dogma to be inculcated, as well as the chief requisite to be demanded in the case of the Jew, is a firm belief in the truth and efficacy of the Divine Atonement. Though the sublime mystery of the Holy Trinity is a doctrine for the reality and importance of which I have always strenuously contended ; yet I perfectly accord with the emperor Constantine, in his Letter to Alexander, the Alexandrine Patriarch, as handed down to us by Gelasius of Cyzicus ; that instead of allowing Arius and Athanasius to moot a question, which had never been touched by the apostles themselves ; the wiser course would have been to have prohibited both the one and the other from meddling with it at all ; and so have prevented any schism or division, on that account, in the Body and Church of Christ. Supposing, then, I say, that in the course of a few generations, a multitude of Jews all over the world, from their faithful combination of the Gospel with the Law, should become duly prepared and recommended to receive back again at the hands of God the possession of that inheritance, which He had given to their forefathers for an everlasting patrimony ; where, let me ask, would be either the incongruity or the impolicy in any one or more of our Christian Princes determining to let them have it ; and so like Cyrus of old, acquire glory and honour to themselves by being thus instrumental in fulfilling the prophecies ? I expect no miracles, I want no miracles. To me the ordinary course of the providence of God appears of itself always sufficiently miraculous ; and competent to the fulfilment of every divine promise. Their return to the holy land from the Babylonish captivity had something providential, but nothing miraculous in it. The Persian monarch determined, no matter from what secret or political motives, that such of the captive

Israelites as were within his dominions, and willing, might return again to Palestine; and re-occupy their native land, as well as restore again their temple service, under their Pasha Zerubabel. In like manner, at a future day, some one or more of the sovereign potentates of Christendom, perhaps, an emperor of Russia; as the exercise of absolute sovereignty is always paramount either for good or evil; may seriously resolve, from more motives than one, not only to award to them the repossession of Palestine; but to furnish them with the means of repairing thither, and to fix their apportionments. So long as they keep themselves a distinct and separate Nazarene Community, unconnected with any particular portion of the Gentile Church, to the exclusion of the rest; there will be no need to advise either with the Patriarch of Constantinople, or the Pontiff of Rome, or the Primate of all England, as to which of the Nazarene professors ought to be deemed orthodox and worthy of the privilege, and which not; nor will it be a catholic or a protestant question; but a grand political or state measure; bottomed on the sure word of prophecy, and perpetuating to those, who shall be the promoters of it, a degree of fame and celebrity, unparalleled in the Book of History; never to perish so long as the world continues. Being accomplished by Christian professors, and from Christian motives, Christ himself will be the real author of the Blessing; and so the efficient cause, under God the Father, of all those splendid predictions being fulfilled, which relate to the glory and triumph of the children of Israel. No effectual opposition need to be anticipated from the disinclination or contravening energy of the Mahometan power. The Moslem acknowledges the divine authority of the Law of Moses, of the Psalms of David, and the Gospel of Christ; only he contends, that they have all and severally been egregiously corrupted, as well as perverted in the interpretation; and, therefore, that the Koran is to be preferred before them all, from its transcendent purity. He maintains not only the divine mission of Christ; but also his miraculous conception of the virgin Mary; and regards him as the very last of all the Hebrew prophets. Nay, in case a Jew wishes to become a Mahometan, he is obliged previously to make a profession of his faith in Christ; the question being thus put to him: "Believest thou, that Christ was born of a Virgin by the Spirit of God, and was the last Prophet of the Hebrews?" On his replying in the affirmative, but not otherwise, he becomes a Mahometan.¹¹ So far, then, from the Mahometans being supposed to throw any difficulties in the way of such a measure being carried into execution; they are more likely to facilitate its progress, and

to partake more or less in the glory of the achievement. Indeed, the predicted event is of so comprehensive and sacred a character, that all who maintain and believe the Bible to be the Word of God, cannot but pray for its speedy fulfilment, no matter whether Jew, Turk, or Christian; as all are equally interested in its actual accomplishment. There is no Mosaic precept more remarkable for its charitable and benevolent tendency than the command to treat the Egyptians always with hospitality and kindness, because they themselves had been strangers and sojourners in the land of Egypt; and since the Jews have been now for ages scattered and sojourning amongst all the nations of the earth; on their restoration to the holy land, they will be bound by their own Law, as well as impelled from grateful reminiscences, to treat every stranger, from whatever country, with the utmost degree of cordiality, courtesy, and respect; to love him as one of themselves; and so set an example of universal sympathy and benevolence to the whole human race. If ever wars are to cease throughout the world, they must cease on this very principle. In the mean time, let the conscientious Jew take all due care to perform every practicable ordinance and precept of that divine Law, which has God for its author, Christ for its consummator, Moses for its herald, and even Mahomet for its voucher; which, as his celestial charter, has alone preserved to him that nationality whereby he stands proudly separated and distinguished from the rest of his fellow-creatures. Let him seriously and attentively peruse the pages of the Gospel; and well consider within his own mind, whether the Gentiles, as well as the Jews, ought not to have received from that Jehovah, who is the Creator and Common Parent of us all, some Revelation of His divine will and pleasure, as a directory through life, and as a disclosure of their future destinies; whether any other dispensation than that of the Gospel could have been vouchsafed more in accordance with the Mosaic dispensation, or less at variance with its ceremonies and precepts; and, lastly, whether he be not in duty bound to embrace those overtures of mercy, and to accept that eternal salvation, thus tendered and propounded to himself, as well as to the Gentiles. But above all, let him beware of practising the least dissimulation or hypocrisy in the profession of his faith. If he dare not honestly declare with his mouth what he verily thinks in his heart, then let him hold his peace; for a liar, in the sight of God, is more odious than an infidel.

I have now brought to a close, what I proposed to lay before your Grace, for the consideration of the Jewish as well as the Christian reader. If in the progress of the argumentation, my

address should any where appear deficient in courtesy and proper respect, I beg to assure your Grace, that nothing would give me greater pain than to be found violating that christian rule of paying honour to whom honour is so justly due. Twenty-three years ago I published a work on the Power, Origin, and Succession of the Christian Hierarchy; and especially that of the Anglo-saxon Church. In that Performance I had the pleasure, and it was a true pleasure, to deduce through the medium of the Asiatic and Gallican Churches, Dr. William Howley, the then Bishop of London, the hundredth and thirty-ninth, in regular and uninterrupted succession, from the Apostle St. John. Since that time your Grace has been elevated, and deservedly elevated, to the metropolitan and all but patriarchal chair of Canterbury; and these honours, as the most uncandid will be constrained to confess, your Grace has hitherto borne, with as much christian meekness and humility, as any of those Most Reverend Fathers in God, who have preceded you in that exalted station. To such a Dignitary, then, of our English Church, nothing could be more abhorrent from my mind than to offer the slightest disrespect; or to occasion the least displeasure. The cause of my addressing these several Letters to your Grace is purely accidental; arising from the single circumstance of your Grace being the Patron of the Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews; for had any other Dignitary, Peer, or Prince patronised the Society; my resolution to pen and address these Letters to such Patron would have been equally carried into effect. Since the Society is proceeding in a course, which I venture to call in question; I naturally take it for granted, that your Grace will not coincide with me in the sentiments which I have expressed. I write, however, neither to please nor displease any human being; but solely to vindicate the true honour of God, the Giver of every thing that I now possess. Being one of the born servants of God, I am anxious to perform my service in the most faithful, and in the very best manner that I can. It is not competent to a man to argue, that it is wholly optional with himself, whether he shall serve God or not. He may be a bad servant, or he may be a good servant; but a servant of the one sort he must and will be; having a reward allotted to him according to the fidelity of his services and the sincerity of his conduct. The Bible has been my study from the cradle; and though I have been necessitated to attend to other literary pursuits; yet all voluntary toil has been more or less immediately connected with the Book of Revelation. One painful conviction resulting from this continuation of labour is, that the plain import of ‘

Word of God has been most fantastically, ignorantly, and wilfully perverted, as well in the translation as in the interpretation. Aben Ezra, himself, elicits hidden meanings from the sacred text, not only on allegorical and cabbalistical, but on arithmetical and astronomical principles; whilst our spirituality divises, as is well known, distinguish always between the spirit and the letter; the one being thrown away as so much chaff, the other retained as the pure manna. They may just as well talk of the soul subsisting and stirring in human action, without the body; as of the spirit being detached from the letter, in the performance of a divine Law. Many gross perversions, not to say mistranslations of the sacred text, have been occasioned by dogmatical prejudices and sectarian zeal. But the most culpable, as well as the most common mode of perverting the plain sense of the Scripture, and especially of the Old Testament, is in the attempt to do away with the authority of the Mosaic code; to make all its precepts and ordinances subservient to that ethnic profession of the Gospel, which now obtains throughout christendom. So long as this error prevails, the Word of God will never be fairly nor honestly expounded. If there be any one confessed advantage, redounding from the actual combination of the Law with the Gospel, in which I have ground for triumph more than another, it is clearly this; that I have it in my power to interpret every commandment and prophecy of the Old Testament, literally, and in accordance with the context; without any equivocation or prevarication, whatsoever; inculcating the performance of that which is commanded to be done, but dissuading from that which is forbidden to be done; expecting that which is promised, but fearing that which is threatened: whereas such as contend for the total abolition of the ritual and ceremonial Law, can stand neither by the text nor the context; but, if the precept be ritual or ceremonial, then they expound it, as something obsolete; and if a prophecy, then as something already fulfilled or hereafter to be fulfilled, not literally or actually; but only, emblematically, in the Gentile Christian Church.

I have the honour to subscribe myself

Your Grace's very devoted and very humble servant,

JOHN OXLEE.

Molesworth Rectory, Hunts, Jan. 2nd, 1845.

NOTES.

LETTER I.

¹ Vid. *Alphabetum Tibetanum* by Georgius, p. 188, 189; as printed at Rome, 1762.

² *Sepher Cosri*, Mem. iv. p. 256, as printed at Basil, 1660.

³ *Com.* on Gen. i. 1.

⁴ Vid. ii. *Chron.* xxv. 14.

⁵ *Siphte Daath*, *Shemoth*, Mem. 75; as printed at Prague, 1610.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ Fol. 60; Col. 4; as printed at Amsterdam, 1725.

⁸ *De Som.* p. 575; as printed at Paris, 1640.

⁹ *Strom.* Lib. ii. p. 361; as printed at Paris, 1629.

¹⁰ That the poem of *Paradise Lost* should have been so much read and admired, is to be accounted for on the very same principle that the *Iliad* of Homer has been so much read and admired for the last twenty centuries, and more than that. The human mind in general, however regulated for the moment by the profession of a sound faith, is still the same that it always was; interested and delighted with the marvellous and the extraordinary, no matter whether truth or fiction; the one being quite as acceptable as the other, if only sufficiently amusing. Hence poets, novelists, journalists, and other scribblers for the public, who have to earn their bread by the dexterity of their pens, taking advantage of this infirmity in human nature, jump into their seats, and cater abundantly for the popular taste; pretending, indeed, to instruct and advise their fellow-creatures for their own good; but ever ready to side and fall in with any party that may solicit their assistance, and reward their efforts. Had there been no vulgar belief in the existence of a *Diabolarch*, as the natural antagonist of the Almighty; there could have been no war in heaven, no imaginary battles fought between one celestial host and another; consequently, no such poem as that of *Paradise Lost* could have been either written or thought of. The proximate and true cause, therefore, of the Poem being composed at all, as well as of all the poetic fame accruing to the author from its composition, was the *Diabolarch* himself.

¹¹ *Capitula De Temperantia*; p. 955, as contained in the *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, Tom. i. printed at Paris, 1624.

¹² *Com.* on the *Mishna*, *Massecheth Sanhedrin*, p. 263, as translated by Surenhusius, and printed at Amsterdam, 1702.

¹³ *Contra Advers.* Leg. and Proph. Lib. i. *De Temp.* Ser. lxx.

¹⁴ Vol. II. fol. 42, col. 2; as printed at Amsterdam, 1805.

¹⁵ *Paradise Lost* ; Eph. ii. 2 ; ii. Cor. iv. 4 ; Rev. xii. 9 ; ix. 11 ; Mark iii. 22.

¹⁶ Vid. *Diabolus*, in the Index Rerum et Verborum in Sex Tomos Posteriores D. Hieronymi, appended to Tom. ix. as printed at Paris, 1579 : also the Index appended to the works of Gregory the Great, as printed at Antwerp, 1572.

¹⁷ De Origine Erroris, Lib. ii. p. 152 ; as printed at Oxford, 1684.

¹⁸ Cyrilli Hierosol. Catechesis vi. p. 55 ; as printed at Paris, 1631, Augustinus, De Haeresibus Liber, p. 18, as printed at Lyons, 1562.

¹⁹ Vid. Cap. Specierum, Spec. Prim. as printed at Basil, 1527.

²⁰ Siphthe Daath, fol. 26 ; col. 2.

²¹ Hieronymus, Com. on Job xix. 11 ; xl. 15, 19. On Ps. cviii. 9 ; xvii. &c. 13, &c. &c.

²² Chrestomathia Syriaca by Kirsch, p. 51.

²³ Siphthe Daath, fol. 5 ; col. 4.

²⁴ Ibidem, fol. 17 ; col. 3.

²⁵ Hieronymus, Com. on Ps. xxxvii. 10 : On Eph. iii. 14. Gregorius Magnus, Tom. i. 20, 59, 84, 174.

²⁶ I cannot but think, that the more erudite metaphysicians of the talmudic and rabbinical school never really understood in their own minds anything more by, *Sammael*, or, *the Satan* ; than the *Yetser Harang* or Evil Nature within us ; only they continued to describe him as the Diabolarch and grand Adversary of Jehovah, in compliance with vulgar superstition and the common parlance of the age. R. S. Ephraim repeatedly affirms, that Sammael, the Satan, and Hayetser Harang, are all one and the same thing ; nor does he hesitate to say, that every correction of the conduct of a man is the humiliation of the Yetser Harang ; who is constantly standing at the right hand of the man to be his satan or adversary ; just in the same manner as Joshua, the high priest, is said to have had the Satan standing at his right hand, to be his adversary and accuser. Vid. *Gnolesoth Ephraim*, fol. 62 ; col. 4. That Law, in the members of his body, of which St. Paul speaks and complains, as the antagonist of the Law of the mind, can be understood of nothing else than the Yetser Harang ; which he further designates the Body of Death, that is, the Angel of Death ; a common appellation of Sammael with the rabbinical authors. It is also worthy of remark, that St. James, discoursing of the origin of sin and temptation, makes man to be tempted only from within ; declaring that lust, when it hath conceived, bringeth forth sin ; and that sin, when finished or completed, bringeth forth death ; thus constituting Lust or Hayetser Harang the parent of all sin and wickedness ; and, consequently, the only devil or tempter against which we ought constantly to stand on our guard.

²⁷ Hist. Angl. Hen. II. Anno 1156, p. 95 ; as printed in London, 1640.

²⁸ Manuscript Sermon on James iv. 7. which I had an opportunity of perusing ; though the argumentation is evidently borrowed from the Fathers.

²⁹ Vid. Zend-Avesta, tom. iii. p. 355 ; as translated into French by Du Perron, and printed at Paris, 1771. For ninety days and ninety

nights the celestial Izeds are said to have combated in the world against Ahriman and all the Dews; whom they at last defeated, and hurled into the Douzakh, or Hell.

³⁰ These infernal mansions are said to be seven in number; and are thus enumerated in the *Zohar Gadol*, vol. II. fol. 263. The first is, *Bor*; being quite empty and void of everything, except serpents and scorpions. The second, *Shachath*; darker than the first, and containing three gates or portals. The third, *Dumah*; extremely dark and gloomy, and destitute of all light whatsoever; containing also four gates or portals. The fourth, *Chobah*; the same with *Tit Hayaween*. The fifth, *Sheol*. The sixth, *Beth Cheber*; having four gates or portals, designated, Death, Evil, Shadow of Death, and Gloom or Darkness. The seventh is described, but not named, further than as corresponding to *Erets Tachtith*; whence are said to issue all those various spirits which roam about, and exercise dominion in this lower world. Moreover, the reason of Gehinnom being so called is said to be, because the voice or noise of its roaring extends from one end of the world to the other. Vid. *Reshith Hochma*, fol. 36, col. 1; as printed at Amsterdam, 1776.

LETTER II.

¹ *Sepher Cosri*, Mem. ii. p. 78.

² *Sepher More Nevochim*, Part I. Cap. 57; as translated by Buxtorf, and printed at Basil, 1629.

³ *Behinath Olam*, Cap. xli. fol. 67; as printed in London, 1806.

⁴ Com. on *Sepher Jetsira*, p. 4; as printed at Amsterdam, 1642.

⁵ Fol. 42; as printed at Amsterdam, 1706.

⁶ Com. on Ex. iii. 14; as printed at Amsterdam, 1726.

⁷ *Tyk*. xlii. fol. 114; col. 2.

⁸ Vid. *Siphra Ditsnignotha Deyaacob*, fol. 18; col. 1; as printed at Amsterdam, 1669.

⁹ Vid. Vol. I. Chap. 9th. of my Work on the Trinity and the Incarnation; as also my Letters to the Archbishop of Cashel; where all these designations of the Supreme Crown will be found in the original authorities, there cited.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² *Sepher Rab Peninim*, fol. 23; or Com. on Prov. viii. 22, 27; as printed at Jazenits, 1722.

¹³ *Hoil Mosche*, Perek iv. fol. 19, 20; as printed at Venice, 1597.

¹⁴ Vid. The Doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, &c. Vol. I. Chap. xi.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 214.

¹⁶ De Som. p. 574, 575; as printed at Paris, 1640.

¹⁷ *Targumin* on Num. xi. 20; Hos. xi. 10; Ps. cx. 5; Ps. lxxviii. 16.

¹⁸ *Bava Batra*, Perek ii. Massecheth Sota, Per. i.

¹⁹ On Ps. xxiv. fol. 18; col. 2; as printed at Amsterdam, 1730.

²⁰ Fol. 30; col. 2; as printed at Amsterdam, 1701.

- ³¹ Fol. 5, col. 8, as printed at Amsterdam, 1653.
³² Fol. 35; col. 2.
³³ Fol. 18; col. 1.
³⁴ Strom. Lib. i. p. 357.
³⁵ Shoshannath Haamakim, fol. 16, col. 4; as printed at Ophibeah,
1717, Com. on Prov. viii. 22.
³⁶ Fol. 12; col. 2; as printed at Amsterdam, 1706.
³⁷ Com. on Gen. i. 2.
³⁸ Fol. 33; col. 1.
³⁹ Fol. 13; col. 2; as printed at Welharamarsh Dorf, 1730. "The
Malcuth, or Kingdom, is called Shechinah; because it causes to dwell
in this lower world all the emanations of the Most High: and the
Binah, or Understanding, is likewise called Shechinah; because it
causes the three first to dwell above the other seven numerations of
the Binyan." Vid. fol. 7; col. 2.
⁴⁰ Fol. 69; col. 4; as printed at Frankfort on the Mayne, 1714.
⁴¹ Com. on Ex. xxiv. 1; as printed at Hanovia, 1710.
⁴² Siphra Ditsignotha Deyaseeb, fol. 18; col. 2.
⁴³ Tyk. lxix. fol. 136; col. 1.
⁴⁴ Fol. 18, col. 1; though the pages are not marked; printed at
Lemburg, 1800.
⁴⁵ Fol. 74; col. 3; as printed at Amsterdam, 1701.
⁴⁶ Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, &c. Vol. i. chap. 8.
⁴⁷ Fol. 13, col. 1; as printed at Zalkwa in Poland, &c.
⁴⁸ Fol. 30; col. 1.
⁴⁹ Fol. 107; col. 3.
⁵⁰ Vol. III. fol. 283, col. 1.
⁵¹ Lib. iii. p. 165; as printed at Oxford, 1685.
⁵² Com. on Ps. xxviii. p. 87, 88; as printed at Venice, 1720.
⁵³ Demonstratio Evangelica; cited, according to the Greek, in the
Three Letters to the Archbishop of Cashel, p. 71.
⁵⁴ The Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, &c. Vol. II.
⁵⁵ Hoil Mosche, Per. iv. fol. 19; col. 2.
⁵⁶ Maroth Hatabeoth, fol. 137, col. 4; fol. 41, col. 1; fol. 99,
col. 2; as printed at Jazenits, 1720.
⁵⁷ Sepher Ikkarim, Mem. ii. cap. 28; fol. 54, col. 2; as printed at
Venice, 1544.
⁵⁸ Phil. ii. 5. Rom. ix. 3. The English Translators have not been
careful to distinguish between, *O Theos, God, and Θεος, a God.* The
evangelist does not say; *Και ο θεος ην ο λογος, And the Word was*
God; but, *Και θεος ην α λογος, And the Word was a God;* that is,
a divine subsistency; but not the whole Deity or Godhead.
⁵⁹ John iii. 34.
⁶⁰ John x. 30. viii. 58. xvii. 5. v. 17.
⁶¹ Paedagogus, Lib. i. p. 110, 81. Strom. Lib. vii. 702.
⁶² John iii. 13.
⁶³ Matt. xxviii. 20.
⁶⁴ Eucharologion, p. 308; as printed at Paris, 1647.
⁶⁵ Article v. p. 272; as printed in London, 1710.
⁶⁶ Gnoleloth Ephraim, fol. 63, col. 1.

- ⁵⁷ Perek xxix. fol. 28, col. 2 ; as printed at Cordova, 1708.
⁵⁸ Matt. xvi. 28.
⁵⁹ Vid. Mishna, Bava Metaia, Per. i. 7 ; Bava Bathra, Per. viii. 6.
⁶⁰ De Nominum Mutatione, p. 1052.
⁶¹ De Abbreviaturis Heb. &c. p. 190 ; as printed at Basil, 1613.
⁶² Fol. 11 ; col. 1.
⁶³ Fol. 129 ; col. 2.
⁶⁴ Fol. 64 ; col. 2 ; as printed at Amsterdam, 1767.
⁶⁵ Com. on the Pentateuch, fol. 113, col. 4 ; fol. 35, col. 1.
⁶⁶ Een Yaacob, fol. 163, col. 1 ; as printed at Amsterdam, 1741.
⁶⁷ Fol. 206 ; col. 4.
⁶⁸ Vid. The Christian Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation. Vol. i. 261.

LETTER III.

¹ Gregory the Great in his Epistle to Eulogius, the Patriarch of Alexandria, affirms, that on one single Christmas day more than 10,000 of the English had been baptized by Augustinus, the first archbishop of Canterbury. Gregory of Tours in his *Historia Francorum*, Lib. II. informs us, that when King Clovis was baptized by Remigius, the celebrated bishop of Reims, more than 3,000 of his own army were baptized at the same time, not to mention his two sisters. In the Institution or Life of Gregory Lousavoritch, the original founder of the Armenian Church, written in the Armenian tongue only by Matthew, the Priest and Monk, and printed at Venice, 1749 ; we have it stated, that in the course of ten days Gregory baptized 190,000 Armenian converts ; and that when Dertad or Tiridates, the first christian King of Armenia, was baptized by the same Gregory, not fewer than 4,000,000 of Armenians were baptized along with him in the waters of the Euphrates. Vid. pages 205, 215, 216. Such wholesale conversions to Christianity, effectuated by the profession of a short creed and the laver of baptism, notwithstanding that Gregory the Illuminator, in the case of the Armenians, appointed sixty days for fasting and mortification ; would be sure to leave the converts much in the same state as they were found, still influenced by the popular superstitions of the country and the vulgar errors of the age in which they lived. Hence the reason, why to this very day the reigning errors and superstitions of one part of Christendom are different from those of another ; because they have derived them not from the christian religion, but retained them as the legacy and inheritance of their forefathers, previous to their embracing christianity. In this respect the Jew has nothing whereof to boast any more than the Christian. The Book of Tobit, unquestionably a Jewish composition, and written with a pious design ; though, like an entertaining novel, mixing a little pleasing fiction along with the historical facts, in order to render the narrative at once marvellous and interesting ; exhibits the angel, Raphael, instructing young Tobias, how to make use of the heart, liver, and gall of a fish, so as to expel devils or evil spirits both from men and women ; and to cure cataracts of the eye. Nay, the cataracts in the

eyes of his father, Tobit, were actually removed thereby ; as well as the evil spirit driven from his bride into upper Egypt, and there bound by the angel. If we come down to the nineteenth century, there is the *Sepher Mippaaloeth Elokim*, printed in 1810, full of all sorts of incantation, juggling, and quackery, in a cabalistic garb ; such as, How to cure love sickness ; How to cause proper digestion by articulating the name of the angel, Raphael ; How to dispel charms ; How after building a new house to live long enough to enjoy it, and to prevent thieves from entering it ; How in a dream to get a view of the garden of Eden, and to behold the very mansion which we shall occupy hereafter ; How during his sleep a man may see the figure and form of the woman, that is destined to be his future wife ; How to ascertain the transmigration of the soul, whence it has transmigrated, and how often. In this last performance, one part of the process is for the person to adjure Sammael, the Diabolarch, and all his diabolical crew, not to bring against him any accusations or charges, on this particular occasion. Now, primitive Judaism has nothing to do with such ethnic and cabalistic superstitions ; any more than primitive Christianity stands chargeable with similar superstitions, still cherished and practised in every corner of christendom ; and which would fill a volume, to recount a hundredth part of them.

² *Adversus Marcionem*, Lib. i. 374 ; as printed at Paris, 1664.

³ Jer. xxxiii. 17.

⁴ i. Cor. xv. 28.

⁵ *Yesod Mora*, Part vi. p. 25 ; as printed at Frankfort, 1840.

⁶ Canons lxiii. and lxix.

⁷ *Vid. Rituale Graecorum*, p. 344 ; as edited by Goar.

⁸ *Vid. Hom. v. Part 3rd ; Hom. xiv. Part 1st ; as printed in London 1815.* That many learned Protestants and even Bishops of our English Church admired the Jewish ordinances and precepts, and did all they could to circulate a knowledge of them, may be further demonstrated from what took place amongst ourselves in the middle of the seventeenth century. The Jewish reader must be aware, that about the year 1600, there was printed at Venice a Jewish Catechism called, *Lekach Tob* ; composed by R. Abraham Jagel in pure Biblical Hebrew, and for the use of Jewish children only. In this Catechism, though there is no mention made of our Saviour Christ, nor any allusion to the Christian religion ; the pure precepts of Christianity, from its intimate union with sound Judaism, are so strikingly set forth and inculcated, that they arrested the attention of the learned Ludovicus De Veil ; who in 1679 had the Catechism reprinted in the original Hebrew, accompanied with a Latin Translation by himself, and dedicated to the Right Reverend Father in God, Dr. Henry Compton, the Lord Bishop of London ; by whom, I make no doubt, it would be graciously received. To shew how highly the learned translator appreciated its doctrinal contents, I need but quote a few of his own words in the *Prooemium Interpretis* : " Here truly we may observe the inculcation of precepts, as to life and manners, marvellously agreeing with the doctrine of Christianity ; That Divine Providence consults the good of individuals, and even effectuates, that they pity one

another; That virtue is afforded to mortals through the bounty and beneficence of God, and that by the powerful aid of divine grace the dire lust of man may at length be extinguished; That an assembly of men, united by the ties of religion, are like the body of an individual distributed into its own proper members; so that, as in case any one of these members should be hit by the other, he inflicts no punishment on the other on that account; so also in like manner, if any one of such an assembly or church should injure another, the injury is to be forgiven, whilst pardon is to be solicited from the placable anger of God in behalf of him who stands charged with the fault; That the Jew is bound to be just, faithful, impartial, courteous, and polite no less to strangers than his own brethren; That those who lead a pious and godly life shall obtain the highest blessings; not from any merits of their own, but through the kindness and benignity of God alone. In a word, there is nothing that you can any where find composed by any one of the Rabbies more chastely and purely written; nothing more distinctly and briefly set forth; nothing better adapted and fitted for the purpose; nor more consistent with itself. At the end of the Book the author has subjoined a form of Prayer, as well for the due discharge of sacred rites, as for the correction of vice and the attainment of wisdom, earnestly and repeatedly to be importuned at the hands of God; in which Prayer we can find nothing wanted, except the august name of our Lord Jesus Christ." Thus far the learned Translator, in whose high encomiums on the Catechism, as well as in the lamented defect particularised, I perfectly coincide. The Jewish divines are equally aware with the Christian divines, and have long laboured to demonstrate the truth of the position, that to obey is better than sacrifice; that no performance of any religious duty can be acceptable and pleasing to God, unless the mind accompanies the body truly and sincerely: but then, as the body requires the presence of the mind, so does the mind require the presence of the body, either the whole or some of its members, in every act of man; who being created a compound of body and soul together, can achieve no human act, no matter whether religious or otherwise, without the co-operation of the body with the mind; nor expect to receive any future recompense for his acts and deeds according to the divine promise, unless all his energies and powers, corporeal as well as mental, be fully employed in doing homage and service to that God from whom he received them. One thing must always be remembered and duly maintained, that Christ, the Son of God, can neither be displeased nor dishonoured, whenever God, the Father of that Son, is worshipped and glorified.

⁹ *De Vita Contemplativa*; p. 902, 903.

¹⁰ *Vid.* *Jewish Repository* for 1813, Vol. I. p. 27, 68, 107, 148, 164, 181, 195, 204, 208, 237, 292. Vol. III. for 1815, p. 234, 236. *Address* prefixed to the *Jewish Expositor* for Jan. 1816.

¹¹ *Vid.* *Alkoran*, ch. III. p. 37. 38; ch. iv. p. 73; as translated by Sale, and printed in London by Hodgson. *Relandi De Religione Mohammedica, Præfatio, et Lib. I.* p. 21, 25; as printed at Utrecht, 1717.

10
DEDICATED, BY PERMISSION, TO
THE REV. HUGH M'NEILE, M.A.,
INCUMBENT OF ST. JUDE'S, LIVERPOOL.



POPERY

NOT "THE OLD RELIGION."

BY
A MEMBER OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND ;

AUTHOR OF
"FUSEYISM, OR ANGLO-CATHOLICISM, BRIEFLY CONSIDERED," ETC.

"By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned."
MATT. XII. 37.

LONDON:
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1845.
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TO THE REV. HUGH M'NEILE, M.A.

SIR,

With the highest feeling of regard and admiration for the earnest and pious zeal with which you have ever defended our Protestant Reformed Church of England and Ireland, as by law established, and, without in any way pledging you to the statements therein contained, for which I alone am responsible, the following pages are respectfully dedicated by

Your obliged

and very humble Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

BROMPTON, April 14, 1845.

Popery not "the Old Religion,"

"And I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns."....."The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth." [Rome is situated on seven hills]....."And the woman which thou sawest is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth."—REV. xvii. 4, 9, 18.

ONE of the fallacious claims of the modern Church of Rome, and which she asserts with great boldness, is, that the Romish Church is the *whole*, and not a part only, of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church—"the mother and mistress of all Churches." The ancient Church of Rome is described in the holy Scriptures as an integral part of the Catholic Church, as was the Church of Ephesus, the Church of Corinth, and the Church of Jerusalem, which were in existence before the Church of Rome; and the first Council of Nice (canon vi. e. x.), A.D. 315, witnesses against this assumption, as being inconsistent with the constitution of the primitive Catholic Church.* It is not unfrequently stated, that the Church of Rome is of greater antiquity than the Anglican Church; but it can be proved, from history, that the Christian religion was established in Britain, under Caractacus, two hundred years before its triumph under Constantine at Rome; and was, moreover, established at Rome by British valour under the British Constantine.

* "In the first Council of Nice, all the Christian Churches were on an equality with that at Rome; and in the fourth General Council (that convened at Chalcedon), it was declared that the Church at Constantinople should have equal honours with that at Rome, because the seat of the Imperial Government was there."—*Bishop Burgess.*

At what precise period the Romish Church began to depart from the simplicity of "the faith once delivered to the saints," it is, perhaps, difficult to determine. We know that, even in the apostle's day, "the mystery of iniquity" had already begun to work ; and that the corruptions and abominations with which the once pure and holy Roman Church is now polluted and defiled, were progressively introduced by "men of corrupt minds, perverting the faith." We also know that the ancient British Church, after Rome apostatized, refused communion with her, and continued to the last an unrelenting struggle with the Papacy, until she finally triumphed over the alien innovators.

In tracing the history of the introduction of the several corruptions of the Romish Church, we cannot fail to note how entirely they are opposed to the doctrines of the Bible, and the faith and practice of the Primitive or Apostolic Church ; and, further, that certain of them are even at variance with ancient canons of their own Church. That some of the ceremonies of the Roman Church are borrowed from paganism is evident ; as, for instance, the rite of sprinkling with holy water, introduced by Alexander I., A.D. 118. The learned Montfaucon says— "The aquaminiarium, or amula, was a vase of holy water, placed by the heathens at the entrance of their temples to sprinkle themselves with ;" and many of their religious feasts and processions bear a striking resemblance to similar customs of the heathen.

WORSHIP OF SAINTS.—Perhaps amongst the most early innovations of the Romish Church may be ranked the worship of angels and the blessed Virgin, and the invocation of saints, which was first publicly taught by the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 754 ; and the use of images and relics in religious worship, which was first publicly affirmed and sanctioned by the second Council of Nice, A.D. 787 ; but it was not until the time of St. Bonaventura, A.D. 1558, that the evil had reached its height. The following extracts

will show the practice of the Church of Rome in this particular :—

“ *The Litany of our Lady of Loretto.**—We fly to thy patronage, O holy mother of God ; despise not our petitions in our necessities, but deliver us from all dangers, O ever-glorious and blessed Virgin. Lord, have mercy on us. Christ, have mercy on us. Christ graciously hear us. God the Father of heaven, have mercy on us. God the Son, Redeemer of the world, have mercy on us. God the Holy Ghost, have mercy on us. Holy Trinity, one God, have mercy on us. Holy Mary, pray for us.”—*Garden of the Soul*, p. 293.

Extract from a “Parody on the Te Deum,” by St. Bonaventura ; taken from a collection of prayers and praises to the Virgin Mary, the *eleventh* edition of which was published at Rome, in 1839, with the license of the master of the sacred palace and his deputy :—

“ We praise thee, the mother of God ; we acknowledge thee to be a virgin. All the earth doth worship thee, the spouse of the eternal Father. All angels and archangels, all thrones and powers, do faithfully serve thee. To thee all angels cry aloud, with a never-ceasing voice, holy, holy, holy, Mary, mother of God.The whole court of Heaven doth honour thee as queen. The holy Church throughout all the world doth invoke and praise thee, the mother of Divine Majesty.....Thou sittest with thy Son on the right hand of the Father.....In thee, sweet Mary, is our hope ; defend us evermore. Praise becometh thee, empire becometh thee ; virtue and glory be unto thee, for ever and ever.”

Extract from a “Parody on the Athanasian Creed,” by St. Bonaventura :—

* “Pope Sixtus V., June 11, 1587, granted to all Christians an indulgence of two hundred days each time, for piously reciting the Litany of the blessed Virgin Mary, which indulgence was confirmed by Benedict XIII., January 26, 1728.”—*The Family Prayer Book* (p. 148) ; in use amongst English Roman Catholics. London : 1839. 16mo.

"Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the right faith concerning *Mary*; which faith, except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.....He (Jesus Christ) sent the Holy Spirit upon his disciples, and upon his mother, and at last took her up into heaven, where she sitteth at the right hand of her Son, and never ceaseth to make intercession with him for us."

"This is the faith concerning the Virgin *Mary*, which, except every one do believe faithfully, *he cannot be saved.*"

A Prayer to the Virgin, set forth in Rome, A.D. 1822, by Pope Pius VII., with a plenary indulgence for those who use it every day for an entire month :—

"I adore thee, most Holy Virgin, Queen of Heaven, Lady and Patroness of the Universe, as Daughter of the Eternal Father—Mother of his most blessed Son, and most gracious Spouse of the Holy Ghost; prostrate at the feet of thy great majesty, with all possible humility, I supplicate thee, by that divine love with which thou wast filled on thy assumption into heaven, to grant me so much grace and mercy, as to receive me under thy most secure and faithful protection, and to number me among thy most happy and joyful servants, whom thou bearest engraven in thy virgin bosom. Vouchsafe, O my most merciful mother and lady, to receive this miserable and impure heart; take my memory, my will, and all my other faculties and senses, both internal and external; accept my eyes, my ears, my mouth, my hands, my feet; rule them, and make them conform to the good pleasure of thy sweet son. Intending by every movement of them to give thee infinite glory," &c.

Extract from Pope Gregory XVI.'s "Encyclical Letter."—*Laity's Directory*, for 1833 :—

"That all may have a successful and happy issue, let us raise our eyes to the most blessed Virgin *Mary*,

who alone destroys heresies, who is our GREATEST HOPE, YEA, THE ONLY GROUND OF OUR HOPE."*

The following blasphemous address of the Lord's Prayer to the blessed Virgin is translated from a card sold in the shops of the capital of Belgium ;—

"Our Mother, who art in heaven, O Mary, blessed be thy name for ever ; let your love come to all our hearts ; let your desires be accomplished on earth as in heaven ; give us this day grace and mercy ; give us the pardon of all our faults, as we hope it from your unbounded goodness ; and let us no more yield to temptation, but deliver us from evil. *Amen.*"

Prayer to a guardian angel, sanctioned by the Church of Rome :—

"O my good angel, whom God, by his Divine mercy, has appointed to be my guardian, enlighten and protect me, direct and govern me this night."

A prayer in which the Church of Rome teaches her members to invoke St. Peter :—

"O Peter, blessed shepherd, of thy mercy accept the prayers of us who supplicate, and loose, by thy word, the bands of our sins ; thou to whom is given the power of opening heaven to the earth, and of shutting it when open."—*Roman Breviary, Husenbuth, p. 497, for the 18th January.*

IMAGE AND RELIC WORSHIP.—Extracts from the second Council of Nice, A.D. 787 :—

"I utterly reject and anathematize every heresy which the first six General Councils have anathematized, imploring the intercession of our lady, the holy mother of God, the ever Virgin Mary, and of the holy and heavenly powers, and, in a word, of all the saints ;

* "In the course of the year 1840, Gregory XVI. granted an indulgence of one hundred years to every one who shall recite the following prayer :—O Immaculate Queen of Heaven and Angels, I adore you. It is you who have delivered me from hell. It is from you I look for all my salvation."—*Mariolatry: or Facts and Evidences demonstrating the Worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary by the Church of Rome.* (Second Edition.) London : Painter.

and, receiving with all respect their holy and precious relics, *I kiss them, and worship* (proskunesis) *them with honour, having faith that I may by them be made partaker of holiness.* In like manner I kiss, and embrace, and *worship* (proskunesis) with honour, the venerable images of the dispensation of our Lord Jesus Christ, as he was made man for our salvation; as also the images of our lady, ever virgin, and holy mother of God; and of the holy apostles, prophets, martyrs, and all saints.”
—*Action I.*

“The honour rendered to the image is transmitted to the prototype; and *he who worships the figure, worships the substance of that which is represented by it.* It is agreed unanimously, and without contradiction, that it is pleasing and acceptable in the sight of God, to *worship* and salute the representative images of the dispensation of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the undefiled mother of God and ever Virgin Mary, and of the honourable angels, and of all the saints; and if *any one doth not agree in this*, but disputes it, or is *indifferent* in respect to the *worship* of the venerable images, our holy and General Synod ANATHEMATIZES HIM.”—*Action VII.*

By the decree of Pope Urban VIII., dated March 13, 1625, it is provided that “the images of departed saints may not be exhibited with a glory round them, nor may lighted candles be set before them, nor may anything else, *implying veneration or worship*, be shown or addressed to them, before they have been canonized or beatified by the apostolic see.”—*Cherubin's Bullarium.* Rom., vol. iv., p. 83.

Does not this doctrine of the Church of Rome, of praying to, or invoking departed saints (duly canonized !*) amount to blasphemy? Does it not, of necessity, imply, and accord to the creature, the possession of two of the essential attributes of Deity—namely,

* “It is a fact that the King of Naples paid fifty thousand crowns (10,000*l.*) to the Pope for the canonization of a female. This enormous sum was the canonisation fee fixed many years ago by Pope Benedict.

omniscience and omnipresence? Well may the Church of Rome suppress the second commandment in the decalogue.* And yet Romanists deny that their Church teaches or enjoins the worship of saints and images!

Let us refer to some ancient authorities upon this subject:—

“Christians ought not to forsake the Church of God, and depart aside and *invoke* angels, and form assemblies (for this purpose), which are things forbidden. If any man, therefore, be found to give himself to this secret *idolatry*, LET HIM BE ACCURSED. Because he hath forsaken our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and hath betaken himself to idolatry.”—*35th Canon of the Council of Laodicea*, A.D. 364.

“That NOTHING CREATED is to be worshipped by man, the word of God has ordained by law, as we may learn from almost every part of Scripture. Moses, the tables, the law, the prophets, afterwards the gospels, the determination of all the apostles, do equally forbid the looking unto the creature.”—*Nyssen, Cont. Eunom*, Orat. iv., tom. 2, p. 114.

“Neither Elias, nor John, nor Thecla, NOR ANY OF THE SAINTS, are to be worshipped. For that ancient error shall not prevail over us, to forsake the living God, and to worship the things that are made by him; for they have ‘served and worshipped the creature more than the Creator,’ and become fools. For if he will not have the angels to be worshipped, how much more will he not have her that was born of Anna?”—*Epiphanius Hæres*, p. 448.

“The saints are to be honoured for IMITATION, and not adored for religion.”—*Augustine de vera relig.* c. 55.

* The Ten Commandments, as set forth by the Church of Rome:—“1. I am the Lord thy God, thou shalt have none other God before me.—2. Thou shalt not take the name of God in vain.—3. Remember to keep holy the FESTIVALS.—4. Honour thy father and thy mother.—5. Do not kill.—6. Do not commit adultery.—7. Do not steal.—8. Do not bear false witness.—9. Do not covet thy neighbour’s wife.—10. Do not covet your neighbour’s goods.”—*Bellarmino’s Dottrina Cristiana Breve*, pp. 23, 24, London Edit: 1836.

"We are plainly forbidden to exercise that deceitful art (the use of images). For the prophet says, 'Thou shalt not make the likeness of anything, either in heaven, or in the earth beneath.' Moses commanded to make no image that should represent God by art."—*Clemens Alexandrinus*.

"It is our mind that pictures ought not to be in the Church; lest that which is worshipped or adored should be painted on walls."—*Council of Eliberis (now Granada) in Spain, A.D. 305*.

"It is wholly unlawful to erect any such image to God in a Christian Church."—*August. de fide fet Symbol, cap. 7*.

"We take no pains to paint the corporeal resemblances of saints, for we have no occasion for such things; but we try to imitate their behaviour by our virtuous living."—*Amphilocus citatus a Patr. Councili Constant. 754*.

CELIBACY OF THE CLERGY.—The compulsory celibacy of the clergy was first publicly set forth at the first Council of Lateran, A.D. 1123.

CONFESSIONS TO PRIESTS.—The doctrine of auricular confession was first enjoined by Innocent III., at the fourth Council of Lateran, A.D. 115.

QUESTIONS FOR THE CONFESSIONAL.—"Has not the penitent revolved some improper thought in his or her mind? What kind of desire was it? Has he or she felt unlawful passions? And if the penitent shall answer that he or she has had improper thoughts or irregular desires, the confessor shall ask whether any improper actions followed.

"If the penitent be a girl, she should be asked whether she has adorned herself in order to please the men? whether, for this purpose, she has used paint, or stripped her arms, shoulders, or neck? whether she has frequented the churches, that she might show herself in the vestibule or window, so as to attract observa-

tion? whether she has spoken, or read, or sung anything immodest? whether she is not attached to somebody with a more peculiar affection? whether she has not permitted him to take some liberty with her? whether she does not allow herself to be kissed? and if occasion occurs for ulterior enquiries the confessor," &c.—*Bailly's Moral Theology*, vol. ii., p. 229.*

St. Chrysostom says, "Let every one examine himself, and then let him come (to the Sacrament). He doth not bid one man examine another, but every man himself, making the judgment private, and the trial without witnesses."—*S. Chrys. Hom. 28*. And again, "Within thy conscience, none being present but God, who seeth all things, enter thou into judgment in thy mind: reform thy excesses, and so with a pure mind draw near to the sacred table, and partake of that holy sacrifice."—*Tom. vi., Savil., p. 837*.

"After baptism, God hath appointed the remedy within thyself; he hath put remission in thine own power, that thou needest not seek a priest when thy necessity requires; but thou thyself, as a skilful and plain master, mayest amend thine error within thyself."—*Laurence, Bishop of Novara*, tom, vi., *Biblioth. Patr.* 1, p. 397. *Edith. Colon.*

PAPAL SUPREMACY.—The Emperor Phocas, in the year 606, first acknowledged the Bishop of Rome, Boniface, to be **UNIVERSAL BISHOP**; but it was not until the year 1215, at the fourth Council of Lateran, that this title was publicly asserted.

Pope Pius IV., in a Bull, dated Dec. 9, 1564, asserts that "the Church of Rome is the mother and mistress of all churches," and that it is the duty of all men to "render true obedience to the Pope," for that "this is the true Catholic faith, OUT OF WHICH NO MAN CAN BE SAVED."

Extract from a decree of the Romish canon law

* This book contains some such scandalous and revolting tenets, that it would be a shame even to repeat them.

issued by Boniface VIII., and renewed and approved by Leo X. in his Bull, read to, and passed by the fifth Lateran Council, "with the approbation of the present holy council :"—

"Moreover, we declare, define, and pronounce it to be altogether *of necessity to salvation*, for every human creature *to be subject to THE POPE OF ROME*."—*Extravagantes Communes*, lib. i., tit. 8, cap. 1, p. 192 B. Parisiis, 1612.

And M. le Comte de Montalembert, one of the leaders of the Popish movement now going on in France, in a letter recently addressed to the Cambridge Camden Society, says—"If the Church of Rome, when she maintains that OUT OF HER PALE THERE IS NO SALVATION, and that she ALONE has the power of governing the Christian world, is not INFALLIBLY RIGHT, then she is INFALLIBLY WRONG; and so far from being a distinguished branch of truth, she is founded on IMPOSTURE OR ERROR, and in neither case can be a true Church."

Now this doctrine of the Pope's supremacy and infallibility is one that all the faithful are bound implicitly to believe, on pain of excommunication: it will not, therefore, be uninteresting to hear what "St. Gregory the Great," a bishop of the ancient [he died A.D. 640], and a canonized saint of the modern, Church of Rome, says upon the subject of this assumption:—

"I speak it confidently, that whosoever calleth himself UNIVERSAL BISHOP, or desireth to be so called in the pride of his heart, he doth forerun ANTICHRIST."—*Gregory, Epistle xxx*. And again (speaking of the Patriarch of Constantinople)—"He is an Antichrist that shall claim the title of universal bishop It is too grievous to be borne, that our aforesaid brother and fellow-bishop—*co-episcopus meus*—despising all others, should attempt that he alone should be called a bishop; it is a novel doctrine which has never been known at Rome, or pretended to by any other bishop; it is against the Gospel—the decrees of the canons;

against the rights of all other bishops, and of all Churches; a horrible injury and scandal to the whole universal Church The bishops are the stars of God, and whosoever does seek to advance his throne above them, does imitate the pride of Lucifer; and is, therefore, the forerunner of Antichrist, whose times I see approaching by this most wicked and tyrannical usurpation of one bishop, above all the rest of his colleagues, to style himself patriarch of almost the whole Œcumenical Church Let that blasphemous name [the Pope is styled, 'our most holy Lord,'—'our Lord God the Pope,' &c.] be abhorrent to the hearts of all Christians, by which the honour of all bishops is taken away, while it is madly arrogated by one to himself."—*Lib. iv. Epis. 34.*

TRANSUBSTANTIATION.—The doctrine of Transubstantiation was first introduced into the Roman Church, A.D. 818, but was not insisted upon to be received as an Article of faith till the year 1215, at the fourth Council of Lateran.

In the first Canon of that Council it is said :—

"There is one universal Church of the faithful, out of which no one at all is saved; in which Jesus Christ is himself at once priest and sacrifice; whose body and blood, in the sacrament of the altar, are continued under the species of bread and wine, which, through the divine power, are transubstantiated—the bread into the body, and the wine into the blood—that, for the fulfilment of the mystery of unity, we may receive of his that which he received of ours."

In the Council of Trent (in 1551) this doctrine is again asserted, and the following tremendous curse is added against those who deny it :—

"If any man shall say that in the holy sacrament of the Eucharist there remains the substance of bread and wine, together with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and shall deny that wonderful and remarkable conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body, or of the wine into the blood,

while only the appearance of bread and wine remains, which conversion the Catholic Church most aptly calls Transubstantiation, LET HIM BE ACCURSED.”*

Again: in Canon III. on the Eucharist:—

“If any shall deny that the whole Christ is contained in the venerable sacrament of the Eucharist, under each appearance, and, when they are divided, under every particle of each appearance, LET HIM BE ACCURSED.”

And again: Sess. xii. ch. 5.—“On the worship and veneration to be paid to this most holy sacrament:”—“There remains, then, no room to doubt but that all Christ’s faithful people should pay to this most holy sacrament the worship of *latria*, which is due to the true God, according to the custom which the Church Catholic has always received.”

That this doctrine of the Church of Rome is contrary to holy Scripture, and that the doctrine held by the Church of England is that which was held from the beginning, has been clearly shown by some of the most learned and pious men in all ages of the Church. Transubstantiation destroys the nature of a sacrament. A sacrament (says the Council of Trent, c. iii. on the Eucharist) is “a symbol of a sacred thing.” And in c. i., that our Lord Jesus Christ is “*sacramentally*” present in the holy Eucharist: that is—“according to the mode of existence, which, although we can hardly express it in words, we can understand in our thoughts, enlightened by faith, to be possible with God, and ought most firmly to believe.” But Transubstantiation teaches that the bread and wine in the Lord’s Supper are NOT the SYMBOLS, but the actual substance, of the body and blood of Christ.

“Unless (says Christ) ‘ye eat the flesh of the son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.’

* The form of Anathema or Excommunication will be found in a note at the end.

He seems to command an outrageous and sinful act: wherefore it must be figurative, enjoining only participation with the Lord's passion, and with sweetness and profit to treasure up in our memories that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us."—*Augustine, Doc. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. xvi.*

"The mystical symbols, after consecration, do not pass out of their own nature, for they remain in their former substance, figure, and appearance."—*Theodoret, Dial. ii.*

"The bread is not like Christ, neither in his invisible Diety, nor in his incarnate likeness, for it is round, and without feeling as to its virtue."—*Epiphanius.*

"Some of late, not having a right opinion of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, have said that this is the very body and blood of our Lord, which was born of the Virgin Mary; and in which our Lord suffered upon the cross, and was raised from the dead, which error we have opposed with all our might."—*Maurus, Archbishop of Mentz, in 847.*

WITHHOLDING THE CUP FROM THE LAITY.—Communion in one kind only, or the refusal of the cup to the laity, was first authorized by the Council of Constance, A.D. 1414.

"Let them receive it in both kinds or neither, because the mystery is but one and the same, and cannot without sacrilege be divided."—*Pope Gelacius apud Gracian de Contex. dis. . cap. Coperimus.* Cassander and Aquinas affirm that, for a thousand years, both elements were given to the people in the Latin Church.—*Cass. Consult. de Sacra Comm. Sec. . Aquin. Comm. in 3 John, lec. 7.*

PURGATORY AND INDULGENCES.—Purgatory and Indulgences were first set forth by the authority of the General Council of Florence, A.D. 1438.

The doctrine of Purgatory is generally familiar: it is to the effect that there is a place for departed souls,

where they are rendered fit for heaven, either by their own sufferings, or the prayers of the faithful upon earth, or by masses (for which payment must be made), or by the indulgence of the Pope.

“When the soul departeth, which cannot be seen with carnal eyes, it is received by angels, and placed within the bosom of Abraham, if it be faithful; or in the custody of the prison of hell, if it be sinful; until the day appointed come wherein it is to receive the body, and render an account of the works thereof, at the tribunal of Christ the true Judge.”—*Serm. 2. de Consolat. Matour Eligius Novimensis.*

“A purgatory fire, and a punishment by fire, which is temporal, and shall terminate in the end, we have neither received from our doctors, nor do we know that the Church in the East maintains it.”—*Apology of Greeks to the Council of Basil, A.D. 1438.*

“Infidels and wicked men, departed out of this life, are no more to be prayed for than the devil and his angels, which are appointed into everlasting punishment.”—*S. Gregory, Moral. in Job. lib. 34, cap. 16, et Dial. lib. iv. c. 44.*

“If the prayers of those here can profit those that be there, then let no man be godly—let him be prayed for after death, and his sins will not be required.”—(*Ærius apud Epiphanius, p. 386.*)

With respect to INDULGENCES, they are, it would seem, of a very general and comprehensive character; extending from dispensing with the observance of a fast to the granting a full pardon of all sins; as witness the *Protest*, issued in the month of September, 1844, against the Charitable Bequests Bill, signed by two vicars-general, one foreign bishop, thirteen Irish bishops, and eight hundred and fifty-four priests: in which Protest occurs the following passage:—“Instead of a concession, it (the Charitable Bequests Act) is a new penal law of the old leaven, forbidding the dying sinner, in his most sincere moments—the time of his last sickness—to REDEEM HIS SINS by the bequest

of a single acre of landed property for any religious or charitable purpose in our communion.”*

And, in connection with this subject, it will be found, by reference to the third canon of the fourth Council of Lateran, under Pope Innocent III., A.D. 1215, and which canon, be it observed, is still in force, and binding upon the conscience of every Romanist—(see their common book of devotion, “The Garden of the Soul,” p. 6)—that “a full pardon of all their sins,” and “an augmentation of eternal blessedness (*salutis*) at the retribution of the just, is promised and granted to all the ‘faithful, who shall, in their own persons, or by others, aid in the extermination of heretics.’” In the canon above referred to—viz., the third canon of the fourth Council of Lateran, we read as follows:—“We excommunicate and anathematize every heresy which exalteth itself against this holy, orthodox, and Catholic faith, which we have set forth above; condemning all heretics, by whatsoever names they may be reckoned: who have, indeed, divers faces, but their tails are bound together, for they make agreement in the same folly.

“Let such persons, when condemned, be left to the secular powers who may be present, or to their officers, to be punished in a fitting manner; those who are of the clergy being first degraded from their orders: so that the goods of such condemned persons, being laymen, shall be confiscated; but, in the case of clerks, be applied to the churches from which they received their stipends.

* The “Roman Penitentiary Tax Tables” clearly prove that penance, or punishment for sin, may be commuted by the payment of a sum of money. The reader will find that fact fully detailed in a little work, entitled “The Spiritual Venality of Rome,” by Emancipatus (the Rev. Joseph Mendham). London, 1836. See also “A Collection of Prayers and Pious Works, to which Holy Indulgences have been granted by the Sovereign Pontiffs. Fifth Edition, Enlarged by the Author. Rome, 1818. From the press of Luigi Perego Salvioni.” 24mo., 492 pages.

“ But let those who are only marked with suspicion, be smitten with the sword of anathema, and shunned by all good men, until they make proper satisfaction ; unless, according to the grounds of suspicion, and the quality of the person, they shall have demonstrated their innocence by a proportionate purgation. So that if any shall persevere in excommunication for a twelve-month, thenceforth they shall be CONDEMNED AS HERETICS ; and let the secular powers, whatever offices they may hold, be induced and admonished, and, if need be, compelled by ecclesiastical censure ; that, as they desire to be accounted faithful, they do, for the defence of the faith, publicly take an oath that, to the utmost of their power, they will strive to EXTERMINATE, from the lands under their jurisdiction, ALL HERETICS WHO SHALL BE DENOUNCED BY THE CHURCH ; so that whensoever any person is advanced either in spiritual or temporal power, he is bound to confirm this decree by an oath.

“ But if any temporal lord, being required and admonished by the Church, shall neglect to cleanse his country of this heretical filth, let him be bound with the chain of excommunication, by the metropolitan, and the other co-provincial bishops. And if he shall scorn to make satisfaction within a year, let this be signified to the supreme pontiff, that thenceforth he may declare his vassals to be absolved from their fidelity to him, and may expose his lands to be occupied by the Catholics, who, having EXTERMINATED THE HERETICS, may, without contradiction, possess it, and preserve it in purity of faith : saving the right of the chief lord, so long as he himself presents no difficulty and offers no hindrance in this matter : the same law, nevertheless, being observed concerning those who have not lords in chief. But let the Catholics, who, having taken the sign of the cross, have girded themselves for the extermination of heretics, enjoy the same indulgence, and be armed with the same privilege as is conceded to those who go to the assistance of the Holy

Land—to wit, ‘a full pardon of all their sins,’ and ‘an augmentation of eternal blessedness at the retribution of the just.’”

In the Rhemish Testament, with its notes, first published about the year 1567, and republished in Ireland in 1815 or 1816, under the sanction of the Irish Roman Catholic Archbishops (Troy and Murray), and bishops, and other high Romish ecclesiastics in that country; and which, according to the testimony of “an English Catholic Pastor,” dated “Whitwich, Nov, 5th, 1817,” has, “for two centuries and a half, been the text-book of all Roman Catholics who use the English language,” we find the following :—

“We see here, that of all things, Christian people (especially bishops) should have great zeal against heretics; and hate them—that is, their wicked doctrine and conditions, even as God hateth them..... ‘Drunk with blood,’ the Protestants foolishly expound of Rome, for that there they put heretics to death, and allow of their punishment in other countries; but their blood is not called the blood of saints, no more than the blood of thieves, man-killers, and other malefactors, for the shedding of which, by order of justice, no commonwealth shall answer,..... The good must tolerate the evil, when it is so strong that it cannot be redressed without danger and disturbance of the whole Church, and commit the matter to God’s judgment in the latter day; otherwise where ill men (be they heretics or other malefactors) may be punished and suppressed, without disturbance and hazard of the good, they may, and ought, by public authority, either spiritual or temporal, to be chastised or EXECUTED.”

And in “Bellarmine,” book iii. c. 31, 1628 :—

“It is proved by natural reason that heretics can justly be excommunicated, and therefore PUT TO DEATH Experience teaches that there is no other remedy; for the Church has tried every other in vain If you confine them in prison, or send them into exile, they corrupt the neighbourhood with their

books and speeches ; therefore the only remedy is, to send them at once to their own place All these reasons persuade us that HERETICS OUGHT TO BE PUT TO DEATH."

Now, both these works, together with "Bailly's" and "Dens' Theology," are standard works in the Romish Church ; and are moreover, class-books at the (Protestant endowed*) Popish College of Maynooth !

Whether or not the Romish is a persecuting Church, witness the slaughter of the Waldenses and Albigenses ; the massacre of St. Bartholomew ; the revocation of the edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV., the butcheries of the Duke d'Alva in the Low Countries ; the sanguinary burnings of the reign of Mary ; the Gunpowder Plot ; the barn of Scullabogue ; and the BLACK OATH :—" I, A. B.,- do solemnly swear, by our Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered for us on the cross, and by the blessed Virgin Mary, that I will BURN, DESTROY, AND MURDER ALL HERETICS UP TO MY KNEES IN BLOOD!"—which horrid oath, it was stated upon oath, before the magistrates of the county of Wexford, June 23rd, 1798, was taken by all the rebels, and that printed copies of it were found on numbers that were slain. That the Romish Church does not practice the same bloody cruelties in our own day, it is not that the spirit of Popery is changed, for that is (so they themselves tell us) *unchanged and unchangeable* ; but arises, in our own

* Sir Robert Peel, on the first day of the present Session of Parliament, distinctly stated that it was the intention of her Majesty's Government to propose to parliament a *liberal* increase [it is said to 26,000*l.* per ann.] of the vote for the College of Maynooth ; without accompanying that vote by any regulations in respect to the *doctrine or discipline* of the Church of Rome.

Declaration signed by her most gracious Majesty (whom God preserve) in presence of the members of both Houses of Parliament, November 20th, 1837 :—" I do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, testify and declare, that I do believe that the invocation and adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous."

country at least, from necessity; for as we have already seen, from the "Rhemish Testament"—"the good must tolerate the evil, when it is so strong that it cannot be redressed without danger and disturbance to the whole Church."*

TRADITION.—The doctrine of the **EQUAL AUTHORITY OF SCRIPTURE AND TRADITION** was first publicly taught by the Council of Trent, sess. iv., A.D. 1546; and the Romish canon of the Old Testament was first set forth by the authority of the same council.

THE CREED OF POPE PIUS IV., and also the rules of the **INDEX**, restricting the reading and circulation of the Scriptures, were first published A.D. 1564.

As the Romanists have often the hardihood to deny that their Church refuses or withholds the reading of the holy Scriptures from the laity, let us see how the matter really stands; and a few extracts from the Index, above referred to, as also from certain bulls and encyclical letters of the Popes of Rome, will, perhaps, throw some light upon the subject.

In the fourth rule prefixed to the "Index of Prohibited Books," we read:—

"Inasmuch as it is manifest from experience, that if the holy Bible, translated into the vulgar tongue, be indiscriminately allowed to every one, the temerity of men will cause more evil than good to arise from it, it is, on this point, referred to the judgment of the bishops or inquisitors, who may, by the advice of the priest or confessor, permit the reading of the Bible, translated into the vulgar tongue by Catholic authors, to those persons whose faith and piety they apprehend will be augmented, and not injured by it; and this permission they must have in writing. But if any one shall have

* And do we not see the vigorous efforts which are at this time being made throughout almost the whole Continent of Europe for the attainment of supreme power, by the satellites of Rome—the Jesuits? Look at France, Bavaria, and Switzerland, with its cantons in a state of civil war!

the presumption to read or possess it without such written permission, he shall not receive absolution until he have first delivered up such Bible to the ordinary.....

“Finally, it is enjoined on all the faithful, that no one presume to keep or read any books contrary to these rules, or prohibited by this Index. But if any one read or keep any books composed by heretics, or the writings of any author suspected of heresy, or false doctrine, he shall instantly incur the sentence of excommunication; and those who read or keep works interdicted on another account, besides the mortal sin committed, shall be severely punished at the will of the bishops.”—*Rule vii.*

On the 29th of June, 1816, Pope Pius VII. issued a rescript to the Archbishop of Guesn, Primate of Poland, in which he denounced the circulation of the unadulterated Scripture without note or comment, as a “crafty device by which the foundations of religion are undermined,” and a “defilement of the faith most imminently dangerous to souls.” He then exhorted the archbishop to use the utmost of his power to prevent the circulation of the Scriptures, and reminded him—“that Bibles printed by heretics are numbered among prohibited books, agreeably to the rules of the Index (No. ii. and iii.); for it is evident, from experience, that the holy Scriptures, when published in the vulgar tongue, have, through the temerity of men, produced more harm than benefit (*Rule iv.*) And this is the rather to be dreaded in times so depraved, when our holy religion is assailed from every quarter with great cunning and effort, and the most grievous wounds are inflicted on the Church. It is, therefore, necessary to adhere to the salutary decree of the congregation of the Index (June 13th, 1757); that no version of the Bible in the vulgar tongue be permitted, except such as are approved by the apostolic see, or published with annotations extracted from the writings of the holy fathers of the Church.”

On the 3rd of September following, Pius VII. ad-

dressed an objuratory brief to the Archbishop Mohileff, the Romish metropolitan of Russia, who had been guilty of the heinous crime of authorizing and exhorting the people committed to his care to procure modern versions of the Scriptures, or to accept them when offered, and attentively to peruse them. In this brief, Pius VII. tells him that he ought to have kept in view what preceding popes had always prescribed, viz. :—“That if the holy Bible in the vulgar tongue was permitted everywhere without discrimination, more injury than benefit would thence arise,” and “that he should sincerely and plainly teach that the Christian faith and doctrine, as well dogmatical as moral, are contained, not in the Scriptures only, but also in the traditions of the Catholic Church; and that it belongs to the Church ALONE to interpret them.”

Pope Leo XII., on his accession to the pontificate, in 1824, issued an encyclical letter to all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops, of the Romish obedience, dated May 3rd, in which he says :—“You are not ignorant, venerable brethren, that a Society, commonly called the Bible Society, is boldly stalking throughout the world, which, contrary to the well-known decree of the Council of Trent, is lending all its strength, and by every means, to translate the Bible in the vulgar languages of all nations, or rather to pervert it. Whence it is greatly to be feared lest, as in some versions already known, so also in others, by a perverse interpretation, instead of the Gospel of Christ, it should become the Gospel of man, or, what is worse, THE GOSPEL OF THE DEVIL.”

The present pontiff, Gregory XVI., in a Bull, dated May 8th, 1844, denounces, in the most solemn tone, the circulation of the Scriptures by the Bible Societies. Having referred to the decrees of the Council of Trent, as well as to the prohibitions of preceding Popes against the reading of the Scriptures, concluding with the encyclical letter of Leo XII., he thus proceeds :—

“Shortly afterwards, our immediate predecessor,

Pius VIII., of happy memory, confirmed their condemnation by his circular letter, of May 24th, 1829. We, in short, who succeed them, notwithstanding our great unworthiness, have not ceased to be solicitous on this subject, and have especially studied to bring to the recollection of the faithful the several rules laid down with regard to the vulgar versions of the holy books.

“Wherefore, having consulted some of the cardinals of the holy Romish Church, after having duly examined with them everything, and listened to their advice, we have decided, venerable brothers, on addressing you this letter, by which we again condemn the Bible Societies reprovèd long ago by our predecessors; and, by virtue of the supreme authority of our apostleship, we reprove by name and condemn the aforesaid Society called the Christian League, formed last year at New York, together with every other Society associated with it, or which may become so.

“Let all know, then, the enormity of the sin against God and the Church, which they are guilty of, who DARE to associate themselves with any of those Societies, or abet them in any way. Moreover, we confirm and renew the decrees recited above, delivered in former times by apostolic authority, against the *publication, distribution, reading, and possession* of books of the *holy Scriptures* translated into the vulgar tongue.....

“As for yourselves, my venerable brethren, called as you are to divide our solicitude, we recommend you earnestly in the Lord to announce and proclaim, in convenient time and place to the people confided to your care, these apostolic orders, and to labour carefully to separate the faithful sheep from the contagion of the Christian league—from those who have become its auxiliaries, no less than those who have any communication with them. You are consequently enjoined to REMOVE from the hands of the faithful alike the Bibles in the vulgar tongue, which may have been printed contrary to the decrees above mentioned of the sovereign pontiffs, and every book proscribed and con-

demned ; and to see that they learn, through your admonition and authority, what pasturages are salutary, and what pernicious and mortal."

After perusing the foregoing extracts, which most clearly prove the deadly hostility and opposition of the papacy to the circulation of the holy Scriptures, we shall not be surprised to learn that in Portugal the Scriptures are unknown among the peasantry ; that in Spain the Bible is a prohibited book, unless accompanied with notes from the fathers and Romish divines ; that at Rome the Bible is a strange and rare book, the only edition of it authorized to be sold there being in fifteen large volumes, which are filled with Popish commentaries ; that in the Austrian dominions the Bible—whether in Hebrew or in the vulgar tongue—is prohibited with inflexible rigour ; that in France the pulpit and the press have both been used for the purpose of denying the object, and misrepresenting the motives, of those who are employed in circulating the holy Scriptures ; but there, at least, the efforts of the emissaries of Rome have proved futile : for not merely are individuals but whole villages are renouncing the errors of Popery ; or that in Belgium the persons employed in this benevolent work have been reproached, insulted, and maltreated ; their books stolen, and in some instances torn to pieces and burnt before their eyes : nor is this to be wondered at, when we find that a prelate of the Romish Church in that country, the Bishop of Bruges, describes and denounces the British and Foreign Bible Society as " a society hostile to God and to the holy Church"—a society which would rob " his dear brethren of all that is most dear to them ;"—and he proceeds to characterize the circulation of the unadulterated Scriptures, as " the impious project of this anti-Christian society, by which the world is *inundated* with heretic Bibles."

In Ireland, the opposition of the Romish bishops and priests to the circulation of the unadulterated Scriptures is matter of notoriety, where, under priestly

sanction, the Bible has frequently been publicly destroyed or burnt.

The following extract, from a sermon delivered by friar Jennings, before Dr. M'Hale, the titular Romish Archbishop of Tuam, and several priests, in the month of August 1844 (and which is stated to have been greatly commended), will show the rancorous hatred of the Popish clergy there against the circulation and reading of the Bible :—

“ Any person who practices the reading of the Bible will inevitably fall into everlasting destruction. I would, therefore, my dear friends and followers, most earnestly beseech you, by the love that you bear to the Virgin Mary and to the saints—by the love that you bear to the dear priests, not to allow these Bible readers near your houses—not to speak to them when you meet them on the roads ; but put up your hands and bless yourselves, and pray to God and to the Virgin Mary to keep you from being contaminated by the *poison of the Bible*. The worst of all pestilences—the *infectious pestilence of the Bible*—will entail upon yourselves and children the *everlasting ruin of your souls*. They who send their children to schools where the Scriptures are read, give their children bound in chains to the devil.”

And in England, although the emissaries of Rome have not dared publicly to deprive the Romanists of the Scriptures, yet, privately, they leave no effort unattempted to prevent them from having free access to the pure word of God in their mother tongue, for, even in those versions of their own publishing, they have not scrupled to falsify the text, in order to support the doctrines of the Romish Church.*† We have thus far,

* The reader will find this fact sufficiently proved in a pamphlet entitled, “Popery, the Enemy and Falsifier of Scripture.”—London, Painter.

† Extract from the Preface to “A Family Exposition of the Pentateuch,” by the (late) Rev. Henry Blunt, M.A. :—

“Perhaps the author feels the more deeply impressed with a sense

briefly, traced the progress of the Romish apostasy. We have seen how the holy Scriptures have been progressively corrupted and perverted, until at length altogether shut up from the people—"they hated the light, because their deeds were evil." And it now only remains for us to examine the "Roman Catholic Creed" of Pope Pius IV., which the Church of Rome requires her converts to profess, when they wish to be admitted to her communion.

The convert begins with the following preamble :—

"I, N. N., with a firm faith, believe and profess all and every one of those things which are contained in that creed, which the holy Roman Church maketh use of."

Then follows the Catholic or Nicene Creed :—

"I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible ; and one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God ; and born of the Father before all ages ; God of God ; Light of Light ; true God of true God ; begotten not made ; consubstantial to the Father ; by whom all things were made ; who for us, men, and our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the

of the high duty of thoroughly searching the Scriptures, while dwelling, as he at present is, in that part of the Christian world where it is the most neglected ; and seeing, as he daily does, the gross and dreadful superstition, and the loose and miserable morality, to which the consequent ignorance of the revealed word of God has given rise. If once the Bible should become again a sealed or neglected book in our own happy country, or if Protestant Christians, should be, like their Papal forefathers, content to receive their religion solely from the lips of the priest, instead of each searching for himself the book of God, and 'with joy, drawing water out the wells of salvation,' it requires no prophetic vision to foresee, that the peculiar glory of our land will fade, that the pure doctrines of grace will be clouded and concealed, and that 'the wood, nay stubble,' of human inventions, will once more overwhelm the glorious 'foundation' of all our hopes, and leave us, as they have at present left 'the Eternal City,' with more of 'the outward and visible signs' of the religion of Christ, and, judging by their fruits, with less of 'its inward and spiritual grace,' than any other capital in Europe."—*Dated, Casa Dias, Rome, March 2nd, 1841.*

Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man. Was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate : He suffered and was buried : and the third day He rose again according to Scripture : He ascended into heaven, sits at the right hand of the Father, and is to come again with glory to judge the living and the dead ; of whose kingdom there shall be no end. And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Life-giver, who proceeds from the Father and the Son ; who, together with the Father and the Son, is adored and glorified ; who spoke by the prophets. And (I believe) one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church : I confess one baptism for the remission of sins ; and I look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. *Amen.*"

From the year 438 till the year 1564, this creed (ALONE) was invariably used in the Catholic Church, and every one who was willing to confess his belief in the articles contained in it, was received into communion with the Catholic Church. The Council of Ephesus, in the year 438, passed the following decree concerning the faith, which was repeated at Chalcedon and Constantinople—i.e., the third, fourth, and sixth General Councils :—

"The holy synod determined that it should not be lawful for any one to set forth, write, or compose any other creed than that which was determined by the holy fathers who assembled at Nice in the Holy Ghost ; and that if any one shall dare to compose any other creed, or adduce or present it to those who are willing to be converted to the knowledge of the truth, either from heathenism or judaism, or any heresy whatsoever ; such persons, if bishops, shall be deprived of their episcopal office ; if clergy, of their clerical."

The first decree of the second session of the Council of Trent bears witness to this truth. It is as follows, and bears date February 4th, 1546 :—

"The Council hath determined that the creed which the holy Roman Church makes use of, as containing those first principles in which all who profess the faith

of Christ are necessarily agreed, and the firm and only foundation, against which the gates of hell shall never prevail, shall be expressed in the same words in which it is wont to be read in all Churches, that is to say—‘I believe,’” &c. :—And here follows the whole of the Catholic part of Pope Pius IV.’s creed, above recited, but not one word of the Roman part (given below), and which was first published and declared by Pius IV., in a Bull dated December 4th, 1564—not quite three centuries ago !

This fact is, alone, sufficient to prove that the doctrines taught by the modern Church of Rome are not “from the beginning;” that it is not the “old religion”—not the religion taught by Christ and his apostles—which Rome teaches her children; but a “vain and fond thing,” a crafty and “cunningly devised fable;” and that she has most grievously erred from the faith.

And now comes the super-added or *Roman* part of Pope Pius’s creed, which is as follows :—

“I most steadfastly admit and embrace apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other observances and constitutions of the same Church.

“I also admit the holy Scriptures according to that sense which our holy mother the Church has held and does hold, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures: neither will I ever take and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the fathers.

“I also confess that there are truly and properly seven sacraments of the new law instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and necessary for the salvation of mankind, though not all for every one; to wit, baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, extreme unction, orders, and matrimony; and that they confer grace; and that of these, baptism, confirmation, and order, cannot be reiterated without sacrilege. I also receive and admit the received and approved ceremonies of the Catholic Church used in the solemn administration of all the aforesaid sacraments.

"I embrace and receive all and every one of the things which have been defined and declared in the holy Council of Trent concerning original sin and justification.

"I profess, likewise, that in the mass there is a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead. And that in the most holy sacrament of the eucharist there is truly, really, and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is made a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood, which conversion the Catholic Church calls Transubstantiation. I also confess that under every kind alone Christ is received whole and entire, and a true sacrament.

"I constantly hold that there is a purgatory, and that the souls therein detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful. Likewise that the saints reigning together with Christ are to be honoured and invoked, and that they offer up prayers to God for us, and that their relics are to be had in veneration.

"I most firmly assert that the images of Christ, of the mother of God ever Virgin, and also of the other saints, ought to be had and retained, and that due honour and veneration is to be given to them.

"I also affirm that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in the Church, and that the use of them is most wholesome to Christian people.

"I acknowledge the holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church for the mother and mistress of all churches; and I promise true obedience to the Bishop of Rome, successor to St. Peter, prince of the apostles, and vicar of Jesus Christ.

"I likewise undoubtedly receive and profess all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons and general councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent. And I condemn, reject, and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and

all heresies which the Church has condemned, rejected, and anathematized.

"I, N. N., do at this present freely profess, and sincerely hold this true Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved: and I promise most constantly to retain and confess the same entire and inviolate till my life's end."

The confession of faith, published by the members of the Catholic Christian community, recently formed by the celebrated Rongé,* at Breslau, in Silesia, is an indisputable evidence that Protestants are not alone in condemning the doctrines of the modern Church of Rome.

By the first Article of that Confession, they declare themselves altogether independent of the Pope and his adherents: and by the second, firm supporters of perfect freedom of conscience. In the third Article, they maintain that the Scriptures are the foundation of the Christian faith; and in the fourth, that free inquiry and private interpretation should not be obstructed by any external authority. The fifth Article expresses their belief in God the Father, the Creator and Ruler of the world; in Christ the Saviour who, by his doctrine, life, and death, redeemed man from slavery and sin; in the power of the Holy Ghost on earth; in a holy universal Christian Church; in the forgiveness of sin, and in a life everlasting. By Article the sixth, they recognize only two sacraments—Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and by Article the seventh, they retain the baptism of children. Article the eighth provides that the communion shall be received under the two species of bread and wine, and

* Rongé was a Romish priest, but, having vigorously protested against the gross imposition of the "Holy Coat" at Trevés, he has been excommunicated. It appears that, in consequence of an indulgence being granted to all who make the pilgrimage, and the supposed miraculous powers of the "sacred relic," upwards of a million and a half of deluded fanatics from all parts of Germany have visited Trevés, chaunting and exclaiming—"Holy garment, pray for us!" and which has doubtless "brought no small gain to the [priestly] craftsmen."

declares auricular confession abolished. By the ninth Article, marriage is set down as a divine institution, and a religious ceremony retained. The law of the land, and no other, is to decide respecting the condition of marriage, and the obstacles to it. In Article the tenth, the members acknowledge Christ **ONLY** as a mediator between God and man, and reject the invocation of saints, the veneration of relics and pictures, indulgences, and pilgrimages. In Article the eleventh, they assert that good works are meritorious **ONLY** when performed in a Christian spirit. All prescribed fasts and abstinences from meat are abolished. By the twelfth Article, they express their conviction that the first duty of a Christian is to put his creed into practice by works of Christian love.

We have now brought our subject to a conclusion. It is a subject which has, we are well aware, been treated upon much more fully and comprehensively by some of the most talented writers of our day. The object we have had in view has been to set forth, in a condensed form, as clearly and concisely as the subject would admit, what the Church of Rome is, and what she teaches; and, though with the full conviction that this object has been but imperfectly accomplished, we would fain hope that, by God's blessing, this attempt may not prove altogether unprofitable and in vain.

We have not, as will have been seen, entered into any discussion, or adduced proofs from Scripture, in opposition to the errors and false doctrines of the Romish Church, as by so doing we must, of necessity, have considerably extended these brief pages. We prefer, rather, leaving it to each one, into whose hands they may fall, to search for himself "the revealed word of God," and see "whether these things be so"—to "prove all things," and to "hold fast that which is good." Our purpose has simply been to exhibit Romanism as it is, as briefly and plainly as we were able, for the benefit and information of such members of our Church as are ignorant of the real nature and character of Popery, and who lack the means, or, perhaps,

the inclination, of obtaining it from other, albeit better sources.

We have risen from the performance of our task with an increased feeling of thankfulness to Almighty God, that we are in communion with the PROTESTANT (God grant that she may ever continue so !) Church of England, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments rightly administered—a Church, which we believe to be the purest and truest expositor of God's mind and will to man which exists upon earth—a Church, which does not debar us from the comfort and consolation of reading God's most holy word ; which is truly “a lamp to our feet, and a light unto our path”—a Church, the sum and substance of whose teaching is “repentance towards God, and faith (a ‘faith which worketh by love’) towards our Lord Jesus Christ”—a Church, in which we enjoy liberty without licentiousness, and by whom we are admonished that our religion must be the religion—not of the lip, or of the life only, but of the heart. Let us, then, rightly value these blessed, these inestimable privileges ; in the continuance of which is involved the preservation of our civil as well as our religious liberties : let us be very jealous of them, and careful not to abuse or despise them : our fathers purchased them for us at a most noble sacrifice—many of them even with their lives : we hold them in trust for our children : let us take care that we transmit them to them, pure and unsullied as we received them : let us remember that we shall have to give account whether we have used them for God's glory whilst we possessed them undisturbed ; and also, whether, when they have been assailed, we have defended them to the utmost of our ability. Above all, let it be our constant prayer to Almighty God, that he will still preserve them to us, and to our children after us ; that he will, of his great mercy, keep us from falling away into the fearful and deadly heresies of the Church of Rome, or into any other schism. Let our prayer be—“ From all sedi-

tion, privy conspiracy, and rebellion; from all false doctrine, heresy, and schism; from hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word and commandment—*Good Lord deliver us.*”

NOTE.

THE POPISH ANATHEMA, OR EXCOMMUNICATION.

The following copy of Excommunication is translated from the Latin original, found in the year 1765, amongst the papers of Philip Dunn, an Irish Romish Bishop:—

“By the authority of God, the Father Almighty, and the blessed Virgin Mary, and S. Peter and S. Paul, and all the Holy Saints, We Excommunicate [here follow the name and offence of the individual]. Excommunicated let him be, and delivered over to the Devil as a perpetual malefactor and schismatic; accursed let him be in all cities and towns, in fields, in ways, in yards, in houses, and in all other places, whether lying or rising, walking or running, leaning or standing, waking or sleeping, eating or drinking, or whatsoever thing he does; besides, we separate him from the threshold and all good prayers of the Church, from the participation of the Holy Jesus, from all Sacraments, Chapels, and Altars, from the Holy Bread and Holy Water, from all the merit of God’s Holy Priests and religious men, and from their cloisters, and all pardons, privileges, grants and immunities, which all the Holy Popes have granted them; and we give him over utterly to the fiend, and let him quench his soul, when dead, in the pains of hell-fire, as this candle is quenched and put out (here a lighted candle or torch is thrown down by the officiating bishop or priest). And let us pray to God, our Lady, S. Peter and S. Paul, that all the senses of his body may fail, as now the light of this candle is gone, except he come, on sight hereof, and openly confess his damnable heresy and blasphemy, and by repentance, make amends, as much as in him lies, to God, our Lady, S. Peter, and the worshipful company of this Church; and as the staff of this Holy cross now falls down, so may he, except he recants and repents.”

Hildobert, Bishop of Mans, in 1090, speaking of Rome, says:—“Here are they who purchase litigations and *sell intercessions*; and have no regard for any kind of men, orders, or times. In the forum they are Scythians; in the chamber vipers; in the banquet buffoons; and in their exactions harpies?”

REFLECTIONS
ON THE
TESTIMONIES OF ST. PAUL,

WITH REFERENCE

CHIEFLY TO THE

Holy Eucharist.



BY

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REFLECTIONS,

&c.

IN referring to the sacred Scriptures as they form the sole rule of faith and duty in the Church of Christ with regard to things revealed, we must be careful to remember that Truth may have several aspects, although it constitutes but one consistent whole.

If, in exploring ancient monuments, you look but to one face of the column or the pedestal, you will miss what perhaps is written on the other side, which may serve in explanation of what first meets the eye. It is a volume which is put into our hands, and we must turn its leaves, compare its testimonies, and observe their just connexion, with the mutual light they give for our guidance and instruction.

The literal construction of a passage, and its figurative import, may likewise in many cases be

found to concur in something real, and in such respects may consist well together.

These preliminary observations may be kept in mind, for they will find their application in what follows.

The choice which will now be first made for illustrating a subject of the highest moment, will direct our notice more especially to the words of the Apostle St. Paul, in the several instances where he treats of the Supper of the Lord, and will give, when brought together, a complete view of that hallowed ordinance of our Redeemer.

Nothing could be more expressive of the honour due to that institution, than the divine communication which St. Paul declares himself to have received of the order and the method of its first celebration. By that instruction the Apostle to the Gentiles was placed, as a Teacher and a Guide, upon a level with those who were eye-witnesses and partakers of the Paschal Supper. Thus he writes: "I have received of the Lord that which I also delivered unto you;" and then follows an exact relation of what passed in that memorable hour of joint assembly, and should in all times be the mode of celebration in the Christian Church. "The Lord Jesus (says the Apostle) in the same night that he was betrayed took bread: and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat: this is my body, which is broken for you: this

do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This is the new testament in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me."

In this relation of St. Paul, the words "This do ye in remembrance of me," show distinctly in how eminent a sense this sacred ordinance was to become the perpetual memorial of our Lord's death, of his body broken and blood shed for our redemption. This would abundantly suffice to encourage a due sense and lively recollection of the blessings purchased for us at so vast a cost. This design of our Blessed Lord's most salutary institution is manifest indeed and certain. It is conveyed in words which can admit but of one construction, and it expresses a duty which above all others makes its claim upon us for perpetual regard.

A welcome task it will now be to observe in what way the Apostle enlarges and unfolds the several particulars which extend the view in all its branches, and establish the full ground of faith.

In speaking of it as "the Supper" in which our Lord "took bread," the Apostle describes it as a banquet connected with the paschal feast, by which it had been so long prefigured. Our Lord gave that honour to the previous rites appointed in the Church of God, all of which looked to Him and prepared the faithful heart in Israel for his coming, to perfect those oblations which could not supply

the need of man except in some partial measure; serving, however, to keep alive the great hope of pardon through one sufficient sacrifice of expiation and atonement, which had been so signally predicted in the word of prophecy. The title, then, of a federal feast, the table with its guests, is thus coupled with the first distinctive character of a token of remembrance and a fit expression of commemorative gratitude and thankful recollection.

Astonishing it is, that this distinguished feature of the Christian passover, viewed and celebrated as a banquet, should have been so strangely set aside by the introduction in a late age of a new rite, bearing a new name, and claiming to be no less than a propitiatory sacrifice for quick and dead, by men assuming the priestly office of their Lord, and professing to do again what He did, and what He only could accomplish. Thus the whole image and intention of a federal banquet vanishes at once; and the benefit may be received by men invited, indeed, but not coming to the board; nay, by those, perhaps, who at the close of life may think to purchase what they never may have sought by timely habits of attendance,—not to name the many temporal advantages, descending even to those of mean consideration and description, for which the same propitiating sacrifice is called in aid.

One only rash infraction of our Lord's directions could be devised to match this departure from the

first established pattern; and that bold stroke was made, when if the bidden guests did come, and with the wedding garment for their introduction, they found the cup of blessing snatched from their lips; that cup of which our Lord said so expressly, "Drink ye all of it."

We shall next in order find the view still further opened by our Lord's Apostle: thus he states, in terms most solemn and impressive, that "as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death till he come." Where we find that the memorial or commemorative symbol, and the federal banquet, are said to exhibit also a representative display, by the broken bread and the wine poured for distribution, setting thus before us the circumstances of the one sufficient sacrifice, once only offered, and never more to be repeated.

An affecting and apt mode was thus employed for representing what was also evermore to be kept in memory. No outward form, for any purpose of religious adoration, could the pattern in the mount permit; for it was not concerning idols, but concerning God, that the word of warning came to Israel. "The Lord," said Moses, "spake unto you out of the midst of the fire: ye heard the voice of the words, but ye saw no similitude; only ye heard a voice." And this was again most solemnly repeated: "Take ye, therefore, good heed to yourselves, (for ye saw no manner of similitude on the

day that God spake unto you in Horeb out of the fire,) lest ye corrupt yourselves to make you a graven image" for religious worship.

The Apostle leads us on to understand that with the sign and the thing signified, which two particulars never may be wanting in a sacrament, the actual communication of the benefits themselves succeed; these are amply and decisively described by the Apostle, though in few words. He conducts us to the main particular designed in all those remarkable expressions used by our Lord in his general discourses, when He spake not with a view solely to his future ordinance, though He then employed the same forms of speech; but at what time soever our Lord made mention of the body or the flesh which He had taken, and spake of them as of meat and drink, it was always with reference to his body to be broken, and his blood to be shed for us; and to the benefits (inestimably precious!) which were to be derived from Him, as transacting for us in all He did and in all He suffered, and as united to us, as a new and ever-living Head, by all the means of grace.

St. Paul then supplies a testimony rising still in value and importance, and at once declaring the main purpose and intent of all such expressions used in general by our Lord, as well as those more especially connected with the sacred institution here considered. The Apostle introduces this with

a suitable exordium. "I speak," says he, "unto wise men; judge ye what I say;"—and this is what he says—"The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? for we, being many, are one bread and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread." It is a spiritual influence and a spiritual privilege, therefore, by whatever terms it is expressed, which alone can become the food for sustaining spiritual life. The bread and wine could not do this; nor could the bodily substance do it. Such substances can only serve for bodily support; in which sense our Lord declared that "the flesh profiteth nothing," and could not serve for the nurture of the soul. It is the spiritual influence, then, which is the real benefit, expressed in language chosen to denote the ground and source of a blessing so transcendent.

The construction of sublime and commanding passages must be governed by the nature of the thing revealed; and, in this case, that is spiritual in the highest measure and degree.

If the phrase used be that of "in-dwelling," as it often is, surely it is the soul which can only be the object of such divine communications, whether they be made for the first incitement to believe, or for growth in grace, or increase in knowledge, or for the culture of all good dispositions in the mind and

heart ; or for proficiency and perseverance in well-doing, or for peace of conscience, and the welcome earnest of all future blessings: all these are steps and stages in a path which in its own nature is progressive, as the work itself of faith must ever be, whilst it is connected with a season of probation, and produces its effects by a reasonable choice and free compliance.

Thus, then, we behold at once the great end and purpose to which all the several particulars before recited are directed: the commemorative celebration—the representative display—the federal banquet—the participation of the elements of bread and wine, all tend to this effect.

We learn, too, from all these testimonies how injurious the restrictive view would be, were we to rest in partial and confined considerations. The dignity and blessed influences of the Eucharistical Communion are thus seen, even as it makes good to every beneficial purpose the communion with an ever-living Head,—the Second Man,—the Lord from heaven, who took our nature, that in Him it might be rescued from perdition ; whilst the fellowship of believers, in one bond of faith and duty, is set before us in the same form of language which speaks so significantly of “ one bread.”

Can we go further, or rise higher than the pitch of elevation thus described in that communion, with all its vital interests, its sacramental privileges,

and its covenanted hope? Can we lift our thoughts, or raise the imagination of our minds, to any more exalted apprehension of Eucharistical advantage? Can we force the stream of our weak capacities above the well-spring from which all blessings take their current and descent? Or shall we, by any opposite construction, or perversion rather, of our Lord's words concerning "his flesh," stoop to gross and appalling misconceptions, such as caused some to go back, when others waited wisely for our Lord's own explanation of his own words, when He said, "It is the Spirit which profiteth; the flesh profiteth nothing?"

But we have yet to take the guidance of our Lord's Apostle, to teach us how the benefits so richly purchased for us, so freely given and so effectually conveyed, are to be received. He shows that this must be done by faith, which implies at all times and for every saving purpose, every correspondent disposition of the heart; for what is faith without them?

Thus, then, the Apostle reasons with his Roman converts: "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost; for he that in these things serveth Christ, is accepted with God, and approved of man." The Apostle also describes the happiness of those who are not self-condemned, and sets forth the guilt of those who "do not eat of faith," and, there-

fore, do not discern the end and object of the Lord's injunction when they come to the solemn assemblies of his household. Thus to those of Corinth, of whom he had heard an ill report, he sends this admonition: "Now in this, I praise you not: for first of all, when ye come together in the church, I hear that there be divisions among you, and I partly believe it; for in eating every one taketh before other his own supper, and one is hungry and another is drunken." He had before said, "This is not to eat the Lord's Supper," or the proper mode of eating it: and then it was, that the Apostle gave that distinct relation of what he had received of the Lord. To the word of exhortation and reproof for backsliders, the Apostle adds that solemn warning, "Wherefore whosoever shall eat of this bread and drink of this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." A dishonour done to the main intention of the sacred ordinance could deserve no lighter word of censure, whether it were the outward symbols, or the inward grace, or both, which were neglected or contemned.

On the testimonies already cited we may here remark, that the sacred elements are no less than five times mentioned by the Apostle according to their proper titles of distinction, "bread and wine," and are never otherwise denoted; whilst the due reception of them, for improvement and advantage, is confined to the faithful and sincere.

To these testimonies concerning what our Church calls, so properly, "the sacrament of our redemption," we may here add what the same Apostle says of the same sacred ordinance. Thus he reminds us, "that we are all made to drink into the same spirit;" where, no doubt, the inward effect of communion with Christ through the Spirit is expressed. The same Apostle says as plainly of the other sacrament, "By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body." Indeed there is nothing said to guard the honour of one sacred ordinance of our Lord that does not apply with full force to the other. They have the same seal of divine authority and institution; and to those who either receive or treat them unworthily, the same censure of our Lord's Apostle will apply. We learn from him, as plainly, that the sacrament of Baptism is the "laver of regeneration," and the appointed means of introduction to the privileges of the Christian household. Even where the favour of the Lord had been expressed by manifest tokens of the gifts and influences of the Holy Spirit, in the case of Cornelius and his company, the command was that they should be baptized.

Of all the means of grace St. Paul speaks as of spiritual dispensations; and therefore, when that which had been a mystery in the fullest sense in past times was made known in the Gospel, and even rendered visible, in some sort, by the symbols

of divine grace in Christ's appointed ordinances, yet the Apostle speaks still of such things as being only "known in part;" which is the case with all things which are transcendant, though revealed so far as they are needful to be known as grounds of faith, coupled with the proper evidence which is submitted always to the apprehension and to the searching trial of those who are invited to examine, in order that the tribute of the heart, "with which man believeth," may be what the Apostle terms "a reasonable service." Thus, in all respects, enough is to be known to satisfy us in what and in whom we believe, and to enable us to give a reason of our common hope. The Apostle, therefore, though he conducts us clearly to the meaning of our Lord's words, does not depart from the same forms of speech which were chosen of our Lord for expressing that near relation to Himself with those surpassing benefits which had their foundation in his body broken and blood shed. A memorable testimony occurs to this effect where St. Paul traces the great mystery of the union between the living Head and the life-receiving members to what was intimated in the first formation of the first pair, and in the marriage tie; a figure often used to the same effect in all the page of Scripture, and employed to signify the strictness and sanctity of a spiritual union. "No man," saith the Apostle, "ever yet hated his own flesh, but loveth and

cherisheth it, even as the Lord the Church: for we are members of his flesh and of his bones." To which he adds, "This is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and his Church."

So true, then, is it, that at the Eucharistical board we receive the body and blood of Christ as those who are united to that body with respect to all its saving properties, and to all the benefits resulting from it as broken for us, and of that blood, as also shed for us: we receive them effectually for the pardon of our sins, for the cleansing of our consciences, and for the strengthening and refreshing of our souls in the glad hope of everlasting life.

The excellent Hooker comments on such passages in a manner which we may do well to imitate; he does this, preserving all their force without running into overstrained constructions, or sinking into such flat meanings as are only graced with metaphorical allusions. It is little short of sacrilege to lessen and dilute expressions of no ordinary cast, when we find that no misconceptions of the heedless or perverse could induce our Lord Himself, or his Apostles and Evangelists, to abandon those forms of speech. Upon such words as these of the Apostle, "Yet I live; yet not I, but Christ which liveth in me;" and on such expressions as those last cited from the same Apostle, our eminent divine observes, "that the

same Spirit which anointed Christ so formalizes and unites the whole race of believers, as if He and they were so many limbs compacted in that body, being all quickened by one and the same soul."

St. Paul, in two other testimonies which may here be added, describes our Lord as "Head over the body, the Church;" and again, that we may be said "to grow up into him, who is the Head, even Christ." All these are high expressions, which demand deep thought, and call for reverential regard.

Thus we have the whole view, which our Lord's Apostle has placed before us, so far drawn out in authentic lines of Scripture. It is the collective testimony of one inspired of God, and thus rendered so eminently fit to instruct those to whom he was sent.

With respect, now, to the preliminary observations with which we set out, it may here be remarked, that we have thus made trial of the concurrence of the letter and the figure in our Lord's words, as uniting in something real with reference to the Table of Communion. If, now, we were to take, as we well may, the literal sense of those words of direction, "This do ye," we have but to consider what our Lord did at that time, in order to find the meaning of what was spoken. Christ, then, had not at that time sacrificed Himself, or yielded his body to be broken, nor could He tell

his disciples to do this for Him hereafter ; for when his hour of sacrifice did come, it could return no more. "Christ being raised from the dead, dieth no more." Our Lord could not at that time give them the very substance of his body broken and blood shed, for they were then whole before them. He Himself partook of that which He distributed, which could only be the bread and wine, to which his own words answer so decisively at that moment ; for He said, "I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine until I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom." Neither could it be his glorified body of which He then spoke, or which He gave them ; for it was not then assumed, and surely never could become the proper subject of oral manducation. That notion of the body glorified being so given, may abate the horror of the gross interpretation, but it does not in the least abate the difficulty.

Upon the whole view, it cannot appear surprising that our Lord, when speaking of benefits to be derived from his body broken and blood shed, as the very ground of our salvation, should employ such phrases, or make such allusions, as meet us in all parts of the sacred volume, where to eat and drink are not only used as metaphorical expressions, but where the common practice at all federal rites and covenanting contracts, was answerable to the language so employed. The same phrase was likewise

used to illustrate the conveyance and reception of words of counsel and instruction, as the food and nurture of the mind. The roll which Ezekiel was made to eat, combines a literal and spiritual meaning, uniting both in real fact, and forms a memorable instance of the emblematical devices in those times and countries, whether for civil or religious purposes.

In common modes, indeed, of speaking in all tongues, and more especially in oriental countries, the metaphorical expression, answering to the outward symbol, is often put for the thing intended; but this is never done by confounding what is really distinct,—the sign and the thing signified. St. Austin's maxim is not built upon such equivocations. He says, plainly enough, in a well-known and often-cited passage, that where what is enjoined, if taken in a literal sense, would command a crime, or imply what is repugnant and revolting to the common sense and feelings of mankind, there the figurative purport and instruction must be taken,—a rule which might well decide all questions of this nature.

How plainly does it appear, that the food of which our Lord spake so frequently was the real fruit of his body broken and blood shed, and was accordingly to be the object of our apprehension in the case of Eucharistical Communion, accompanied as it is by a pledge of visible assurance. If the

bread and wine become, by a change of substance, the very flesh of which our Lord spake as the source of life, then not only would the sign or symbol be absorbed, and one component part of the sacrament be wanting, but the flesh itself would be taken and participated by the most unworthy receiver. If, in such case, the beneficial influence were withheld, yet would the sacrilege be far greater, and more striking, than where the consecrated elements remain the same. The guilt, also, of unworthy receiving, and not discerning the Lord's body, or regarding the fruits and efficacy of his body broken and blood shed, would find no less their penal consequences.

And now, can our Lord's words be mistaken when He says to the woman of Samaria, "He that drinketh of this water shall thirst again; but he that drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water, springing up into everlasting life?"

The living water here represents in words, as much as the sacramental elements do in symbols; yet no man misconceives the meaning, or perverts it to a gross sense.

When our Lord called Himself the "bread of life," the Jews replied, "Our fathers did eat manna in the wilderness; as it is written, He gave them bread from heaven;" where it is manifest that they

took the grosser sense for the meaning of the words. Our Lord then said, "The bread of God is he that cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world." There was, then, a figurative and a more excellent significance in that form of speech, and somewhat real was intended, in which those expressions met with full consistency. Then said the Jewish followers, "Lord, give us evermore that bread;" and for that good wish so testified, our Lord said unto them plainly, "I am the bread of life:" to which He adds, "He that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst;" referring to the privilege of faith, by which such blessings are received. "This," saith He, "is the Father's will, that every one that seeth the Son and believeth on him, may have everlasting life, and I will raise him up at the last day." The Jews continued to murmur, and our Lord repeats what He had said before of the bread of life, and with reference to his own oblation of Himself (the end and object of all these expressions), He adds, "The bread which I shall give him is my flesh, which I shall give for the life of the world;" referring still to the purpose for which He took flesh, and to the privilege of faith. Then said the Jews, "Can this man give us his flesh to eat?" regarding still the grosser sense. Our Lord repeats his declaration; and when his own disciples were offended at his words, He said unto them, "Does

this offend you? what and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend unto heaven?" Yet, adhering to the real purpose which He had in view with respect to the spiritual benefits, in all their compass, to be derived from His body broken and blood shed, He adds again: "The words which I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life."

Thus with reference both to the water of Baptism, or the Eucharistic Communion, the promised benefits of a spiritual birth so commencing, or a spiritual growth to be maintained by just advances in all the days of our probation, form the great end and object of the ordinances of our Lord, and of our common faith.

In the several instances in which our Lord called Himself the vine, the door, the way, the life; can we fail to perceive the two-fold character of literal and figurative terms, uniting in some real truth and real benefit? the vine, for instance, into which every branch that shall bear good fruit should be engrafted; the door, of entrance into the fold of safety, or the household of our Lord; the way, marked out both by precept and example; the life, by vital influence, grants, and succours, by which the moral life, in every fit improvement, is to be made good, both for present happiness and future glory. When St. Paul speaks of the rock in the wilderness, and says, "That Rock was Christ," who takes the word in the strict sense of the letter?

And yet the due significance and high importance of the truth thus witnessed, was confirmed by our Lord Himself, in the covenanted blessings which He placed within our reach, and to which the whole work of our redemption corresponds. We admit, then, most readily, that our Lord frequently described the great truths of revealed religion, and the privileges of the Gospel, with a manifest allusion to preceding types and long-accustomed forms of speech. Can we wonder that He did so? Can we forget that Israel was first called, and was first to be addressed in Gospel ministries; and that we hold an equal interest with them in their sacred oracles, of which they were faithful keepers, even to scrupulous exactness; and that we have to trace therein the first lines of evidence which God hath so manifestly laid through successive generations as the sure foundations of a reasonable faith?

Such then is the benefit of our communion with an ever-living Head, who for our sakes took the manhood into God; nay, took the form and fashion of a servant, though He was Lord of all. Well, then, may we trace those remarkable expressions which have occupied our thoughts, to the wonders of his incarnation, announced by a heavenly messenger! Well may we look back on his nativity, as celebrated by a heavenly choir in that memorable hymn, "Glory be to God in the highest, on earth peace, goodwill toward men!" For this cause the

Son of God from everlasting, delighted to call himself the Son of Man ; not only in the seasons or upon account of his voluntary condescension and humiliations, but He takes this title in the hour of victory and triumph, and in his return to judgment, without impeachment to his Heavenly Father's glory or his own.

Thus was an atonement wrought which no created being could attempt, but must "have let that alone for ever." A plenary atonement it was, in a case where the forgiveness of the transgressor could not "destroy the works of Satan," nor wrest from the common foe to God and man the trophies he had won. The strong man armed could keep his palace till a stronger than he came upon him and "took captivity captive," in order to "give gifts," the proper earnings of his victory, to a rescued race.

Can we make the sufferings of our Lord to be those of a prophet only, and a sufferer for the cause of truth ? We may take the answer from another testimony of the same Apostle, who has lent his hand for our guidance.

St. Paul had gifts of prophecy, and was a sufferer for the cause of truth, even to martyrdom ; but for all this he exclaimed, in words which admit of no evasive or perverse interpretation, "Was Paul crucified for you?" He looked directly to the work in which Christ could have no helper upon earth,

and no partner in the glory, but his Heavenly Father and the Holy Spirit.

The Apostle, then, (whose testimonies we have so far gathered, not in order to detach them from the conspiring suffrages of those who, with equal privileges, shared his high commission, but merely to draw together in small compass what is capable of larger proof,) leads us, in his declarations, and the reasoning built upon them, which tend so much, at all times, to confirm the meaning of the testimonies, to trace back the matter now before us to the incarnation of our Lord. Thus, from the body broken, buried, quickened in his own might, the might of Him who could not "be held of death;" raised in triumph, glorified, and returning to his everlasting throne, we are enabled to deduce all from the first assumption of our nature, "sin excepted;" in which exception we learn, in one word, what our common need was, and what its only remedy, in all cases, must be. From his coming in the flesh we are enabled to bring down the view through all the wonders of his course on earth. We are thus saluted with the witness borne from heaven, of his everlasting Sonship, proclaimed by his Heavenly Father at the river Jordan, with the visible descent at that time of the Holy Spirit. We attend Him in the performance of his works of miracle, which He defended by that irrefragable test which no pretended miracles have

been ever able to abide—certainly not those which are called in aid when no other proof can be made, and when objections are found otherwise insuperable, to support the change of substance in the sacramental elements. Our Saviour never wrought his miracles to contradict the senses to which He made his own appeal, that men might see and believe, nor did He do his mighty works to make things be thought possible, though involving utter contradictions, which no power wisely exercised (and the works of God are always done in wisdom) can reconcile. The worthy purpose, too, is wanting when the pretended miracle serves but to fix men, before too prone to superstition, in a superstitious preference for some far-famed altar or some favourite shrine.

From this view of our Lord's ministerial course, the Apostle leads us to the sorrows of the cross, and to the satisfactory atonement there wrought by the sufferings and death of the Redeemer. It was then that our Lord said so significantly, "It is finished;" leaving, surely, no place which can be found, and no pretence that can warrantably be made for repetition or reiteration.

The Apostle, next displays the glories of the conquering Saviour's resurrection, and of his ascension into heaven. Well, then, might he add another testimony to the former and say, "If Christ be not risen, ye are yet in your sins." And thus we find the sum of saving truths, and

the joint effect of our blessed Lord's own ordinances, in their full accomplishment.

The epistle to the Hebrews speaks no less clearly concerning Christ's one sacrifice of expiation, in words admitting of but one construction, and which abundantly confirm the former testimonies. It behoves us, then, to take special heed to that train of Apostolic evidence.

It runs thus: "we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour, that he by the grace of God should taste death for every man; for it became him for whom are all things, and by whom are all thing, in bringing many sons to glory, to make the Captain of their salvation perfect through suffering; for both he that sanctifieth, and they who are sanctified, are all of one: for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren; saying, I will declare thy name unto my brethren; in the midst of the church will I sing praise unto thee;" and again, "Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood," (the same phrase still kept in view,) "he also himself took part of the same, that he through death might destroy him who had the power of death, that is the devil, and deliver them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage: for verily he took not on him the seed of angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham; wherefore in all things it became him to be made like unto his brethren,

that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people ;” and it follows, “ wherefore, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, consider the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, Christ Jesus.”

Thus plainly was the ground laid in the first pledge of salvation, for the renovation of the human heart in all its best properties and dispositions ; for that they are not altogether bad our Lord shows when He contrasts the produce and results of the human heart, whether for good or evil ; and St. Paul does the same, when he contrasts the spirit of a man in the conscious bosom with the weakness of the flesh now prone to evil, requiring to be chastened and corrected by the remedies provided for that purpose—thus manifestly has this gracious purpose been fulfilled by the coming of the promised Saviour from the bosom of the Father, to procure by merit, what all others must receive by gift, whatever be the terms of their engagement and the things required of them in a new scene of probation. For such returns of duty, all men will be responsible, as surely as our blessed Lord has confirmed the obligations of the moral law, and has enhanced it too, by new motives and relations.

All these particulars of the blessings so dearly purchased for us, and of the duties never severed from the rule of righteousness, and from the right

employment of the faculties of intellect and will, without which man would have ceased to be—all these things are commended to us in the covenant of grace, with its attendant ordinances, which are the channels appointed generally by our Lord Himself for their reception. We have seen, then, what advantage, under this saving dispensation, our Lord has substituted in those hallowed ordinances, for the burdens of the ceremonial law, and for that image of a law of works properly so called, which the Mosaic dispensation, for wise and salutary purposes, in order to convince men of their need, and to be a guide to Christ, held out.

But having drawn some testimonies from the Epistle to the Hebrews, there is one particular relating to one point included in the foregoing testimonies—that which came under the head of participation—which demands particular attention. Thus, allusion being made, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, to the Jewish and the heathen altars, the Christian board is called “an altar,” of which the Jewish unbeliever, and the heathen worshipper, “had no right to eat.” Thus the Jewish and the heathen altars, and those who were partakers of them, are contrasted with the Christian board and its participation. The latter of these is not spoken of as an altar of immolation, for the purpose of atonement and propitiation, of which we have seen how strictly that one sufficient sacrifice was confined

to the altar of the cross. No such work of expiation could ever be repeated. Neither St. Paul, nor any fellow-witness of the Gospel, nor their Lord Himself, ever so described the ends for which the Christian board is spread; nor may we do so: although there is a real sacrifice there tendered,—the sacrifice of prayer, praise, and thanksgiving, the tribute of the heart, the tender of the whole man, which St. Paul expressly calls a living sacrifice, acceptable unto God; a sacrifice which accompanies the oblations there presented. We perceive thus in what sense the Table of Communion in the Christian household becomes a secondary altar, and was called indifferently in all times a table and an altar, diversely denominated in different respects. It is so compared with altars of participation, and therefore in a qualified sense it is so termed, even as it is the seat of the consecrated elements, which represent the body broken, and blood shed of the Redeemer. There was no other altar than the Christian board, for ages in the Christian Church; there was no such altar as the Jews had or the heathen in any of the houses which the early converts and their guides frequented, “going from house to house and breaking bread.” There was no such altar in those more appropriate places of assembly, which were hallowed more especially by sacred and accustomed use, and which St. Paul, in his remonstrance with the men of Corinth, con-

trasted with the houses which he calls "their own," for ordinary occupations. There is no word of any sacrificing altar properly so called, in the well-known rescript made to Trajan, so precise and punctual in its whole description of the mode of worship and religious celebrations in the first age. The absence of a sacrificing altar at a much later period, became a theme of scorn to Julian, who well knew what the Christian worship was which he renounced. The same want proved a theme of triumph to the heathen worshippers of dead men and idols, to whose communion Julian made his desperate return, and with whom he finished themad career of his apostasy.

The word "oblation," we may now remark, is indeed a term of large significance. It takes in any thing which is offered before God, and in this sense was also termed a sacrifice in all times. But in the oblations of the Christian altar there is no material or propitiatory sacrifice, answering to any previous sacrifices, which found their completion in the one sufficient sacrifice once offered on the cross; much less could there be a repetition of that one sacrifice, as we have seen in the testimonies here produced. In a qualified degree, it may indeed be admitted that what is represented on the Christian Table of Communion, as it is compared with altars of participation, and so takes their name, is represented there to keep alive the memory

and show forth the nature of our Lord's death, till his coming again, may become a ground for supplicating favour from a reconciled and gracious God. It is so far propitiatory without doubt, and the prayers with which it is accompanied concur to this effect. The oblations of bread and wine were once, more largely made for the double purpose of a feast of charity, till that was laid aside, and for the separation of a portion for the sacramental consecration. Other offerings were made at the same time; but not being so significant or so strictly connected with the sacrament itself, they were discouraged and prohibited by canonical injunctions in divers councils, as not having for their scope the celebration of the sacrament or the same symbolic character: as well as for other reasons, to which allusion is made, as begetting superstitious misconceptions of their nature and effect. Certain it is, too, that the oblations of the Christian altar, so made and so termed sacrifices of the purest kind by general consent before other changes took place, can hold no full agreement with the pattern of Melchisedek as a priestly sacrifice; and if that be pleaded in example, as it has been commonly in early writers, it can only be by allusion and comparative or rhetorical illustration; for nothing can be more clear than that our Lord's own priestly character is what answers to that of Melchisedek, from the signal and peculiar circumstance, that Melchisedek has none recorded to precede or to follow

him; in which respect he is claimed as a type of Christ, both by David, at much length, and by the Apostle: so that those who decline the bolder step of intrusion into Christ's own office, to repeat his sacrifice, must be cautious how they take the part of Melchisedek in his sacrifice of bread and wine, lest they should still intrude into that place which Christ vouchsafed to occupy, and in which He could have no successor, without a perfect contradiction to the whole intention of the word of Scripture in this behalf.

And that we have just cause to say that they who used this comparison in past times did not intend a just agreement, is plain, from the circumstance that the first Apologists who might otherwise use, and did use, such illustrations, never brought them forward in answer to the formal charge of the want of sacrifices in the proper sense, or of sacrificing altars in the Christian Church. They constantly confessed that want, and gloried in it; for they declared that all the Christian graces,—faith, hope, charity,—with prayer, praise, and thanksgiving, and the pure offerings of the soul and spirit, were their sacrifices. And to their own flocks they urged only the representative memorial of Christ's Passion as the ground for the joint and fervent supplications and addresses of every Christian worshipper.

They put, as we have shown to be the common use of all language,—the symbols for the thing itself. Will it now be said that the value of the spiritual

sense above the grosser meaning, in the case in question, is clear enough, but that both may be intended? This is true; but if our Lord gave the name of his body broken and blood shed to the sacramental signs and symbols of them, yet He did not set aside the sign itself, or reduce that to nothing, when He gave it the name of the thing signified. Thus the token keeps its place as well as the virtual effect: both remain, although one phrase applies to both. And thus, again, we see how the literal and the figurative meaning may concur in something real, and so consist well together. The sign and the thing signified are thus indeed combined; but so that neither is the sign absorbed by any change of substance, nor is the thing signified stripped of its spiritual and essential character, or sunk into merely metaphorical expressions.

Examples of this kind are at hand, and press upon us on all sides. The blood of sprinkling in the Jewish temple was called "the blood of the Testament," of which it was the type, although it continued still to be the blood of legal victims, consecrated to religious uses. In like manner our Lord calls the cup of blessing, the cup of the New Testament, "in his blood;" but the wine remained, retaining its typical, and thereby much exalted character. There is a strict analogy in the several cases. It was the symbol still which was regarded,

and the cup of the New Testament, in our Lord's blood, was the last appointed symbol, until the coming of the Lord again.

Christ reproved the Jewish teacher Nicodemus, for stumbling at his words, when, as a master in Israel, he should have remembered that the proselytes from Gentilism had a special baptism, and that the Jewish child had admission by a seal of God's appointment to the covenant of faith. He might, then, have better understood the use and intentions of visible and fixed channels of divine grace, such as the Sacraments ordained by Christ became.

How proper, we may here remark, was the provision so made ; first for so large a number of the children of believers, who might not live to come forward in their own names, to make their own engagement, but were not to be left in a worse state than the children of believers had ever been. Of children thus adopted, St. Paul declared, that if only one of two persons joined in wedlock, in the early seasons of the progress of the Gospel, had embraced the faith, it would entitle the children of the marriage bed to the cleansing privilege and sanctifying grace of baptism ; concluding, " else were your children unclean, but now they are holy." A strange doubt it would be to question whether such children were capable of initiation by the common Saviour of mankind, if through default of others, or by accident, they should die unbaptized ;

and no less strange would be the doubt, whether the child be capable of baptism, when indeed it is so manifest that he has all the need in common with those who share a common nature with him. One answer serves for both these unwarrantable doubts. Certain it is, then, that the child is capable of the pardoning grace of God ; he has that capacity from the first pledge of salvation in Christ Jesus, given to the first pair before any child was born to Adam. Every child of all that rescued race obtained, undoubtedly, an interest in that gracious promise, and a capacity of deriving profit from that new Head and Author of Salvation, upon whom depend those blessings which exceed in value all that man could have obtained had he stood in his integrity.

Thus the sacred rites ordained by Christ Himself, for admission to the state of grace, and also for the bond of Eucharistical Communion of the members with their Head and with each other, form the settled and appointed means of grace, for regenerative implantation, and for growth and increase, with all spiritual progress in the season of probation.

It is the glory of God to be the moral Ruler of the universe ; and it is the best privilege of the subjects of his sway to be able to employ in his service the faculties bestowed upon them. By those distinctive faculties, man holds his rank and station in this lower world. Such is the reasonable

tribute of the heart, without which no benefit was to be found in any dispensation of which God hath been the Author, and without which timely and unfeigned discharge of duty, men would sink below the level even of inferior creatures, which answer in all points to the purpose of the Lord in their creation. The cure is gradual, and can be perfected only when hereafter "the spirits of just men shall be made perfect." So vain and so contrary to the written word are the pretensions to assurance and perfection; and, alas! so palpable has been the mischief where such pleas have been taken for the grounds and motives for schismatical divisions.

The merciful provisions, therefore, for the ministration of the means of grace, and the progress and advances to be made with such succours and encouragements, are what none can overstep, except it be to tread in air and walk on precipices, and unless they expect to have their own word taken for their own sensations when they would impose a like test upon others. The Church as planted in each land by our Lord's Apostles is secured in a safe fold, nay built upon a Rock which never fails, and the members trained in a happy course of culture and increase will have full experience of the efficacy of those salutary and appointed means of safe conduct and proficiency.

Let us be careful, however, to remember, if again some single altar is pretended, that we speak but of

one Church, in one land, and of the bond of union so established under the sovereign power in each realm. The Church has so subsisted since the times of early persecutions passed away. The government of Gallio, reduced to system in another continent, never found its place in all the world until of late. But we speak not of one organized Church pervading all lands. To such a Church no ministerial rule or oversight could reach, and no jurisdiction of the sovereign power could possibly extend. The early councils, when they fixed the boundaries of existing sees, and of that in particular which now claims, being but a part, to be in the main respect the whole, never dreamed of such a Church as should govern Christendom, and never owned that universal sway, and its oracular authority, or gave themselves up to such control; nor did the venerable pastor, who held his station in a southern division of the world, ever harbour such a thought, when he spake, in a well-known and often cited passage, of "one episcopate, a part of which is shared by many, and held entire of each." There is no subjection there owned to any other see; but there is a common rule of faith and duty, of discipline and worship under one heavenly Head; for God is the God of order, not of confusion, discord, and division. Such an union answers perfectly to that so well described by the Apostle to the Gentiles. We contend not for a right to force this model by

compulsion, much less by persecuting zeal, but they who claim their own right of judgment must have some rule by which to vindicate their choice; or the Word inspired of God, and written for our learning, will be vain to them. The Church itself must so prove its right, and cannot therefore do this and yet possess a controlling voice to authorize that from which it receives authority. They who run round in that circling maze, proving one thing by another, and then that other by the first, prove nothing: whereas the golden rule well proved, proves all things, and detects obliquities in every devious step. The African Churches last named maintained their rights against foreign usurpation and encroachment, and detected the fraud which was attempted in order to impose that yoke upon them. Nor would the Western Church for awhile admit such stupendous and extravagant assumptions.

When the claim was first made from an eastern diocese, it was branded by the Roman pontiff, with the mark of anti-christian pride, until, strange to say, the same claim was put forward in the Roman diocese. Against these pretensions the Christian model stands opposed; it enjoins subjection to the inherent right of sovereign powers in every state; the right to be the guardian of both preceptive tables, and to have the sway which admits not of two heads in one government. It confirms the word of prophecy that such should be the happy

circumstances of Christian states when the time of persecuting rage should cease. It adopts, accordingly, as our Church does in her Articles, the pattern of the old Israel in things which stand on common grounds of reason; for of a Gallio's government, reduced to system on the continent, the world never saw an instance till of late. Thus, also, it yields its sanction to the statutes of our country, from early ages constantly opposed to foreign interference and encroachments. Upon this four-fold ground rests the sovereign authority in all things competent to human arbitration and control, in our much favoured country.

To these general reflections we may observe, now, in conclusion, how manifestly our Blessed Lord's divine prerogative, inseparably coupled as it is with his satisfactory atonement, is found to be interwoven in the testimonies to which reference has been made.

The very term used of "taking flesh," upon which assumption of the human nature is laid the main foundation of our common hope, shows this most distinctly.

The power to take, and to lay down that which was so assumed, is utterly inapplicable to any, of all created beings, who receive all that they can possess.

So also, He who had "no helper" from among created beings in the work which He accomplished,

and is therefore said so significantly to "tread the winepress alone," had no partner in the glory of the whole design, save his Heavenly Father and his Holy Spirit.

The triumph over death, so plainly said to be because "it was not possible that the Holy One of God would be holden of it," yields the same proof, and completes the glory of his resurrection, who rose in his own might, and that of his Father and the Holy Spirit; and thus the work of our redemption is fulfilled.

For these reasons, and many more almost without number in all the page of Scripture, the early pastors of the Christian flock rejected with disdain the impious and heretical evasion, that the coming of our Lord to do his Heavenly Father's will, implied no more than an unity of will; and, therefore, that the same conformity of will is all that the communion of the members with that Head of which we have discoursed, implies. In some sense, indeed, of conformity to the Divine will we must understand the union of the members with their Head, of which St. Paul speaks; but remembering always that he speaks of it most distinctly, as the source to us of life eternal; and, therefore, he speaks not of it in any way that can exclude the earnest and the pledges of that saving interest attaching to the Christian Sacraments.

The union of the Son with the Father and the

Holy Spirit, is expressly marked in every solemn declaration, indicating that the Son had that subsistence from before all ages.

We leave it, indeed, to the raving fancy of the Stoic, to think that the human soul, or the image of God in man, is a real particle of the Divine nature; over which, however, in its highest and essential form, the Stoic placed a fatal destiny, and yet set his own will, and his better judgment, above both.

Our Lord's declaration of his divine prerogative, with all the proofs by which it was attested, admit of no evasive diminution. "I and my Father are One," was what the Jews well understood, and called it blasphemy, and took stones to cast at Him, "because that He, being a man, made Himself God." Our Lord's avowed confession in the court of Pilate found the same construction; and the twofold exclamation of the high priest, witnessing both the Atonement and the Sonship, and with it the Divinity of our Lord, show most clearly that the Jews did not mistake the meaning of our Lord's words, although they brought that great guilt upon themselves, that "He came unto his own, and his own received him not." The just and solid reasoning of the poor man born blind confounded and perplexed them, and could only be answered by scoffs and jeers, whilst the wilful obstinacy and perverse opinions of men imbued with the leaven and the

malice of the Scribes and Pharisees still prevailed. Even Pilate, with all his cowardly and base prevarications, witnessed not only for the innocency of our Lord, but refused to retract what he had written for the title to his cross.

The form of faith appointed by Christ Himself, in the baptismal dedication of the children of his household to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, exhibits a compendious creed, the first of those which accompanied the glad tidings of the Gospel. Impossible it is to think that such enumeration and such association can denote less than a common glory and a common throne.

We may now add a final comment, closely coupled with the foregoing testimonies of our Lord's Apostle to which we have adverted,—he says, with a manifest allusion to the Eucharistical Communion, "There is one body and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all;" where the simple unity of the undivided Godhead is asserted without impeachment of the personal distinction which is everywhere so plainly shown, and where the power and exercise of the Divine attributes are ascribed to each, with a joint subsistence, a mutual relation, and a common glory.

Let us, then, adhere with stedfast confidence to

the Apostle's perfect draft and statement of the mode of celebration, and the ends and effects, of our Lord's appointed institutions, which involve such grounds of faith, and with one heart and one soul let us bless God for his infinite mercies in Christ Jesus, who hath reconciled both Jew and Gentile *into one body* unto God ; for, saith the Apostle, " He is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us, having abolished *in his flesh* the enmity ; for through Him we both have an access by one Spirit unto the Father ;" in which cheering words we have the same enumeration as in the last-cited words in the baptismal form, expressing One God, to whom be honour and glory, now and for evermore.

POSTSCRIPT.

WE are told, that of late there is a system wrought up which reduces nearly the whole Gospel dispensation to a sacramental scheme, which has its centre in the Eucharist, and in the sacerdotal power there exercised. This goes far beyond the just design of sacramental means, and loses sight of the general scope of what our Lord said with a larger application in all parts of his ministry. The Holy Sacraments in this great work have their appointed end. It has been the chief purpose of the foregoing reflections to trace things to that end; to which, indeed, the Apostle draws not the Eucharist only, which has its distinguished part in the work of grace, but the whole effect of man's redemption by Christ Jesus. Thus the Apostle fixes our attention upon our communion with our ever-living Head, the Representative of those whose

nature He assumed in order to become the Saviour of mankind.

With that consummate end, our communion with each other, as members united to that Head, is evermore connected, and is expressed also by the symbols of one sacrament in the "one bread" consisting of many grains. And how does that resemblance vanish when the loaf becomes a wafer! and that, too, made to pass for nothing but what never can subsist at all—accidents, as they are called, without a subject! against which the early Fathers argued with one voice, in the case of Marcion and the Docetæ, as a thing impossible in nature.

It was a phantom, indeed, which brought Aristotle into the schools, to help out a fantastic semblance of what was declared to have no real existence, by his metaphysical and abstract essences; beings no where to be found in being.

To restrain, then, the twofold union of the members with their Head and with each other to sacramental ordinances, which, indeed, are made subservient to this end, has the following manifest inconveniences which sufficiently refute the theory:—that it drops the commemorative character so strongly impressed by our Lord upon his hallowed institution; for commemorations are of things past and done, not of things in doing, as the theory supposes. It runs counter also to a known maxim,

that what has been wrought and is effected can have no new cause; the thing involves a contradiction in the very terms. It is no less inconsistent with the united sponsions of a federal banquet, and a joint engagement as connected with that spiritual sacrifice foretold by the Prophet, and predicted by our Lord Himself, that all men every where, who would worship God in spirit and in truth, would offer a pure offering; a sacrifice which extends in some sort a sacerdotal character to all its votaries, without invading the peculiar function of the ministerial office and commission.

The view taken in the preceding reflections has kept closely to the settled forms and model of the Christian Church, as it was established in all lands, and described by our Lord's Apostles in the directions given to those to whom He gave authority to rule and minister in the Church of Christ. It is in the page of Scripture that we must seek the true and undoubted image of the Church; and happy is it for us that we can trace so surely the bright reflection of that image in our own Apostolic Church. It is not, then, only in our excellent Liturgy and sound Articles of Faith, though conformable to the word of Scripture to which they make their appeal, that we refer for what is taught and practised; it is not to these particulars that our first attention is directed, although they cannot fail to find their place, and to make their claim

upon us; for how else could it be possible to regulate the ministries of religion, to teach the same thing, and celebrate the same form of worship in the congregations? But our first regard must be directed to the main evidences of Revealed Truth as they lie together in the sacred volume of the Scriptures. Such are the chief things committed to the care and custody of the guide and teacher in all Christian Churches.

Even the miracles of our Blessed Lord were wrought to attest what had been foretold of Him; confirming thus the Law and the Prophets in all that related to the Rule of Righteousness and to Himself; they were not wrought to introduce new doctrines: on the contrary, when the truth was once established, any new doctrine, though supported by apparent miracles, was to be rejected.

The modern scheme, then, is not the view which the Apostle takes in the testimonies which have been promised.

It is the moral image which is required to be restored in us by spiritual renovation and proficiency, according to the best capacity of man, under a covenant of grace, and in the right use of the faculties bestowed upon him, in which the first resemblance to a holy pattern consisted. Those faculties of intellect and will were never cancelled or withdrawn, though much warped and clouded by disordered appetites and inclinations. Were it

otherwise, man would have lost his identity as a creature to be rescued and restored, brought anew to treaty, lifted from the ground, receiving oil and wine for his wounds which disabled him from going forward, carried to a safe asylum, and admitted to a new term of probation with a gracious promise of reward. That recompense has been procured for him by One to whom he owes all that he can hope for or expect, his acquittal and acceptance at the throne of judgment, and his palm for faithful services, required indeed and to be weighed, but needing pardon and allowance from first to last, in all the scene of trial, and in the great day of account.

The line pursued in the foregoing reflections, in order to obtain a solid ground of certainty in matters of belief and practice, has had the written word of God for its rule. No other standard can be found which can share in its authority, or make the same claim for compliance. The notion of a Church receiving authority from the word of God, and giving back authority to that word, is too gross an affront to all sound reasoning to be endured. Two rules, if they were necessary, would imply an imperfection in both, in what is to be supplied. But what is perfect needs no supplement, and can admit none. To that safe fold, then, and communion of the Church of Christ, as witnessing the same unerring word of Scripture, together with

its hallowed functions and commissioned pastors, the testimonies of our Lord's Apostle have conducted us, with no impeachment to the service which the testimony of the Church itself has rendered as a faithful witness of the same word, kept and transmitted by its care, in the exercise of its first duty as a voucher; in which it has the suffrage also of the Jewish Church, much, alas! against the will of those who will not seek its perfect state, and hail its accomplished glories, in the Gospel dispensation.

One word more may here be added to the proofs given of our blessed Lord's Divinity, and its connection with the whole work of redemption, and with the Sacraments in particular. His parting promise was, that "where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them;" and the final word of consolation and encouragement was, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world;" words which could not possibly proceed from, or be applied to any one of all created beings, for to God alone does it belong to be present everywhere, to fulfil the promise made; which shows, at once, both the divine prerogative of the Saviour of mankind and intercessor at the throne of grace, and the vanity and extreme peril of addressing prayer to any other object of devotion, any other mediator, angel, saint, or martyr, but to the Lord our God; one God, the

Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, each of whom are described to us, in His own unerring word, as exercising attributes which can belong to God alone.

THE END.

LONDON :
GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

2

THE LUTHER
OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

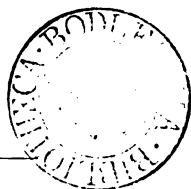
VINDICATION
OF
JOHN RONGE,
THE
LUTHER OF THE 19TH CENTURY ;

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

BY
THE REV. ROBERT TAYLOR, M.A.

RECTOR OF CLIFTON CAMPVILLE,

STAFFORDSHIRE.



LONDON :
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1845.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

The state of the English Church has of late been seriously agitated in a very unusual manner, where wordy disquisitions have been carried on in a spirit of great bitterness, which no earnestness for the truth could justify. Several parties have been contending within her bosom, who now rend her peace and disturb her usefulness; for which as a branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, she is not to blame, nor in any way accountable. There are first, those who enjoy her benefices and share her endowments, yet repudiate her ecclesiastical economy as a nullity, founded upon negatives, the taunt and sneer of the Roman "mock." In conformity to their ordination vows, they have undertaken to execute their ministerial functions, and are ashamed to carry them out into practice.—Another party cherishes a fond passion for falling into the tender embraces of her twin sister of Rome,—who hold the principles of one church, and the emoluments of another! while her laity in the house of commons have bristled her protestantism, by a fearless and conscientious support of the late ministerial measure, to provide for the better education of the Roman catholic clergy, who are the legitimate teachers of the people, and whose uncontrolled influence over the millions under their charge, cannot be swayed by either bribe or threat.

Now that the last tedious and unpleasant series of discussions has closed, it may not be out of season to invite attention to an under-current setting in against popery from amidst her own clergy, under the name of the *Reformed German Apostolic Catholic Church*, in countries where education is widely diffused, and protestant and catholic are alike maintained at the charge of the state, which through the prudence and discretion of the originators, promises to rival in importance,

the reformation carried on by the energy of Luther and his followers.

This secession from the Roman Hierarchy is one of the blessed effects of the enlightenment of a few German catholic priests, and of the consequent developement of their flocks, after a free examination of the scriptures ; the result of conviction ; as is thus simply set forth in a memorial to the Prussian authorities praying the royal favour. "In spite of ecclesiastical prohibition, the Roman catholic communion at *Schneidemuhl* have for several years searched the scriptures ! On comparing the doctrines of Jesus with the doctrines of their clergy, they are convinced that the teaching of the Roman catholic priests, in the fundamental articles of faith, very materially differs from the clear and explicit doctrines of Christ and his apostles."

Since I visited Germany in August last, the reformed church has extended from the Vistula to the Rhine, through the countries of Saxony, Prussia, Brunswick, and Baden, where numerous communities have been formed, following those which were first created in Silesia and Posen. Although they have agreed upon a plain yet comprehensible creed, embracing all the great principles of Christianity, they have left open the door for the admission of such of their late co-religionists, who may be disposed to follow their steps ; by carefully avoiding any offensive denomination of Protestant, Lutheran, Calvinist, or Armenian ; and resting firmly on the apostolic foundation of the church of Rome, assume the title of the *Reformed Apostolic Catholic Church*, of which great movement, the Rev. John Ronge, late Roman catholic chaplain of Grottkau, in Silesia, and the Rev. John Czerski, of Schneidemuhl are the accredited leaders.

TRANSLATOR.

Clifton Rectory,

June 24th, 1845.

PREFACE.

In the following pages, I submit to the impartial judgment and decision of my parishoners and townsmen, the proceedings that led to my removal from office and excommunication. It is not however my intention to offer any vindication of my conduct to those so called public instructors or priests, nor to the so called catholic christians ; reputed dissemblers, who have made and ever will make religion, subservient to their acquisition of power and self-exaltation,—such an effort would but render me despicable in my own sight, and in that of my country. I will endeavour to justify myself before those only, who have embraced religion in spirit and in truth, or intend to do so, and are diligent seekers after light, truth, purity of conscience, and christian love. These readily perceiving, that I have been struggling in a righteous cause, and not from selfish motives, will repose confidence in me, and with united energy, we shall achieve the great and noble work, which our profession, the dictates of conscience, and a real concern for the moral and physical welfare of the present and future races imperatively demand.

THE AUTHOR.

CHILDHOOD.—SCHOOL.—UNIVERSITY.

I was born on the 16th of October, 1813, at Bishopswalde, a village in the circle of Neisse, near the Sudetic mountains, in Silesia. My parents inheriting a small farm, had eleven children, of whom I was the third, two having died in infancy. At a tender age we were compelled to labour, and while the elder brother went to the field, I, as the next in succession, took charge of my fathers little flock : this formed my chief occupation during the seasons of spring, summer, and autumn, from the sixth to my twelfth year. The winter was passed in other rustic services. In character my father was serious, intrepid, sound in judgment, and wholly divested of superstition. He died in March, 1842, after my mother, who fell a victim to family solicitude, in October, 1831. My education commenced at the village school of Bishofswalde, where the course of instruction in the upper class was limited to reading, writing, cyphering, catechism, repetition, and bible-history. In the last year at school, I studied geography and Silesian history. Having chiefly learnt the catechism, and bible-history, during my pastoral life, while tending the flock on the moors, I often meditated on religious subjects; on the life to come, on time, and eternity, thoughts which at times made me sad. One of my tutors prevailed on my father to send me to the Gymnasium, which, the incumbrance of a numerous family had hitherto prevented. I was accordingly admitted at the Gymnasium

of Neisse, in 1827, and left it in 1836. Foreign languages were little to my taste, I had no affection for Horace, nor for latin authors in general ; but a strong predilection for German literature and history. I removed with rapturous joy to the university of Breslau ; I knew and felt that I was now at liberty, and scorned to trifle away my time and independence. In a society of generous youths, the highest ambition was to cultivate our minds to the utmost, and discipline our bodies by athletic exercises. With a partiality for tuition, I chose the profession of theology ; considering it would best qualify me for success in that vocation. However much I might dread the restrictive discipline I had to undergo, I knew, until too late, but little of the forbidding system of self-denial and dissimulation practised by the Roman Hierarchy. Notwithstanding, many valued friends, entertaining doubts of my steadfastness, had urged me to abandon the resolution of taking orders ; I nevertheless persevered, in the full assurance that I possessed sufficient nerve to encounter the trial, and overcome every obstacle. My father, who continued to provide for me, seeing how little sufficed, gave me the choice of a profession. Still the maintenance of eight children was a heavy burden ; and therefore, to prevent any further diminution of their portions, I felt it incumbent on me, so soon as I conveniently could, to reimburse the cost of my education. This was another motive for preferring the priesthood, at which I have no cause to blush.—Few indeed of the clergy have so safe a ground to rest upon. During my university term in the years 1837 and 1838, I performed the customary military service under major Firks.

THE ALUMNAT OR ECCLESIASTICAL SEMINARY.

In December, 1839, I entered the Alumnat. Here commenced my bitterest hours and severest trials ; the confidence

I had hitherto placed in spiritual teachers, soon yielded to deep amazement and aversion when, on a closer inspection of their conduct, I perceived, how woefully religion was prostituted to debase and humiliate the people; the formidable net of dissimulation in which we were entangled by Rome, from our birth to the grave; and the contumelious desecration of the most holy things to oppress mankind. I felt these unknown ignominious chains as glowing from the forge, and beheld the anguish of my fellow sufferers rendered the keener from their not daring to divulge its source. For the policy of the Roman Hierarchy well knows how to bind with indissoluble bonds, all within her pale, and with a miraculous agency emulating that of Moses, who caused water to flow from the steril rock, can extract gold from the pockets of the destitute—still her chief concern and most subtle art is bestowed upon her ministers, in the *training of the lower clergy*. They are so firmly rivetted with spiritual and temporal ties, that few can elude them. The Alumnat or seminary of priests is the foundry of these degrading fetters. Here the ingenuous youth, that would dedicate himself to public teaching, is painfully and deeply branded with the mark of slavery; here is he doomed to sanctified listlessness, here his spirit under threats and spiritual denunciations, succumbs to a tacit obedience; here is his mind tutored in dissimulation, his heart hardened to icy selfishness, and here, in short, man is degraded to the condition of a slave, to a useless automation. The torture and suffering under these exercises are beyond endurance; nature instinctively revolts at the spoilation of her most sacred rights, and of her Creator's choicest gifts. But the slave is ever mute, and the deeper the grave of his liberty and usefulness, the further is he out of hearing. No sooner does a desponding sigh escape from within, than it is stifled under the deep tone of the hypocrites prayer-bell.

My whole frame trembles when I think of the disgrace that was heaped upon us, the unworthy treatment we suffered; and would that my pen were a flowing torch to light up the deep abyss, where hearts are rent, and spirits sink amidst the chants of the sacred anthem. But I need merely simply and dispassionately describe what I have seen and experienced to excite indignation, horror, and the deepest dismay in the breast of most of my fellow-citizens who are yet unacquainted with the insidious trammels of the Roman Hierarchy.

EARLY DAYS AFTER MY ENTRANCE AT THE ALUMNAT.

Soon after my admission to the ecclesiastical seminary, I could easily detect in the looks of my companions, varied as to character, perplexity, apprehension, sorrow or at least equivocal resignation. For instance, on the first evening, six friends and acquaintances incarcerated in the same cell, never exchanged a syllable; they were all so embarrassed as to court sleep in silence. Forty youths, in the flower and vigour of life, sneaked about like so many shadows. In secret grief we mournfully regarded each other, where friend sought in friend how it lay best at heart with him. We aimed at a heroism, which off hand determines, to renounce hopes, wishes, liberty the brightest aspiration of youth, to be better enabled, as we were tutored, to promote the temporal and eternal welfare of our fellow mortals; in the delusive expectation that man, destitute of these elastic qualities, could raise his fellow to dignity and independence. What surprised and alarmed me the most, was the check to spiritual growth; no sooner did this dearth prevail, than it fostered indifference, mistrust, and despondency. At the age of twenty-four years, a young man closes his career in the world, and severs the noblest ties, which link man to man. The ardent spirit of youthful ambition, to acquire future eminence, is blighted in the bud, while selfishness pours into

his fervid veins, the chilling poison of egotism, envy, and mistrust. We appeared to be enveloped in an impenetrable veil, where in the murky shadows of night, doleful spirits were chanting songs of death. The despotism of the Roman Hierarchy struck me as a gaunt monster digging graves for the living, in which liberty and human happiness were to be entombed. The youth that would become a public teacher, sees a price set upon the extinction of all free and manly deportment, for he must blindly obey and submit to the most degrading servitude; since *implicit obedience* is the first commandment. He finds that the institutions and canons of the hierarchy are not calculated to raise, but to sink a nation, and that he must lend a helping hand to render her subservient to a foreign power.

Will then the shining coin exacted from starving poverty and pious enthusiasm, or dainty meats and luscious wines compensate for these privations? Yes! this might do, were he to prefer the condition of a sensual beast to that of a man! How then can his integrity be preserved? Only by the hope of one day assisting to rid his country of her disgraceful bondage. This thought inspired, and kept me from sinking under the pressure of a frightful servitude. But may not the spirits and mind give way to such a weight? May not the moral powers be weakened? True! when we bow to the yoke, when we stoop to dissimulation, when with others we consent to become objects of contempt. All these doubts and fears perplexed me at first, and filled me with unutterable woe, and were only but too well founded!

Besides, the day was cunningly diversified by ceremonial interruptions and the daily repetition of Latin lip-services during five and six hours (including the breviary.)¹ Five

¹ Division of time.

Forenoon	from	5½	to	6	o'clock,	Morning prayers.
	"	6	"	7	"	Breviary.
	"	7	"	7½	"	Mass.
	"	7½	"	8	"	Breakfast.

hours of prayer, but alas! what prayer, for adults of twenty-four, who should be the salt of the earth! Through piety Rome makes slaves! I submitted to all these performances, to escape the suicidal feeling of self-reproach, "*that of doing nothing.*"—On breviary days, three hours were allotted to private study; but the spiritual task must be in the presence of twenty youths who possess no test of official efficiency, and yet are found *competent*. I dreaded lest the fatal influence of hypocrisy and sloth might impair my moral strength. My state was often one of despondency, and in feverish heat I passed the night, groaning in spirit, "if it be possible may this bitter cup pass from me!" I was compelled to drink it! until the dawn of a better hope in postentuous dream beamed forth a day of deliverance. Aggrieved in mind and spirit, I quitted the seminary in 1840.

WARNING.

German parents! I implore you, not to leave your sons in this grave of moral liberty and independence, by which you commit a far greater crime, than in depriving them of life; since a moral plague is worse and more painful than the death of the body. Formerly, German mothers rather chose death for their offspring, than expose them to Roman slavery; but now they esteem it the highest honour when a German youth is a slave (an anointed one to be sure) to the

Forenoon from	8	„	10	„	Lectures.
	„	10	„	10½	„ Free.
	„	10½	„	11¼	„ Study.
	„	11¼	„	12	„ Breviary.

Afternoon. Before and after dinner prayer at chapel, about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour, of which $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour is breviary,—

from	2	to	4	o'clock,	Lectures.
	„	4	to	4½	„ Free.
	„	4½	to	7	„ Study.

After supper prayer for half an hour in the chapel, and one hour the breviary. The prayers are in latin, with additional service on Sundays and festivals. Every ecclesiastic is required to count the breviary once a day, although the vicars take this burden off the shoulders of the canons. Twice a week for a few hours, the *Alumnatus* may cross the threshold of the Alumnat. The silent system is enforced at meals. The arrangements are humiliating. There are two studies for twenty scholars. The chambers are without stoves and accomodate 3, 6, 8, and 15 person,—the largest is called the Menagerie.

2 Upon our leaving the Alumnat, a canon called it a "Little Hell."

bishop of Rome. The yoke is not visible, for slavery is masked under the name of religion.

And you, my young friends, who covet the office of a public teacher, let me conjure you to retreat from this seminary; the grave of moral energy and independence. You sink in mind and spirit, and in both respects would do the same, were you even of giant strength. You dwindle into slaves, you become hypocrites.—Noble as is the profession of a teacher, with a broad field for exertion, yet the unworthy and dishonourable chains with which it is fettered by Rome are injurious to humanity, truth, and liberty. Prefer a hard bed with a toilsome life, to disreputable sloth in polluted seclusion.

DEPARTURE FROM THE ALUMNAT.

The door of the Alumnat which opened but twice a week for social intercourse—the door of this institute of spiritual and physical martyrdom, this sink of independence, the guarded threshold was now crossed; and I once more regained the pure air, inhaling its copious draughts, while I beheld the clear and azure hemisphere under a mid-day sun. Still the sky and the sun were not as formerly, the earth appeared circumscribed, for mind and spirit had contracted under ignoble servitude! I hastened home; hoping there to be relieved of my burden, where in my native mountains I had dreamed the dreams of my youth. In the kind embraces of my sisters, I expected to rekindle in my own breast, the warmth that had been cooled down by the feigned sanctified grimaces of despotic Romelings.

Well did the cordial reception of my relatives operate; the joy of reunion banished for a while the painful reminiscences of my bondage; but this endured for a season only, and soon returned in greater force. A sense of self-degradation awoke me out of the dream. An aged friend whom I had loved

from childhood called in, he wished to embrace the hand I had offered ; a mark of unusual respect from venerable age to youth ! I reflected within myself to be a slave was quite sufficient ? Should I still minister to my country's dishonour ? O Rome, thou mixeth poison for man with thy consecrated oil ! People regarded me with awe and reserve, as if I had become an exalted super-human being. And through what agency ? Under the jurisdiction of the pope. Alas ! no superior mortal ; but a base slave, trained to deceive my fellow citizens in the garb of simulated holiness. Thus passed away, in stupid amazement, the first few days, when as a decorated oblation I was presented to the church, with the usual pomp of the Romish ritual. Anxiety for my father and sisters, the deep seated prejudices of the catholic world, as to the perpetuity of Roman slavery, (called the church) depressed me both in mind and spirit. Still there mingled with these reflections, a something, a certain forboding that these chains would snap, a feeble light struggling through the almost impenetrable darkness of a dungeon. But when and how would this be effected ? I now became impatient for employment ; the pulpit and school engrossed my attention ; through these I determined to labour, and expected to improve my situation. I therefore proceeded to Grottkau, where I obtained a cure of souls in March, 1841.

MY CURACY.

I undertook the clerical duties at Grottkau, with a fixed resolution to become an educator of the people in the true sense of the word, and not as the Hierarchy regarded it ; but free from dissimulation, to speak the truth without respect of persons. Inexperienced in this new field of labour, some time elapsed before I was conversant with its details, and could render myself practically useful. I found the office of teacher best suited to my abilities. Ever partial to the

society of children, I felt happiest in this sacred asylum, in which genius could develop itself, where unrestrained, the rival thought might escape like the lightning's flash, and the guileless, unsullied mind of youth indulge its playful fancy. In the school, I escaped the espionage to which I was ever exposed in the pulpit, vexing me at heart and gagging my tongue. I was freed also from the humiliating feelings provoked at confession, constituted the arbiter of thought and conscience of my countrymen. Whenever too severely suffering from Hierarchical pressure, I took refuge in the school, the domicile of peace and friendship, and there recruited my strength and spirits. These little ones never dreamt of the incalculable service they rendered me! Whether in the school, at the confessional or in the pulpit, I zealously opposed superstition, hypocrisy and all the fatal effects of Hierarchical depotism and Hierarchical imposture; the success however, could be but feeble, where every approach to spirituality must be directed against the almost impregnable bulwarks of popery. To labour within these intrenchments, to sow and plant under the control of such a tyrannical stewardship, that, which would so soon be blighted by the mildew of superstition, became from week to week irksome, and the more intolerable, as I witnessed the deadening influence of papal depotism on the people, in their moral degradation and my own immediate danger. I felt it therefore my duty, openly to denounce the abominations and soul destroying creed of the Roman Hierarchy, and rather suffer death of the body, than that of the soul.

MOTIVES FOR ABJURING PAPAL INTOLERANCE.

I now submit to the impartial judgment of every one, the causes which gradually matured this determination, and made the execution of it imperative:—

I dissent from the Roman Hierarchy, because it degrades

me as a man, and reduces me to the dishonourable condition of a slave.

The character of a man is said to depend upon his reason and will ; and in the uncontrolled exercise of both, consists moral liberty. "Be perfect as your father is perfect."

As Roman priest I am denied the free use of my reason and liberty. As such, I dare only to think, read and write that which the code of the Hierarchy, or my superiors are pleased to sanction. Were I to go beyond this, or treat on other subjects, I should be proclaimed a heretic, in other words, the foulest transgressor. I must only worship and honour God as the Roman Hierarchy directs ; and no other mode of serving God is permitted, but that which the infallible church of Rome dictates.—As Roman priest I have neither liberty of thought, nor of conscience. To this must be added, implicit obedience to my superiors, from whom there lies no appeal. The Roman priest is never looked up to as a free agent ; he is a mere instrument to diffuse the mist of superstition. To knock off these fetters and become free, is a sacred duty and command of the christian religion, which condemns all restraint upon virtuous action. More clearly to convince every one of the importance of this obligation, I will just give a brief sketch of the pernicious influence I felt under hierarchical oppression while I held a cure ; a description that is applicable in its leading features to the condition of hundreds of my colleagues. From the inertness and irresolution of my associates within these consecrated barriers, I contracted a morbid susceptibility ; my spirits, sympathy, and inclination to work, became enfeebled ; and in spite of inward struggles and convictions, they were supplanted by coldness, indifference, and a certain alloy of hatefulness. I felt also at first, an unaccountable mistrust in my colleagues ; I particularly shunned the society of those friends with whom I had intercommoned at the university on terms of the strict-

est intimacy, through dread of festering the wound, still smarting in my breast, from loss of liberty. The most humiliating services were the performances before the altar; by which I knew and saw multitudes drawn to superstition and hypocrisy. Was I not then compelled to dissemble when I conformed to such buffoonery? Must I not have appeared despicable in my own eyes, when, before the altar, I reflected on what I was doing, with a credulous crowd behind me? I shuddered within; an indispicable woe seized me, and tokened to me in a state of despair, "thus far hast thou degraded thyself." Every morning I awoke under the painful impression, that I was a slave, and to my fellow mortals not only a useless, but a dangerous being,—that I had been cheated out of an active and useful life, and that there was but a faint prospect of any termination to this disgrace. My fetters were hallowed, and in the opinion of the world indissoluble. This world bears the hateful yoke with unconcern, since its course is uniform.

Before me lay an abyss of hypocrisy or an early grave.—Should I yield? Dastardly cowardice! confidence gradually strengthened, courage reanimated me to struggle for life or death. I resolved to break my chains, and to quit an inclosure, originating out of the sanctions and maledictions of Roman tyranny in the middle ages. I determined to co-operate in stripping off this sanctified mask of millennial dissimulation. Greater impulse was given to this resolve, on witnessing the sad destiny of many of my colleagues, who suffered far more than myself. Some robbed of a whole life, by premature death, sunk silently into the grave. No one, who possessed a drop of blood in his veins, could behold them without indignation. Still these were esteemed happy, when compared with their survivors, who, in the bloom of youth, were sneaking about like so many mummies and slowly declining through vexation of spirit. Many gave way to

drinking and other vices, or became idiotic, vegetating from day to day without a will of their own ; while others fell back upon the Hierarchology of the middle ages, ill-adapted and but little known to this, from which has arisen modern zealotism, little short of madness. Her heroes feigned the the sainted character of the fathers of the church, and with stentorian voice proclaimed themselves preachers of repentance. Lastly, my resolution to dissolve all further connection with Romanism was confirmed, on examining the lives of the most respectable of the priesthood—of these the few that were truly estimable from the culture of their minds, were deficient in manliness, and noted for effeminacy or secret ambition.

I abjure the tyrannical despotism of the Roman Hierarchy, because it prevents the faithful discharge of my professional duties as a public teacher.

As a teacher of religion and of the people, it behoves me, at any price, not only to guard my own liberty and independence, but to protect those who are committed to my care. Does it not, in accordance with the gospel, become such a teacher, to proclaim freedom to all ; “that we are all children of one father, and brothers” and strive to inculcate this doctrine, since man must be free to be virtuous. Lastly, as an educator of the people, it is not sufficient to have respect only to my own advancement in godliness, and to progress with the age ; but I must march before my flock, with the ensigns of civilization and humanity. Through the tyrannical oppression of the Roman Hierarchy, I am not merely deprived of these opportunities of benefiting others, but must surrender also liberty to bondage, light to darkness, progress to station, and thus invoke the merited hatred of my contemporaries and the curse of posterity.

I abjure the tyrannical power of the Roman Hierarchy, since I have satisfied myself, that what the Hierarchists deno-

minate catholic-religion, is not the pure catholic doctrine, a doctrine blessed to the people ; that the Hierarchy does not teach and propagate the leading and fundamental doctrines of religion as instituted by Christ ; but hath introduced corruptions and framed enactments calculated to undermine the spiritual and temporal welfare of the community, and further merely the power and riches of a privileged order of priesthood, at the head of which is the bishop of Rome.

It would be superfluous to prove this by any lengthy and elaborate treatise. The fruits of the Roman Hierarchy have been manifest for ages, and are open to the conviction of every inquirer, who will allow himself to be convinced. Or are these, the blessings which Rome dispenses ; that while one part, and no small part of the human family, languishes in poverty, the other part, and of them many promulgators of religion, even the high-priests, luxuriate to satiety ? Are these the fruits of an infallible church, that through oppression and ignorance, a large majority of the community is kept in a state of superstition and stupidity, reduced to the level of cattle, to enable the obsequious servants of the Pope to divide and govern this degraded herd with greater ease ? Where then do we find in the christian church and christian communion the fulfilment of the command to "love one another ?" Where is the succour of infallible Rome, under spiritual destitution so intense, and temporal wants among the people so pressing ? Where the active benevolence, that relieves and raises the people ? Where the faithful administration of the eucharist, of feet washing, and the due observance of so many other vital doctrines of the gospel ? Does not this lower religion to a system of barter and simulation, merely to augment the power and wealth of the Hierarchy ? The church as represented and taught by the Roman Hierarchy, is a mere imposter, and lying spirit, invisibly hovering over the heads of the people, to alarm and keep them in a state of blind obedience.

Hence their aversion to the priests, the abhorrence and bitterness of all the reflecting and upright members of the Romish church. This animosity is justly merited, for what do the priests for a people, so deeply wounded in soul and body? The most part like the priest and Levite pass by the people, and leave the work of love to the despised Samaritan. Hundreds of priests know not, or will not take the trouble to know the power of which they are the instruments, and the game that they are playing. They speak indeed of the church and of reconciliation, but these are a dead letter. They know not, and will not know that the church is *humanity, humanity here on earth!* that this humanity needs healing and conciliation, I mean the conciliation and blending together of the cultivated and uncultivated, the polished and unpolished, a better understanding between the rich and the poor. This healing and cementing of the disjointed parts of society must be by public teachers, not with empty words which they have already heard to loathing, but by example. This is the vineyard of the Lord needed by the labourers of these days, where the corn is ripe to harvest. These labourers require not to be accredited from Rome by outward consecration, but must be consecrated in spirit and in heart. When such come forward, they will be duly acknowledged by the people, although unaccompanied with Romish symbols. Since however, the Hierarchy of Rome approves of no such labourers, the only faithful educators and friends of the people, and will not sanction their moral elevation; it becomes a duty to oppose her and her system of hypocrisy, which it shall henceforth be my endeavour to perform.

I abjure the tyrannical lordship of the Roman Hierarchy, because their policy tends to dismember and divide the nation.

By celibacy the roman catholic priest is severed from all family ties, and becomes united exclusively to the interests of the bishop of Rome; by the obligation also of unconditional

obedience, and by his creed, he is necessarily estranged and alienated from the interests of his country. Instead of the catholic priest inspiring and instilling patriotism and the public good, he is constrained to repress both, from his allegiance to the Hierarchy. History is full of proofs of what I now state ; full of examples, where bishops and priests have betrayed the most sacred interests of their country, into the hands of the bishop of Rome. It is quite unnecessary to refer to the past, the present age daily furnishes ample evidence, that the priesthood earnestly labours to subjugate the German nation to the tyranny of the pope and the Jesuits. Although hundreds of priests are ignorant of this, it would be criminal in me, thus knowingly to labour and connive at the dishonour and oppression of my country. Whereas it is a duty to contend against Romish tyranny, and strive to make my country free. These are the motives which oblige me and every other citizen to resist the Hierarchy, and endeavour to ameliorate and reform the church according to the exigences of the times.

A thorough improvement of the church, I could only expect to be effected through the agency of general assemblies,^s in conjunction with the laity : I therefore determined to lay my views before the public, and give a detail of Roman corruption, in a pamphlet which I hoped to circulate in the autumn of 1843. The necessity for this step became the more urgent, as the activity and violence of the Hierarchical and jesuitical party very generally increased in Germany, and more particularly under Dr. Ritter in Silesia, at that time bishops' administrator. Dr. Ritter administered and governed to his hearts desire. Without ceremony, parsons and chaplains not to his liking, were after Russian fashion, removed, superseded, incarcerated, and proscribed. Thus Mr. Beer, minister of Brieg was displaced against the wishes of his congregation, the minister Schotte reduced to a chaplaincy, the chaplain

Weiser, through calumny, without hearing or defence, was condemned to punishment in the Alumnat. These men were of irreproachable character; they were deficient only in meanness and Romanism. But Dr. Ritter let rain and hail rage over right and wrong, acting the part of Providence over the diocese of Breslau. The lower clergy in relation to their superiors, had few or no rights, and were treated in a most summary and arbitrary manner. Club-law, seemed to be revived. In many places, as at Brieg and at Ziegenhals, it came to blows. Ritter's creatures took the upper hand and ruled in his spirit. On hearing that some of the clergy had ceased to comply with the infamous and repugnant statute against mixed marriages, apparently an old Silesian law, originating in the age of witchcraft,⁴ he reinacted this odious and obsolete law in all its pristine severity.⁵ He also laid hands on the Alumnat, ordering the students, when in public, to wear their clerical habits, facing them with a peculiar trimming, (no doubt out of love to the brethren.) Zealotism and fanaticism sprung up among the novitiate chaplains, and the old experienced soul-keepers now found themselves surpassed in piety. Frequent rehearsals of the rosary and prayer meetings were revived. At Neisse the theological lecturer Schneeweiss, instituted clubs, and introduced treatises on the rosary out of Bavaria, which did homage to the grossest materialism and sensuality, and disclosed the most horrible jesuitism. The members subscribed weekly about 2½d., which according to report, with the amount raised from the sale of books, flowed into the coffers of the Jesuits in Bavaria. The students of the Gymnasium were forced into the union. Similar societies were established in other places, of which the one at Beuthen, in upper Silesia, under the management of the priest Schaffraneck, was in high repute. In the same spirit, Dr. Ritter restored to the monastery of Hermesia, the polemical character of

the church in the middle ages. Besides monasteries and nunneries, for the support of which the mites of devotees were collected, the mitre of Breslau only was wanting to Dr. Ritter. This however failed. Dr. Knauer a mild and humane priest was chosen. Then began the Hierarchical party every where to intrigue. Knauer was accused in Rome of incapacity; Rome therefore delayed the appointment for a year, during the disturbance and agitation of the diocese. The citizens and upright clergy in the province, complained loudly of this flagitious state of affairs, but neither the citizens (who must be mute in matters concerning their souls and their clergy,) nor even the parish priest ventured to interfere in the prevailing confusion and zealotism. Deeply affected at the increase of our darkness, incensed at the barefaced scandalous intrigues for the see of Breslau, which daily assailed our ears, I resolved to break silence, and expose the vexations of the Breslau chapter, in a pamphlet intitled "Rome and the Breslau Chapter," signed "a Chaplain." I was quite aware that I had now signed my sentence of condemnation, but could scarcely believe the Hierarchy, or the church as she stiled herself, would so unblushingly set truth and justice at defiance, as appeared afterwards in the proceedings of Dr. Ritter and the vicarial court at Breslau.

Six weeks after my publication, I received a mandate' from the bishops ordinary Dr. Ritter, requiring me to declare on the honour of a priest, whether I was the author of the article on "Rome and the Breslau Chapter," or had in any way assisted in its composition and circulation. The hoary headed Dr. Ritter now presumed to tax me with speaking the truth—a priest ordained to speak the truth "without respect of persons," the very words propounded to me by Dr. Ritter! Shall such an abuse and contempt of all religion be longer tolerated? Should I suppress the truth? Or had I written falsely? In the article complained of, I had asserted, that the ecclesiasti-

cal Hierarchy of Rome had been the chief agent in fomenting the thirty years war in Germany, and the revolutions in France and Spain. These were matters of history recorded in every hand-book ; and must I be restrained from publishing them? I had moreover noticed, that the bickerings and variance between the episcopal candidates, were probably the cause of the Pope so long delaying the ratification of bishop Knauer's election, and of the consequent stir throughout the diocese. The disunion and quarrels of the aspirants to the mitre, were known to every one ; the party also who had been instrumental in the removal of the humane bishop Sedlinitzki was equally well known, while the greatest disgust was excited by the unprincipled insinuations of priestly ambition ! Under such abuses I ask, would it have become me to remain silent? Dr. Ritter is practising before the altar falsehood and delusion, which he expects me to revere, at the very time he is reprehending me for circulating the truth.

Had I yielded to first impressions, had I not been bent, on improving the present condition of the lower clergy in relation to their superiors, had I not also in view the circumstances of my sisters who were orphans, Dr. Ritter would assuredly have received a very different reply to the one which after much inward conflict I was induced to send. After mature reflection and a dispassionate consultation with an experienced man, I came to the determination, that having expressly written in behalf of my fellow citizen and colleagues, it would be wrong to prejudice their cause by any ebullition of feeling, and should therefore look to the laws of my country for protection.

By the law of Prussia, the name only of an author is required, and at the suit of the crown, when the publication is supposed to contain some public or private wrong. If this law is not available to the subordinate clergy, they dare only expose the mal-practices and views of their superiors, however flagrant they may be, at the hazard of their preferment. Who

is there then that would like to forfeit his living? Were governments to pursue the practice of Dr. Ritter, then no crown officer would venture to present any abuse through fear of a discharge, after a hearing before his superiors.

Dr. Ritter had no authority to make the inquiry; by such interference he infringed the rights, and lowered the reputation of the inferior clergy, having by his inquisitorial interrogatories required me to satisfy his mind upon a plainly expressed opinion. I could not comply, without prejudicing religion and my colleagues. Or is to be denied to the *said inferior* clergy to speak the truth, or to *‘speak* it only at the peril of their cures? May not the said *lower* clergy be sheltered under the laws of their country? And are the superior clergy the only depositaries, the only infallible depositaries of the truth?—In consideration of my just rights, and of my defenceless position before a lawless opponent, I returned this brief answer “that my conscience forbade my entering upon those subjects.” As the Romelings and popish blockheads invariably take the worst side of a case, so they did in this. Dr. Ritter and his clique would gladly have imputed to me cowardice and falsehood, and have thus triumphantly wrested my words and other passages from their obvious meaning, in order to lower me in the estimation of my countrymen. But in vain. That I desired to retain my office at the price of falsehood and cowardice, as they maliciously asserted, was refuted by my acts, for I sent in my resignation, preferring distress and poverty when I might have easily defeated the suspension by an untruth or recantation.

OBJECTIONS.

On the other side I have heard it objected, that if all I had written were true, still I should not have described it in the way I did. This class of objectors, who despise the truth and tremble before every authority, should be informed, that I had

not only the right, but the duty also imposed upon me so to write.—I published the offending article with the feelings of a German, who was ashamed and exasperated at witnessing the wide and intrepid spread of tyranny under the Roman Hierarchy—a tyranny associated with every kind of vice, which they were extending through the ministry of Germans, the very men whose especial care it became as public teachers, to guide the people into the truth and independence inseparable from virtue. As a teacher of religion, and an educator of the public, I circulated the article, considering it the highest duty to expose and call every act of injustice by its right name, whether screened by the altar or by the sainted glory of the papal throne of a thousand years. The term honour in Dr. Ritter's letter had a quite new application. He questioned me on the honour of a *priest*. Would he confine honour to the vocation only? Then such as are without office must be destitute of *honour*? I only know of one kind of honour, the inalienable honour; which God hath implanted in my breast: the honour of a man responsible to his maker. This honour I appreciate above the papal darkness, which in the place of love, Rome, by ordination, endeavours to instil into her slaves, who in their efforts to raise themselves only sink the lower. This honour and reputation, I value far beyond your prebendaries, prelacies, and mitres. And this honour I am resolved to uphold in defiance of Dr. Ritter, and the whole world. Hence will Dr. Ritter learn, that I am no longer facinated, as he pretended, by that Hierarchical enchantment, which extinguishes the light of reason, and merges the human will into that of an abject slave. No; I had seen the Hierarchy under a veil of highly wrought hypocrisy, and beheld her odious form; when character and self-respect prompted me to aid in tearing off the execrable mask.

OTHER MOVEMENTS OF DR. RITTER.

On the failure hitherto of Dr. Ritter's jesuitical expedients,

he tried another scheme, and behold a Denunciation was issued, which seemed to promise success. About a year ago, a citizen related to one of the clergy had noticed in my attire, that I wore a shorter coat and longer whiskers than his creed approved, which he reported to Dr. Ritter, who from his serene elevation, embraced the golden opportunity of delivering a costic admonition. To this paper I replied nearly in these words ; " I regretted much, if my exterior had given offence to any pious christian, and notwithstanding it was the habit I had always worn at the seminary, I would change what was considered objectionable, and even resign my orders, if I were found under size ; to which I added, that although I could satisfactorily answer every particular, I would not then allow such details to distract his attention from weightier matters. Calculating upon this information, Dr. Ritter applied to Kaspar Hoffman, administrator of the parish of Grottkau, and directed him to make a report of me.⁹ I had never given offence to Kaspar Hoffman : even in money matters, ever an apple of discord between parson and chaplain, I left him to do as he pleased. He paid me but 32 dollars yearly, (the town contributing 16) thus making a good percentage out of my services.¹⁰ Still he would have gladly seen me at a distance, from our different views, and the favourable opinion entertained of me by the congregation, of which he seemed envious. He faithfully informed me of the *crimina* or offences which he had already noticed, and further stated that he merely expressed the sentiments of every citizen ; of whom it afterwards turned out that only two were of the same opinion.

The offences charged in the decree of suspension, were the following : that I wore a short coat and unbecoming long hair : I could only smile at such trifling, and made no reply ; but for the satisfaction of my readers, refer them to the answer of my honoured defender, and to the testimony of the

citizens and authorities of Grottkau, in the appendix. It remains for me to add that this imputation served as a mere pretext, and that the real cause of complaint was the activity I displayed in the school and church, confirmed by the following circumstance."

In the school under my care, I proposed to teach German history and composition. I first formed a juvenile library, and in my religious instructions, I deviated a little from the authorised catechism, which seemed to give children rather a distaste for religion, than implant it in the heart. I frequented also the sunday schools; and here made a point of condemning superstition and hypocrisy. Kaspar Hoffman who knew of my practice, like many others of the same description of *faithful* soul-keepers, had organized a system of forms to catch the eye. In Hierarchical zeal he slyly sneaked into one of my schools, and in a harsh tone of voice catechised the children, who through intimidation being unable to answer, he immediately inculcated the religion of love with a stroke of his cane. Deeply incensed at this wanton act of chastisement, I ventured to remonstrate, when he asserted that there were well founded doubts of my faith, that I did not adhere to the prescribed catechism; but had introduced German history. This discovered at once the spirit of imperial Rome. My answer had the effect of putting an end to Kaspar Hoffman's further visits at the schools. Kaspar Hoffman next reported, that I performed the church services ungracefully, and disrespectfully. This assertion, in the sense it was applied, was an infamous mistatement. For although I am persuaded that the exalted notion we form of God from the christian religion, does not consist in outward gestures, (for is it possible that groanings in unintelligible latin, and hypocritical motions of the eyes can honour God and edify a congregation?) I still cherish a too high regard for every religious feeling, in whatever shape it may appear,

to insult it in the manner alleged. I conformed to the prescribed services without any of the hypocritical distortions of the eyes or body, a shameful imposition of almost daily practice, by the agency of which, large contributions are collected at mass, and a reputation for piety acquired.

It was almost next to a physical impossibility, that I should have offended by such indecorous behaviour; for grief over my slavish destiny, and the pain of being instrumental to the spread of superstition and hypocrisy, overwhelmed me so continually, that I stood motionless before the altar like a corpse. Yes! the inward struggles I had to combat with on the spot, which could scarcely escape observation, must have produced a quite contrary impression. If Kaspar Hoffman took umbrage at this behaviour, his religion must be a mere profession, to confound decency and dignity with hypocrisy. (What remains to be said upon this point, will be found in my statement delivered to the vicarial court.)

Lastly it was reported, that no one unacquainted with me would take me for a catholic clergyman. This I consider to my praise; for I intentionally avoid all outward distinction from my fellow citizens. Or is it the blue striped neck-cloth that is to mark the teacher and priest? We well know that in spite of ecclesiastical stripes, falsehood and hypocritical words are uttered, and that the gilded decoration of the priest, instead of being a charm against hypocrisy, rather gives it currency.

IMPORTUNITY OF COLLEAGUES.

Besides the commission to Kaspar Hoffman, Dr. Ritter had influenced a zealous priest, connected with the boys school, to persuade me to recant. From him and another lifeless ecclesiastic of the college-house, I received letters of the 1st and 15th of January, 1843, which in exaggerated terms of christian fellowship, conjured me to confess myself

a liar and a base recreant. These I publish, being written in a Hierarchical spirit, and displaying the venom and character of Dr. Ritter, and of his obsequious emissaries. They are the production of a mere acquaintance, and not of a friend, as was falsely stated in the decree of suspension."

I was at first inclined to credit the friendship professed in the letters of Schneeweiss, in spite of their suspicious flattery, and even believed them to be sincere—after having been imposed upon by similar efforts from other brethren. But Schneeweiss feigned friendship; for how, in a trice, could he feel esteem, and much less friendship, for one whom he had basely counselled to deny facts universally admitted, to consent to a dishonourable recantation of what I had just asserted, and to a cowardly and mean submission to the despotism of Dr. Ritter. Had Schneeweiss cautioned me on Hierarchical grounds, he might have considered a blind and cowardly submission as virtuous; but never could he expect me to withdraw my reprobation of the disputes and vituperation between the episcopal candidates, and to the reproach of the Hierarchy, of their unjustifiable delays at Rome. Had he in a christian spirit looked upon me as a catholic priest, a teacher of the people and of religion, and claimed to be so regarded himself, he would not have ventured to urge me to to a dishonourable revocation, and denial of the truth; but have bid me stand forward a sure witness for the truth, at the peril even of forfeiting my preferment. I have written nothing but what is true; I re-assert that the squabbles and intrigues of the episcopal candidates for the mitre, are well founded, and as I have since heard, were universally complained of and censured both by clergy and laity. Discreditable was it to the priesthood, that none of the beneficed clergy dared openly to protest against them, valuing their cures far above truth and reputation. Schneeweiss, it appeared, never thought of these things; to judge from the medley and con-

tradiction in his letters, it is by no means clear what he expects from me, neither what he intends or ought to do himself. The like happened to many other colleagues, who fell into similar contradictions. Called by vocation to defend the truth and christian liberty; as servants and slaves of the Hierarchy they opposed it. I had expected on a first acquaintance with Schneeweiss, that he had a greater zeal in these matters, but the words of Gibbon came forcibly to mind. "The credulous and delusive spirit of fanaticism, when rooted in a generous mind, destroys at once the vital principle of virtue and truth."

THE SEVENTY CHAPLAINS.

At this time, 70 Silesian chaplains inserted an unctious article in the (Zion) newspaper, supplicating Dr. Ritter to call me to account and to remove me if I made difficulties. I heard later, that this address was not highly approved by the chapter, although it received the thanks of Dr. Ritter.¹³

I returned no answer to these 70 colleagues, on learning that a majority of them had signed it, through fear of Dr. Ritter. The obligation however was afterwards scrupulously cancelled; for while they as they professed were praying for me, I was labouring hard for them.

SUSPENSION.

After Dr. Ritter had ineffectually demanded of my friends, whether I had disclosed any thing respecting the article against the chapter, a decree of suspension was ultimately served upon me.¹⁴ At the same time, he issued an order to some of the Silesian clergy, to exclude me from clerical duty. These instructions were delivered to their sextons and clerks, so that without creating a disturbance or being turned out, I was prevented by many of them from frequenting the church.

DECLARATION OF THE TOWN OF GROTTKAU.

On the day my suspension was made known, I received, unsolicited from catholics only, a declaration^u to lay before the right reverend court. I immediately sent it, with my defence, to the spiritual court; stating that I would forward the depositions of the town authorities, so soon as I had obtained them. After the delivery of the declaration, many other citizens desired to sign it, and expressed regret that the document had not been previously submitted to them for signature. It will be an easy task for my co-religionists and fellow citizens, on examining and comparing the decree of suspension with the town of Grottkau, to discover on which side the truth preponderates: and therefore, without further discussion, I shall merely propose the two following questions.

1st. On what ground was I suspended and sentenced to an infamous imprisonment?

2nd. How did they proceed?

1st. I was suspended and sentenced to a dishonourable arrest.

Was it that in conformity to my vocation as a public and religious teacher, I had reminded the ecclesiastical candidates of their duty? or was this right to be denied to me? By no means,—I had the right and duty; for I was and still am a teacher of religion, and as such dare not compromise either to gain a benefice. Or are the Breslau canons infallible? They are not more so than I or any other man. If Dr. Ritter and the other members of the chapter are representatives of the christian religion,—that religion which inculcates truth and love, they must have the courage to listen to it. Why did they oppose me when I spoke the truth, or why did they not refute me? As chaplain, was I below their notice? This it would ill become me to suspect of those who should teach and observe the precept, that “we are all children of one Father, we are all equal,” and with whom I am upon an

equality by ordination. If they have misapprehended these words of the gospel, I will shew them that I have not; neither will I ever cease to awaken the lowly, the depressed, the much injured clergy, to a just sense of their moral wretchedness, their ignominy and bondage; for I well know what they suffer, how their hearts bleed; having myself suffered and bled with them. The other grounds of my suspension where the offence I had given by my dress and by the cut of my hair, and by my irreverent and disgraceful performance of the clerical functions.

These charges were sufficiently refuted at Grottkau. Had they been in any measure established, which they were not, they could only be classed with the mal-practices of no inconsiderable number of the right reverend servants of the Pope, who in spite of the public clamour against them, still retain their livings. To me indeed it was most galling, and however arrogant I may appear in the sight of others, I cannot forbear contrasting my sacred function and moral character with the conduct of those, who indiscriminately and unblushingly live in open sensuality, and then inquire why did they not accuse me of inebriety, of gambling, or of some crime? How happened it that this right reverend court did not arraign me for neglect of duty? Or was the report on my moral conduct that reached their ears, too much in my favour?

2nd. How did they proceed against me?

I was suspended without a hearing, and sentenced to an infamous arrest without defence or proof.

No German or Prussian citizen can be arrested for an offence, but under a warrant from the executive authorities. The clergy only are debarred of civil rights and of demanding justice. The Apostle Paul claimed the rights of a Roman citizen; but the church of Rome denies to her disciples the the commonest right of citizenship. I therefore refused to surrender to this decree.

**REASONS FOR RESISTING THE PROCESS OF THE RIGHT
REVEREND VICARIAL COURT.**

This proceeding of the vicarial court dictated by the arbitrary will of the Hierarchy, without authority of the civil, or sanctioned by the canon law, I neither did, nor would submit to: for by a cowardly submission to an unjust and infamous punishment, I should have forfeited all self-respect, dishonoured my country, and abandoned the rights of the whole body of the lower clergy.

1st. My moral influence would have been weakened. Was it not incumbent on me as man, to resist every infringement on my rights and liberty, and rather to prefer an humble exterior with freedom and virtue, than to parade in costly livery, like a servile lackey? As a public teacher, it was still more imperative to do so. In order to defend the truth with power and influence, I must have an unsullied reputation among my fellow citizens.

2nd. As citizen of a civilized state, and settled in a civilized country, where law and not despotism rules, I should have dishonoured my country, had I supinely and slavishly truckled to the arbitrary decision of the foreign power from which it emanated.

Lastly. Since it is no less the duty than the privilege of every public teacher (as also of a chaplain,) to speak the truth without the respect of persons, I should have compromised the duty and right of the whole body of subordinate clergy, by a pusillanimous surrender to that insatiable power which denies the right and obstructs the duty.

In reference to this last point, the lower clergy have resigned this privilege to their superiors; they have permitted the higher clergy to usurp it, and many other rights, and have submitted to become their slaves; but the cowardice of many in the past and present time, can neither deprive me nor others of this duty, or rob me and others of any civil right.

I must only, 'the more urgently insist upon this and every other civil and human right in order to extricate myself from slavery, under a firm conviction that the physical and moral misery of the people is chiefly attributable to the bondage of their instructors.

Must priesthood be a forfeiture of citizenship?

MY DEFENCE.

After the service of the writ of suspension, I pursued the most legitimate course, if that expression be allowable, by delivering to the right reverend court my defence, with the before mentioned declaration of Grottkau, and the testimonials to character of the town authorities.¹⁶ But my feelings were too much excited by the calumnies contained in the decree, to reply to it with becoming temper; and am therefore in gratitude bound to acknowledge the obligation I am under to a catholic jurist, who in a noble and generous spirit undertook for me that necessary step. I did not conceal from my respected counsel, the resolution I had come to, of resigning my cure, and that immediately, if they attempted to execute their threats of an ignominious punishment. I left it to him to assure my fellow citizens, that the most temperate representation and solicitations on my part, with the voluntary declarations of the town of Grottkau, of their officials and parish minister, would little avail to induce the right reverend court to revoke their sentence.

DEPARTURE FROM GROTTKAU.

Soon after the receipt of the suspension decree, I ceded my cure, but tarried a few day in Grottkau to protect myself against the calumnies circulated to my prejudice by Kaspar Hoffman, and Ebel the surgeon and town inspector. For these two worthies had been assailing me with frivolous accusations, under the shelter of the church. The other inhabitants

of Grottkau treated me kindly, and the witnesses against me, many of whom had prevaricated, formed afterwards into a sort of Grottkau vestry, merely spoke the sentiments of the chapter. Various rumours were naturally rife, for few were acquainted with the real cause and circumstances of my suspension.

Although pierced to the heart by the surmises of those, whom I had looked to as friends, I was compelled to silence and to allow the evil reports to pass unheeded. But it were unreasonable in me to expect them to investigate the circumstances with closer attention. For no one could tell how I was cauterized by Roman bondage, and how I felt afflicted at the sight of my country's slavery, and her distraction under the agency of crafty Romish priests and their German underlings. It was however a joy and pride to me to suffer unjustly for the good of my fellow citizens, and even for those who believed it to be for the honour and reputation of the church to persecute me. I was persuaded that the light of day would eventually break forth, a day of emancipation from Rome, where my conduct would be cleared up and justified.

From Grottkau I visited my friend Count Reicheubach of Valtorf, at Neisse, who most hospitably offer me his house for an asylum. Although I had disdained the certain provision of a catholic priest, and knew not how long I might suffer as an out-cast, the feeling of joy at being freed from the detestable and degrading yoke of Roman bondage, under which I had smarted for three years, was indescribable: supported by the justice of my cause, and the energy of youth, I felt as if I had exchanged the horrors of a dungeon for the splendour of a mid-day sun. New life was infused into my veins, a new world lay before me, in which as an unshackled teacher and priest I resolved to labour and live.

MY RELATIONS.

What most imbibtered my joy and filled me with intense

grief, was the mortification which my four orphan sisters had to encounter from the ambiguous and frequently mischievous reports concerning me. Artless people, of the catholic faith, young and inexperienced, they might not deem my motives sufficient to warrant the resignation of my post. Although they had hitherto placed in me implicit confidence, this confidence might be weakened, on finding themselves disappointed of their just claims upon me for future support. They endeavoured to persuade me to resume my former functions, having so much to endure from calumny. This produced in me the severest pangs.

REPLY TO THE VICARIAL COURT.

About three weeks after the delivery of my defence, and of the testimonials of the authorities of Grottkau, I received an equivocal answer from the right reverend court.¹⁷ In this reply, the only respect paid to the testimonials of the authorities of Grottkau, and of the town declaration, was to take no further notice of Hoffman's calumnies; but in any way to heal the wounds inflicted upon me and my brethren, these illustrious representatives of love and justice in the diocese of Breslau would not condescend. Had they not considered me intitled to what was my due, they should assuredly have more highly respected the unanimous voice of the town. But here we touch upon a second curse of the Hierarchy which affects the people. As the denial of civil rights to the subordinate clergy by their superiors, sears the conscience and lowers the man, so similar restrictions imposed by the clergy upon their congregations, degrade to a state of stupor and insensibility, the great mass of the catholic community.

It is notorious, that neither the lower clergy nor their flocks were always in this abandoned state, but through negligence and stupidity they have brought it upon themselves. Allowing

that a freer condition was incompatible with former ages, surely the state of society in the present day imperiously demands it.

After the reply of the right reverend court, I felt it would be inconsistent with honour any longer to hold my cure. For how could I again face my fellow citizens, and preach to them upright conduct, if for the loaf of bread provided for the priesthood by the church, I supinely and cowardly permitted my religious conscience to be trampled upon. My resolution was fixed: to prefer the grave to an ignominious punishment; famine to self degradation and the sacrifice of my country's rights. Not to overlook any legitimate means of having justice done me, I informed the court that I should appeal to the bishop elect.

AUDIENCE OF THE BISHOP.

The consecration of Bishop Knauer was finally fixed, and his public entry into Breslau appointed in April, 1843. I had gone to that city to settle my affairs and provide for my future maintenance. After the arrival of Prince Bishop Knauer, I waited on one of the chapter priests, whose name was attached to the decree of suspension to ascertain at what time it would be convenient to the Prince Bishop to grant me an audience? In conversation with this worthy man, he archly said "that I should have denied having written the article;" adding "if I meant to continue my priest-craft." "He believed that he had never read the article, reported to contain many scandalous things."

What say the younger clergy to the term priest-craft? And what must we think of the independence and justice of an ecclesiastical court, of which the members are wholly ignorant of the offence charged? Justice! What justice can there be where the accusers are judges?

On presenting my case to bishop Knauer, I found him un-

like the generality of the catholic clergy. He received me with the address, by which a hoary head makes a deep impression upon youth. There was not a feature of that affected priestly humility or vulgar condescension of most other prelates. Having in few words communicated the substance of my visit, he said that he was already acquainted with its purport, and that it was decided that I should petition Dr. Ritter to revoke the decree of suspension. To this I rejoined that under wounded feelings and existing circumstances, I was little disposed to treat with Dr. Ritter, when the bishop proposed a previous interview, and asked if I admitted myself to be the author of the article? I bowed assent. But why? continued his Grace have you published the prosecution.—“Because it was my duty to make known the claims of the citizens and clergy, to which no other ecclesiastick felt himself called.” Here he changed the subject and adverted to the office of the house-instructor which I had undertaken; intimating that he should want me in the diocese, and then adjourned the conference until the afternoon.

At the appointed time I waited upon the bishop, who appeared embarrassed and reserved, evidently resulting from his interview with Dr. Ritter, who had maligned me with hard speeches, asserting that I had been summoned before the court and did not appear; which was grossly false, (for a condemnation is no summons.) I now perceived that Dr. Ritter had imposed upon the bishop; but Knauer at the age of eighty was no match for Dr. Ritter, and therefore excused himself from further interference, until he should be fully installed. My answer was to be read in my countenance, I took leave without uttering a word, and on quitting the town I immediately proceeded to Laurahütte, where I entered upon my new appointment: that of instructor to the children of the resident public functionaries.

LAURAHUTTE.

Laurahutte is situated in Beuthen in upper Silesia, about a furlong from the Russian frontier. It is easy to conceive how my mind was agitated by the late contention: for I had to forget the past and leave unanswered the accusations and attacks on my character. Many of my catholic friends had deserted or unfairly treated me, while the greater part of my catholic fellow citizens, continued indifferent or were totally insensible of the galling yoke of Roman faith. The time of deliverance had not yet arrived. All this powerfully affected me and shook my confidence. Diligently did I devote myself to my pupils at Laurahutte, and frequently did I intreat them to behave with greater kindness to me than others had done. I missed their absence even for half a day, being bent on winning their affections. In truth the happiest hours of my life were spent in the school-room, in the atmosphere of ingenuous youth. Gradually my mind recovered its tone, to which the sympathy of friends essentially contributed.

My leisure time was employed in preparing for the open demonstration of my project of deliverance, for which much was in readiness, and with intense anxiety I awaited that eventful moment. As the feelings often take the lead of the understanding, I quitted the Alumnat in the confident hope of ultimate success. The day at last arrived. The 1st of October, 1844. The moment I published my article (although I dreaded the press) was to me like the return of spring and May to my country.

THE TREVES LETTER AND BRESLAU CHAPTER.

The desire² eventually to escape from the tramels of Rome, which I now confidently anticipated, was provoked by those blind disciples and slaves of the Hierarchy the Jesuits, whose scoffs at religion and contempt of German forbearance drove things to the utmost pitch of extravagance.

A coat, which these priests of Baal cannot prove to have been the coat of Christ, is from motives of avarice and base lucre publicly exposed for adoration to a credulous multitude, who are encouraged not only to reverence, but thus to invoke it, "Holy coat pray for us! Holy coat I bow before thee." No language is sufficiently strong to convey indignation suited to so profane a mockery of religion; a madness revered as godly because emanating from the clergy.—My words to bishop Arnoldi,¹⁸ censured as violent, were but those of a child, when considered in relation to the outrages committed by the Hierarchical party against religion and common sense.

It therefore somewhat surprised me on leaving Laurahütte, in the beginning of November where a public school with two teachers had been formed in the preceeding August to receive two letters from the chapter of Breslau, one calling upon me to apologize for my vexatious proceeding, and the other inclosing a decree of excommunication on refusal.

That Dr. Ritter should command me to recall my publication "on Rome and the Chapter" was not so much to be wondered at, since it was far less hazardous for him to sustain a falsehood at the altar, in a matter which merely concerned Silesia. But that a whole chapter should venture to countenance such an abomination as the Relic-worship at Treves, an iniquitous trafficking in the most sacred things, as well as ~~outrage~~ and mockery of reason and the gospel, in the face of Europe and the world, to say nothing of the insult to christians, was truly a signal departure from Hierarchical wisdom.

CONCLUSION.

I have now laid before my country a sketch of my life; let her decide between me and my Hierarchical calumniators and opponents. I have stated all the facts, that I have been suspended and condemned to an ignominious punishment, by

the vicarial court, without summons, without hearing, or defence, never denied to the greatest malefactor. I have further shewn, that in consequence of the reputed letter on Treves, I have been excommunicated by the Right reverend court, according to the so called canonical statutes, in other words, excluded from church communion like a common offender.

Having thus spoken out and acted as it became my profession, the gospel and the duty of a German public teacher, who against law and justice, through the illegal and arbitrary proclamations of the Roman Hierarchy and their servants, had been deprived of his cure and church communion. I appeal to the public at large against the Hierarchy of Rome and her underlings, and petition them to call upon the members of the Breslau vicarial court to revoke the act of excommunication and suspension. I make this demand not merely on my own account, but in behalf of the body of the lower clergy, who are unprotected by law, when confronted with their superiors, and in behalf of the congregations who are equally unprotected before the priesthood; I plead for the whole of christendom, and in the name of all christians, *I accuse the Roman Hierarchy of falsely usurping the title of the universal church, and of not answering to their evangelical profession as a ministry of reconciliation and melioration of of man, but of studiously evading it.*

The Roman Hierarchy hath converted the doctrines of the gospel into a system of compulsory imposture and usury. She defiles religion, and ponders like a venal mistress to the ambitious passions of an aspiring jesuitism, neither promoting the reconciliation nor the edification of mankind, but rather makes hatred sentry over the people, foment civil wars (lately so bitterly felt in Switzerland and other countries) and through trickery and vice lowers the dignity of man.

She it is who widens the gulf between high and low, educated and uneducated Europeans, as we now meet with it in

society, and who by artifice and the usurpations of popery and jesuitism, daily enlarges the breach. To fend off the impending danger, nations must resolutely and vigorously unite in resisting this wide spreading contagion. It is incumbent upon all, and particularly upon the German nation, to convene general assemblies of the church, composed of faithful priests, freely elected by their flocks, in order, to crush popery and jesuitism for ever, to purify religion, to place the church in her fittest position, and restore to her, her inherent functions, which the wants of the people and the exigences of the times demand, so as to reconcile high and low, educated and unlightened, rich and poor,—to unite nations and peoples of the earth, by measures at once edifying and ennobling, and by imparting liberty and love to all. If we quarrel with our neighbours we fall out with God ; St. John says “ Whoever says he loves God and hateth his brother is a liar.” Awake then ye men of Germany, of France, of Great Britain, of Italy, of Spain ! Europeans and Americans ! Let us hasten with our municipalities fearlessly to the work of peace and liberty. The hour has struck, let us burst the bonds of faith and conscience asunder, let us break through the dissembling power of popery and of the Hierarchy, and thus by the overthrow of jesuitism, the despisers of God and man, shall we raise the kingdom of truth, of light, justice, virtue, freedom, love, and establish upon earth the true kingdom of Christ.

APPENDIX AND NOTES.

Note 3, page 21.

When at the Alumnat, I considered with many former friends the expediency of church assemblies. Some of them may now have probably forgotten what they then deemed necessary.

Note 4, page 22.

This expression is not too strong; for in the Silesian ritual, at baptism, the Devil is three times exorcised from guiltless babes. Also by water and other consecrations there are many conjurations.

Note 5, page 22.

He then promised a new one, although three years have since elapsed without its appearance.

Note 6, page 23.

This article appeared in No. 135 of the "Father-land" Newspaper, in the year 1842.

ROME AND THE CATHEDRAL CHAPTER OF Breslau.

Canon Knauer was elected bishop of the Breslau chapter, about a year ago, and although the diocese has been void for upwards of two years, during which, many other bishops have been appointed, he still awaits the ratification from Rome. This awakens little surprise in any one; since Knauer is known as a temperate, humane, and perhaps a too liberal man; but the marvel is, that the Breslau chapter views it so complacently, seeing that by such delay, her honor and that of Knauer is endangered, and the rights of the diocese are thereby violated! It were absurd to conjecture that his holiness the pope believes Knauer to be incompetent for the office. For where does his holiness obtain the information, unless from calumniators? (His ecclesiastical qualifications are not to be questioned, after the chapter had settled that point by their election :) for setting aside the spirit's work, only such as are wholly ignorant of the rigid scrutiny adhered to at an election, can suppose that a college of honorable men would dissemble in their choice of a capable bishop! How does it arise that the pope places more confidence and reliance in a few

malicious informers, than in a whole college of men bound by the solemnity of an oath ? How is it that these men are held out to the world in an equivocal light, and their usefulness in the diocese curtailed ? When this is the case, are not the chapter morally bound to defend themselves, and vindicate their own honor, and that of Knauer, and the rights of the diocese ? This silence does not indicate christian humility, but something else. We are instructed by our catechism, that the "Church is a community of all christians, not of the pope."

But the pope say they, has the authority to ratify the appointment, and may consequently withhold his consent. Let us consider the case without respect to honor or reason, and confine our attention to the right, according to history, acquired by a struggle. The pope then can confirm or reject the nomination of a bishop, but the chapter can elect, or refuse to elect, and may even oppose the presentation of any other. Who will first surrender in this contest, Rome or the Breslau chapter, it is not difficult to decide ! Or will the calumniators, from amidst the chapter perhaps, and the Italians, who impugn the opinions of Knauer and traduce his abilities, trust to this rupture ; and attempt in Germany what hitherto they have never dared to try. It is otherwise difficult to reconcile the silence of the chapter with the usual dexterity of Rome : should it turn out, that a few individuals, members of the chapter, have sacrificed to ambition and jealousy, or any other passion, the welfare, rights and liberties of the diocese, and thereby paved a way for the Italians into Germany ; shall we not as strenuously call upon these men, who preside in the diocese, to watch over our welfare, and protect our rights and liberties, that they come forward, and defend us in this our extremity ; unless indeed they be willing to sit down with a wounded conscience, in the scornful neglect of their ministerial obligations. Are those days to return when horse-packs of gold were freighted to Rome to secure a See ? Then have the canons of Breslau a very remote prospect of an episcopal throne ! It is remarkable how much of late the Italians have been advancing in Germany. We ought to pray that the Spaniards might resume their ecclesiastical bonds of old. Who have been the performers in this bloody tragedy ? Perhaps the disaffected people. Espartero and such like. We are well aware in Germany, and it is known to every school-boy, that next to the tyranny of their kings, the profligate and vicious clergy of Rome who succeeded them, took a prominent part in the ruin of this fine nation. We further know that the French revolution did not originate with Danton, Camille, Desmoulins, and others of that class ; but in the tyranny of Louis the 14th, the sensuality of Louis the 15th, the insolent bearing of the court nobility, of the clergy and civil ranks. We are equally aware that the thirty years war was brought about, not by Luther and Melancthon, but was preparing during centuries through Rome and the German nobility,

ecclesiastical as well as lay. We have need to pray for our own and the Spaniards' liberty and independence, by which alone true religion and morality can be re-instated, and not for slavery and bondage, which at best produces simulation and hypocrisy.

A CHAPLAIN.

Note 7, page 23.

DR. RITTER'S DECREE.

Whereas, the public voice proclaims you to be the author of the article headed, *Rome and the Breslau Chapter*, signed a *Chaplain*, published in No 135 of the Saxon *Father-land* newspaper. You are hereby requested to declare upon your priestly word of honor, whether you are the author or circulator of the above article, or have taken any part in the drawing up and transmitting the same.

Breslau, the 20th Dec., 1842.

Chapter vicar and episcopal-general administrator,
RITTER.

Note 8, page 27.

Kaspar Hoffman, on my departure, shewed me the application.

Note 9, page 27.

Priest Pech, a scientific, accomplished and enlightened man, wearied out with this tedious struggle, retired on the office of administrator.

Note 10, page 27.

He received out of every dollar ten silver groschens or one-third of the customary fee for a funeral oration. Does any usurer obtain the like per centage which such a priest extorts from his chaplain?

Note 11, page 28.

My suit was black, and was greatly surpassed in fashion by that of the Breslau clergy. Besides, I well know, that smartly dressed catholic clergy still retain their cures.

Note 12, page 30.

My well beloved brother,

You will be surprised to receive a letter from me. But forget not in your astonishment that these lines are dictated by friendship. I have just heard at Neisse that a violent storm is gathering over your head.—You are regarded as the author of that article in the Saxon "Father-land" paper, which no one could ascribe to a catholic, and much less to a catholic priest. You are reported as I am informed by a credible and respectable person, to have been questioned concerning it, by the right reverend episcopal administrator, to whom you returned an evasive answer. If such be

the fact, delay not candidly to confess a *pater peccavi*, (Father I have sinned.) Write immediately to the right reverend bishops' administrator, and with honest self-reproach, declare that you wrote it with well intentioned precipitation. If you reject this my brotherly counsel, then, as I am credibly assured, you have only to expect from the determined character of the administrator, a suspension from office. Believe me dear brother, that your friends will not have it in their power to mitigate your sorrow. So long as we are catholics, Rome is to us the centre of the visible church, and so long as we are catholic christians, and especially priests, servants of the catholic church, we dare not speak of Rome and our visible head in the slighting, offensive, and contumacious manner which characterises that article. I can assure you, that if you are the author of the said article, even protestants will avoid you. Of catholics I need say nothing. As far as I have examined it, I am struck with the singular spirit and superficial historical and theological attainments of the author, who has subscribed the two words, "a chaplain." Be not offended at my plain speaking. A right-minded brother in speaking the truth, must risk for a moment a brother's love.—I urge you, without delay, to do what I am recommending. In other respects, I know you to be a good kind of man (what an honor!) it would therefore grieve me to see you in a situation, which in these days must be accounted dishonorable. Noble is it then to make reparation for a fault or injury, little is the courage to write against old established truths without admitting the authorship, at the request of those who from their position in office, are intitled to demand it. So my dear friend, be wise and good, and avert the misery which awaits you. Remember me to your priest. Now dear friend, consult with God, for I know after this advice, you will take a decided course. May peace be our blessing in the coming year.

In concluding these hasty lines, believe them to be the offering of brotherly love.

Your sincere brother,
SCHUEEWEISS.

Neisse, 1. Jan. 1843.

On the 15th of January, I received a second letter from Schueeweiss, of a very different character to the first. Is the former communication masterly and admonitory; so is the second weak, cautious, personal, and reflects on my nationality.

My dear brother,

I again send you a few lines, which I anticipate will not be acceptable to you. My former hasty letter you have not noticed. If I were actuated by any other feeling than that of love, I might in some measure take offence; but love beareth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things for the good of a brother. Once more I implore you to put an end to this calamitous affair at

Breslau. If you are the author of the article, I am assured from good authority, your name shall not appear (how indulgent the mother church.) Believe me you have injured your cause by this evasive answer. It will never do!

Act decidedly.—Are you the author? Then fearlessly answer “I am,” and submit to a reprimand (really!) If you are not, then as a true German, (for on this side the Appenines, also, the church, does not disdain to work) answer “I am not.” Does time permit; call upon me for a few hours. Business is far better settled by word of mouth. You have no time to lose, as I hear from a candid and sincere friend at Breslau. By this advice be persuaded of my affection for you. It matters little that you think me prejudiced and short sighted; in the end you will be convinced that love the most unfeigned and disinterested hath indicted these lines. God be with you,

And I am,

Your sincere friend,

SCHUEEWEISS.

Neisse, 12. Jan., 1843.

Note 13, page 31.

I thank you for the declaration of the 70 chaplains, transmitted to me in the business of Ronge, and commission you to communicate to them my thanks and acknowledgments. The diocese of Breslau can only rejoice (provided Ritter constitutes the diocese,) that she possesses such a flock (why not herd) of worthy young men in the Lord's vineyard. Chaplain Ronge is already suspended and sentenced to the Alumnat. Should he resist, then I shall move the Right reverend-chapter-vicarial court without delay, to dismiss him from the church.

Breslau, 8. Feb., 1843.

Chapter-vicar and episcopal-administrator-general,
RITTER.

Forwarded by order of the fore-mentioned, to the colleagues and subscribers of the declaration against Ronge.

STRZYBUY.

Note 14, page 31.

DECREE.

The Right reverend episcopal-administration makes known to us, on the 11th instant, that the public voice had declared you to be the author of the article on “Rome and the chapter at Breslau,” and that, on the 20th of last month, you were required to admit or deny the charge, to which, on the 24th of the same month and year, you replied that you could not reconcile it to your conscience, to satisfy the demand of the right reverend episcopal-administration. Here-upon nevertheless further time is granted, and a chaplain, friendly

to you, authorised to encourage you to make a full admission and free confession, in order to prevent extreme measures. Hitherto you have sent in no answer to the Right Reverend episcopal-administrator, who has authorized us to inquire into the case, and then suspend and commit you to the Alumnat *ad exercitia* (spiritual mortifications.)

On the 9th instant, we were further advised by Mr. Hoffman, parish-administrator, that notwithstanding you were gravely admonished on the 29th of Oct., 1841, by the right reverend episcopal-administration on your unbecoming dress and long hair, and that Hoffman as well as other colleagues, well inclined towards you, remarked its impropriety, which you have not since corrected; so that only those who are personally acquainted with you, could take you for an ecclesiastic. Further, that you officiate in church without grace or dignity, (hypocrisy and grimace) thereby giving offence to the congregations, and depriving them of the blessing that would otherwise accompany your ministry.

As under these circumstances it is not fitting, that you should any longer retain the cure of souls, the propriety of which, after duly reflecting on your peculiar views and conduct, you must candidly admit, we by authority of the church interdict you from the exercise of all clerical services, and command you to resign your chaplaincy, and to withdraw to the Alumnat, there to undergo the *exercitia spiritualia*, under the Pro-rector Dr. Sauer, principal of the Alumnat, to whom you will announce yourself on arrival, and await the further process.

Brealau, the 30th Jan. 1843.

Episcopal-chapter-vicarial-court.

Latusek v. Ploto. Ealer. Freis.

Note 15, page 32.

DECLARATION OF GROTTKAU.

We the undersigned, in all truth and sincerity, have the highest satisfaction in certifying to the character of chaplain Ronge, that neither in his dress, demeanour, nor in any other manner, in his daily vocation and in the performance of his ecclesiastical functions, has he given the slightest occasion for public reprehension.

Chaplain Ronge, on the contrary, by his modest and upright behaviour, by his uniform exemplary moral life, is so far free from the scandal imputed to him, that by his devoted attention to the education of youth, and especially by his friendly and humane deportment, has justly entitled himself to the love and esteem of all; to which we the undersigned in the fullest measure attest.

Note 16, page 35.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND EPISCOPAL-CHAPTER-VICARIAL-COURT.

The solemn sentence of the right reverend episcopal-chapter-vicarial court, dated the 30th of last month, declaring my suspension

from clerical services, has deeply affected me : It at once convinces me that I have been held up to contempt, by malice ; that, under colour of public opinion, yet through the testimony of a secret informer, I have been publicly stigmatised by loss of honor and office, without any previous notice of the accusation or the opportunity of defending myself.—The cause of my silence to the inquiry respecting the authorship of the article on “ Rome and the Breslau chapter,” arose from its being displeasing and vexatious, at a time when I was living in peace and seclusion, and rendering to my fellow creatures all the service I could, upon mere rumour, to satisfy the demands of individuals ill-disposed towards me, and who, under the mask of friendship were loading me as my colleague Schueeweiss had already done, with the coarsest invectives.

If the Right reverend court believes me to be the author of the article on “ Rome and the Breslau chapter,” and finds it offensive, I shall expect the authorship to be proved by the law of Prussia ; until then I shall remain silent, or I might become responsible for every anonymous publication, and have nothing else to do but continually to explain that I was living in retirement, unconnected with civil or ecclesiastical affairs.

I affirm that the information of the parish-administrator Hoffman, is a despicable calumny.

My hair is not an inch longer than his own ; that my hair should curl while his is straight, is no fault of mine. I am obliged to wear my hair of a certain length to avoid head-ache. My dress is of a dark colour, like that of every other respectable citizen ; my coat may be a few inches shorter than that of Hoffman, having been lately made. I am young, healthy, strong, and as some say ardent ; fawning flattery is foreign and most hateful to my soul ; I always conduct myself in the performance of my ecclesiastical functions, as I do in private life. It is quite possible that Mr. Hoffman may make lower prostrations and strike his breast with deeper sighs ; it is also possible that this makes a deeper impression upon the ignorant ; but according to my views, they are no proof of religion, and are unworthy a cultivated mind ; my treatment of the children is an ample test of my sincerity, and that what I preach is from conviction, from the bottom of the heart, and not mere lip-service.

Grace and dignity are relative terms and the answer to the question, who possesses outward grace and dignity ? must depend upon the peculiar views of the individual interrogated. It is well for Hoffman and my other secret accusers, to console themselves with a persuasion that they are endowed with grace and dignity, and only hope it may not prove otherwise. If we are destitute of those qualities, they are not bestowed upon us, and we are not to blame ; I do not undervalue grace and dignity, nor designedly neglect them ; of which indeed I am now giving proof ; malicious intention only is criminal.

It should be the aim of a minister where the congregation is mixed, consisting of educated, ignorant and indigent, to supply the wants of each, and accordingly I considered it best to vary my discourses, so as to suit them to each class of hearers. If I have failed in my object, if I have not given general satisfaction, it is from mistaking the means, and not from carelessness, which alone would be culpable.

After the accompanying testimony of catholic dignitaries, and of some of the most respectable citizens, constant attendants at church, I hope I shall not be accused of egotism, if I notice that my labours have not been altogether unproductive, and that I have given no public offence.

I presume moreover, that this testimony completely nullifies the secret and malicious accusations laid to my door, to which, in further vindication I add the attestation of the resident local authorities, and of the officers of the provincial court, which will be found no less favourable.—I cannot therefore doubt, after my in part shewing these charges to be unfounded, that the right reverend episcopal-chapter-vicarial-general court, will quash their proceedings of the 30th of last month.

With all humility, I further pray, in the event of my respite and continuance in office, that I may be permitted to remove as soon as possible, since with the religious sentiments I entertain, it would be peculiarly painful to me to associate and live with my false accusers.

In the confident hope, that the Right reverend episcopal-vicarial-court will not suffer me to be prejudiced by falsehood, neither disturb me in my earthly career, nor deprive me of my civic honours—much less of my cure, I shall tarry until the further opinion of the court be known, especially since the collecting of the necessary evidence, and the arrangement of my private affairs, will engage me a few days.

My having already acquainted the parish-administrator Hoffman, with my suspension, and of my being prohibited from ecclesiastical duty until the pleasure of the court be further known, will I trust sufficiently explain my non-appearance at the Alumnat, so as to relieve me from the imputation of contempt.

TESTIMONY OF THE AUTHORITIES OF GROTTKAU

In addition to my vindication and the voluntary declaration of the town of Grottkau, in which they nobly and magnanimously repudiated the fabricated charges against me, I sent six days later the annexed testimony of the town authorities, which I had solicited for my justification.

On the application of chaplain Ronge, we hereby certify, that during his residence in this town, he has always morally conducted himself, and worn his hair of a becoming length, without in any way attracting notice by the fashion of his dress.

Given by us, Grottkau, 6 Feb., 1843.

Royal-Pro: counsellor v. Ohlen.

ATTESTATIONS

On the solicitation of John Ronge, we certify that, during his residence in this place, he has always conducted himself morally, respectably, and irreproachably, and that his attire has always been becoming, and in no way singular.

The Magistracy.

ADAM, MEILLAR, SAHM, REISEWITZ.

Grottkau, 8 Feb., 1843.

At the request of chaplain Ronge, we the undersigned municipality faithfully attest, that during his residence as chaplain, he has led a moral and peaceable life, and behaved as far as we know, in a kind and friendly manner to the inhabitants; in regard to his dress it has never been improper or unbecoming.

The municipality attest this from conviction and in all good conscience.

Municipality,

Ebel, President.

Grottkau, 9 Feb. 1843.

To this thirteen signatures were affixed.

In the cause of chaplain Ronge, I declare as follows.—In truth and in all good conscience, I hereby witness that since the 24th day of March, 1841, the day on which John Ronge presented to me his appointment to the chaplaincy, I am not aware that he hath in any manner compromised the character of a catholic clergyman. I never heard that he had discharged his clerical duties in a careless and undignified manner, or that he had given offence by his dress and style of hair. No one is free from peculiarities or imperfections; nor are accusers ever wanting: generally, nothing is easier than to excite suspicion, and injure another without provocation.

Pech, Minister.

Grottkau, 9 Feb. 1843.

Note 17, page 37.

"To your statements of the 5th and 10th instant we hereby reply, that as you do not think yourself called upon publicly to acknowledge yourself the author of the article on "Rome and the Breslau chapter," we are painfully compelled to adhere to our resolution of the 30th of last month.

Episcopal-chapter-vicarial-office,

Latussek,

Breslau, 18 Feb. 1843.

v. Ploto. Elster. Freis."

Note 18, page 41.

Laurahütte, the 1st Oct.

OPINION OF A CATHOLIC PRIEST ON THE HOLY COAT AT TREVES.

What for a time has been reported as fabulous and legendary, that bishop Arnoldi of Treves exhibits for adoration and a religious

spectacle, an article of dress, called the "coat of Jesus": this christians of the nineteenth century, you have heard, this Germans, German people, and teachers you now know is no longer either fable or legend, but reality and truth. By the latest intelligence we are informed, that 500,000 pilgrims have visited this relic, and thousands are daily pursuing the same track; since the said coat has healed the sick and performed miracles. The fame of it has spread through all lands and nations; while in France the clergy assert "that they possess the genuine coat of Christ, the coat of Treves being a counterfeit." Here may the words be truly applied, that "he who does not at times lose his senses, can have none to lose." 500,000 men,—500,000 sensible Germans, have hastened to Treves, to reverence or gaze at a coat! The greater number of them are of the lower order, indigent, oppressed, ignorant, dull, superstitious, and in part degenerate; who at the bidding of the Roman Hierarchy, neglect the cultivation of their farms, forsake their trades, abandon their houses, and the education of their children, for a journey to an idol festival. Truly an idol sacrifice,—for thousands of the credulous throng offer to a vestment, the work of man's hands, the adoration and veneration due to God alone. And what are the fatal consequences of these pilgrimages? Thousands of these pilgrims starve, to hoard money for the journey, and to satisfy the relic offering, (that is the clergy,) raised with the utmost difficulty, and great self-denial, or perhaps begged—many of them returning penniless, sink by the way from exhaustion, or are driven by dire necessity to indemnify themselves in a dishonest manner. If the bodily sufferings are thus grievous, the moral effects are still more serious.—Wives and daughters are corrupted; with their money they lose purity of heart, modesty, good character; and the peace, happiness, and welfare of many families are totally destroyed.

By this godless spectacle, a wide door is opened to superstition, hypocrisy, fanaticism, and to every kind of wickedness connected with it. These are the blessings at the exhibition of the holy Coat, bestowed upon those who are otherwise perfectly indifferent, whether it be spurious or genuine.

And the man who publicly exhibits for adoration and show this fabric of human invention,—who leads astray the religious feelings of the credulous, the ignorant or suffering masses, and panders to superstition and vice; who extorts money and goods from a starving population, exposes Germans to the mock of other nations and who thickens the clouds already floating ponderously and gloomily over our heads,—this individual is no other than a bishop, a German bishop, the bishop Arnoldi, of Treves.

Bishop Arnoldi of Treves! to you I address myself by right of office and the vocation of a priest, as a German public instructor, and in the name of Christendom, in the name of the German nation, in the name of a public teacher, I call upon you to abolish this un-

christian spectacle, the exhibition of the holy coat ; to withdraw the said coat from public view, and not to add to the abomination.

For do you not know,—as bishop you must know, that the founder of the christian religion bequeathed not his coat to his disciples, but his spirit ? His coat, bishop of Treves belonged to his murderers ! Do you not know,—as bishop you must know,—that Christ says, “ God is a spirit, and he who worships him must worship him in spirit and in truth ; ” and that He can be worshipped every where, not only in the Temple at Jerusalem, on mount Gerizim, nor by the holy coat at Treves. Do you not know,—as bishop you must,—that the gospel expressly forbids the adoration of images and relics ? that the christians in the apostolic age and during the first three centuries, did not admit of images and relics in their churches (of which by the by they must have had abundance) ? That the worship of images and relics is heathenish, and that the fathers of the first three centuries reproached the Heathen on that account ? viz., it is said, (div : inst. II. 2.) “ Had images life, it would have been their duty to worship the men who made them, and not the reverse.” (*nec intelligunt homines ineptissimi, quod sisentire simulacra et moveri possent, adoratura hominem fuissent, a quo sunt expolita.*)

Finally, do you not know.—as bishop you cannot be ignorant.—that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the sterling, healthy, and vigorous spirit of the German people relapsed into relic-worship, during the crusades, and that the pure image of God, as developed in the christian religion was disfigured by tales and marvels brought from the east ? Behold, bishop Arnoldi, of Treves,—and this you must know better than I can inform you, the fatal effects of relic worship and of superstition among ourselves, namely, spiritual and temporal bondage ; and yet in spite of this you still persevere in exhibiting relics for adoration : but were you ignorant of these results, and looked merely to the welfare of christianity by the exhibition of the Treves relic, you have still a double debt upon your conscience, which you cannot defray. First, if the coat possess a healing virtue, it is unpardonable in you to have withheld it from suffering humanity until the year 1844. Next, is it not inexcusable in you to receive tribute from the 100,000 pilgrims ; or as a bishop is it charitable, to extort money from our starving population ? particularly when knowing, that only a few months ago, hundreds were driven by want to revolt, and a violent death ! Do not permit the procession of a 100,000 to deceive you ; but be assured that while a 100,000 hasten with ardour to Treves, there are millions like myself filled with horror and indignation, at your contemptible show. This disgust is not confined to this or that class, or to this or that party ; but it pervades every rank, even the catholic priesthood. Already does the historian seize the pen to transmit the name of Arnoldi to the scorn of the present and future age, as the Tetzels of the nineteenth century.

But German fellow citizens, whether you live near or far off Treves, do your utmost to shake off this disgrace from the German name. You have delegates, magistrates, members of circle and states of the empire; well, work through these. Let every one according to his ability oppose and put an end to the tyrannical power of the Roman hierarchy. For it is not merely the traffic in indulgencies at Treves, but you are well aware that from east to west, from north to south, money is collected for rosaries, masses, indulgences, burials, and that this exaction is on the increase. Whether catholics or protestants, advance unitedly to the work, for our honor, our liberty, and our happiness are at stake. Provoke not the names of your ancestors, who breached the capital while they spared the angel strong-hold in Germany,—suffer not the laural wreathes of Huss, Hutten, and Luther to fade,—stand to your word, and perform your vows.

Lastly, my colleagues, you who have at heart the welfare of your flocks, the honor, liberty, and happiness of the German nation, remain no longer mute, follow up your better conviction; to hesitate, is to sin against religion, your country, and your own character. Having so lately addressed you, let these few words suffice. Prove yourselves the faithful disciples of him, who gave up all for truth, light and liberty,—show that you have inherited his spirit and not his coat!

JOHN RONGE, Catholic Priest.

On the 30th of January of last year, the episcopal vicarial court passed sentence on you for not satisfactorily removing the suspicion of your being the author of the article intitled

“ROME AND THE BRESLAU CATHEDRAL CHAPTER,”

which appeared in the Saxon “Father-land” newspaper, and as a catholic priest for being refractory in not vacating the chaplaincy of Grottkau, after having been interdicted from the performance of clerical duties and ordered to the *Exercitia Spiritualia* in the Alumnat, there to await the further proceedings, under the direction of the superintendant. These requirements and particularly as to the last, you have in no way complied with, but have obstinately persisted in disobedience to the ecclesiastical authorities.

A further ground of proceeding against you is, that in the 4th annual course No. 164 of the Saxon “Father-land” newspaper of the 13th of Oct., an article appeared with your signature dated Laura-bütte 2nd Oct., on the exhibition of the holy coat of Jesus Christ at Treves, which is offensive to every faithful catholic, calculated severely to dishonor one of the highest dignitaries of the catholic church, and moreover sets at defiance all the established and universally approved canons of the catholic church.

This calls for the strictest investigation and condign punishment, and you having added catholic priest to your signature, you thereby

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acknowledge yourself a member of the catholic church in this diocese, which obliges me to require of you within fourteen days to say.

1. Whether you are the author of the above named article ?

2. If so ? Whether you are willing to atone for the offence given, and the insult offered to the right reverend bishop Arnoldi of Treves, by inserting a solemn recantation in the same paper, and such other widely circulating journals as I may direct ?

3. If denied, that is, in case you have taken no part in writing or circulating the article, and that your name and residence have been forged, then whether you will consent to prove this, and thus purge yourself of all criminal suspicion ; in which event you must personally appear in the same term.

Should the requisite information not be furnished at the appointed time, and you refuse to appear to their summons, in addition to the order of suspension which accompanies this, I shall be under the painful necessity of imposing upon you the further punishment of degradation and excommunication.

Breslau, 29th Oct., 1844.

Suffragan bishop and chapter vicar of the diocese, Latussek.
To Mr. Ronge, late chaplain at Laurahütte.

Right reverend suffragan bishop and chapter vicar of the diocese.

On the 18th and 19th instant, two letters of the same import were received, the one addressed to the catholic priest Ronge, the other to the late chaplain Ronge, in which I was required within fourteen days to reply to various interrogatories.

The right suffragan refers to the article on "Rome and the Breslau Cathedral Chapter," and alleges that I have not vindicated myself. My answer to the inquisitorial interrogatories of Dr. Ritter, at that time bishops administrator, respecting that article, is wholly misapprehended ; if supposed to contain any attempts at a vindication. I never intended to clear myself, nor denied the authorship ; but I contended against the competency of the bishops administrator Dr. Ritter, a member of the vicarial court, to act both as accuser and judge in the same cause. The interrogatories addressed to me by the late bishops administrator, the right reverend Dr. Ritter, as also the decision of the Right reverend vicarial court, by which without summons, bearing or defence, (granted to every malefactor) I was suspended from my cure, and sentenced to an ignominious punishment in the Alumnat—were an infringement and violation of the rights of the lower clergy. Are the lower clergy, to be deprived of the right possessed by every citizen, that of speaking their mind without risk of losing office, when contrary to the sentiments of their ecclesiastical superiors ? Have religious truths so little power that might and violence must be resorted to. Did Christ establish his church by might and violence ? Or are the higher ecclesiastics the only maintainers, the infallible maintainers of the truth ?

To retain my post by a falsehood, which had been insinuated with a view to excite the suspicion of my parishioners and fellow-citizens, I refuted by my conduct. I was so fully prepared to meet the suspension, that I embraced poverty and want, and resigned my cure. Truth, honor, and right, are more precious to me than dainties for the body. I admitted to the competent authority of Prince Bishop Knauer, that I was the author of the alleged article. His grace then inquired, "why did you publish the matter." "Because (in reply) I considered it my duty to make known the general dissatisfaction throughout the diocese at the delay of Rome." Besides I could not defer clearing myself before my parishioners and fellow-citizens.

The right reverend suffragan and episcopal administrator further states that I conducted myself at Grottkau indecorously. The accusations referred to, were declared false and calumnious by the citizens and authorities of Grottkau, and I shall therefore seek indemnity from the state and the public, unless the privilege of blackening the character of man with impunity be reserved to ecclesiastical officials.

In respect to the article on the exhibition of the celebrated holy coat at Treves, which bore my signature at length, there has been no misrepresentation. I have written nothing but the truth, and will not shrink from it through the fear of man; I will expose injustice if it seek even to shelter itself behind altars of a thousand years. I have done but my duty, in making known the national indignation at the worship of an article of dress. The most unaccountable thing is, that the ecclesiastical authorities should countenance such a public nuisance. Does it obtain currency through the patronage of a bishop? How would it have been had any of the lower orders of priests, or other Christians sought to raise 50,000 dollars by the forgery of a holy coat? Did Christ, or his apostles do the like? Christ fed those that came to him, but did not extort money; for in wrath he exclaimed in the temple, "My father's house is a house of prayer, but ye have made it a house of traffic." I have spoken the truth and will never recall it. If therefore on this account you believe it to be your duty to degrade and excommunicate me, so let it be done.

I feel assured that the exalted founder of our religion will still reckon me among his disciples, and am confident that my parishioners and fellow-citizens will never desert me. For millions listened to, and joyfully received my public instruction, when they found it to be the expression of the heart. Millions have an affectionate regard for me. This love has not suffered itself to be prejudiced by disgusting, slanderous, and bitter opponents; neither is it likely to fade.

I have only to add,

RONGE, Catholic Priest.

Breslaw, 30th Nov. 1844.

In consequence of your answer of the 30th of last month received on the 1st instant, in which you acknowledge yourself to be the

author of the article on the holy coat of Treves, which appeared without your signature in the Fatherland newspaper, and will not recant, in accordance with my decree of the 29th of October last, and in conformity and by virtue of the canon law and its provisions, I am painfully compelled to visit with degradation and excommunication, the author of the alleged ecclesiastical offences contained in the said articles.

I further require you without delay to deliver up your letters of orders.

As you have refused to appear according to summons, and thereby deprived me of the much-desired opportunity of bestowing my fatherly and affectionate advice, in the hope of removing your erroneous and anti-church views in general, and such especially as relate to the worship of relics and the holy coat, to the painful sentence I have been compelled to pass, it remains only for me to join my fervent prayer that God's grace may guide you to a right understanding of the Catholic faith, and lead you to distinguish between a true and false veneration for relics; to the latter of which alone you appear to have confined your attention.

Suffragan Bishop, Chapter-Vicar of the Diocese,
D. LATUSSEK.

Breslaw, 4th Dec. 1844.

To the late Chaplain, Mr. John Ronge, Taneuzienstrasse, No. 35.

FINIS.

THE HELSTON CASE.

TWELVE LETTERS

ON THE

RUBRIC AND RITUAL INNOVATIONS.



REPRINTED FROM THE STANDARD.

BY

A PROVINCIAL.



WITH AN ENGRAVING.

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Crown Court, Temple Bar.**

The House of Prayer .



*It is Written my House shall be called of all Nations
the House of Prayer. Mark, 11. 17 .*

*If they return, confess thy Name, and Pray & make
Supplication before thee in this House, then hear thou
in Heaven and Forgive. 2 Chron. 6. 24 .*

THE Engraving, mentioned in Letter XI., is copied from Bishop Patrick's Devotions, printed in 1672, with the Imprimatur of the Archbishop of Canterbury, of which a copy is presented on the next page.

Imprimatur.

Ex *Ædib.*
Lambeth.
Octob. 21.
1672.

Sam. Parker, *R^{mo} in Christo Pa-*
tri ac Domino, D^{no} Gilberto
Archiep. Cantuar. à sacris
Domeſt.

THE HELSTON CASE.

LETTER I.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD.

SIR — Your leading article of Thursday last, Nov. 21, must increase the respect and confidence with which the more moderate party in the Church have, for some time, looked to you as the upholder of true and orthodox Protestantism without virulence or indecency. Your great argument upon the effect of *desuetude* on law, or rather upon *custom*, as superseding obsolete enactments, where the functions of the legislature have been suspended for a length of time, will, I hope, not be allowed to pass away without a permanent effect upon the public mind. In the same article, however, you lament “the prevailing propensity to make such questions as this [between the Bishop of Exeter and the parish of Helston] the subject of newspaper discussion.” The sentiment is doubtless a creditable one, as implying a reluctance to make the private disagreements of a religious body the subject of general notice and comment. Nevertheless, I am of opinion that a more mature consideration of the matter will convince you of the expediency and necessity, at the present time, of making these matters a subject of newspaper discussion. It is too evident that there is, at this moment, a great conflict of opinion working in the bosom of the Church, upon questions of most vital interest alike to individuals and the whole community. What are all other national interests compared with the maintenance of religious truth? This, there can be no doubt, is the great condition of Divine favour, from which all prosperity results. Now, the case in our Church is this. For the last dozen years a party has been growing up, waxing, and spreading, the life and strength of which has been devoted to re-model the doctrine and entire theory of religion upon principles directly opposed to the articles of agreement. At length the expressions of that party have proceeded to such a pitch of plainness, and, I must add, of audacity, as to adopt literally and explicitly nearly every one of the most objectionable of the Romish tenets, and to set them forth as matters to be received without question, even as the teaching of the Church, while absolutely declaring its own folly and sin

in separating from Rome in the age of her perfection. For proof of this, I will merely refer to the last (the November) number of the "British Magazine," article 'Hagiology,' a work which long took side, most unequivocally, with the Oxford party. It has, indeed, changed its view at last; and so far so good. This has been the case with many others: but what then? Be it observed, the Tractarians are still a strong party in the very ministry of the Church. Even at the late election at Oxford they mustered in considerable numbers, to oppose so ordinary a proceeding as the nomination by routine, as Vice Chancellor, of one of the most worthy men in the University, merely because he had been one of the six doctors who together had reported Dr. Pusey's sermon as contrary to the reformed doctrine of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. How extensive this party is, may be judged from the number and circulation of their publications. It is a fact, indeed, unquestionable. Say that there are 500 who regularly take in the "British Critic," the "English Churchman," the "Lives of the Saints," &c. (and the circulation of these works is many times the number I have proposed), what is the enforced and necessary reflection upon this fact? It must be this; that there is a very great number in the orders of our Church, who at least sympathise with the Newmanite theology so far as that they think it is, upon the whole, conducive to good; and so they both encourage it, and feed upon it, to an extent that we cannot define, but which shews indubitably that the *principles* of their theology are more in accordance with Rome (if, at least, the Newmanite religion is truly identical with that, and for this I refer to the "British Magazine" as an authority that will not be disputed) than with that which was defined as in direct opposition to it—the religion of the Articles of the Church of England. Well, where are these 500, or more? Where are these 200, or 100, if they were supposed to be so few? They are engaged in their vocation. They have the cure of parishes. But what do we hear of them? We hear from time to time that such and such parishes have Puseyite clergymen. But what then? It is thought a light matter. The generality are held to be no judges of the question. And it is certainly, I can answer for it, regarded, among the majority of brother clergymen, as of no great consequence. But yet, if there be truth in God's word, it is a matter of consequence. And there are, I say, these numbers of *young* clergymen, whose religion must, in *principle* at least, assimilate to the Tractarian system, exercising the vocation and the authority of ministers of the Gospel in the Church of England. I wish this

fact, which cannot be questioned, to be duly reflected upon : for what follows? There must be a great many of the laity, who, if they are as familiar as it is to be hoped they are with the way of salvation, must be aggrieved from Sabbath to Sabbath, to be constrained to sit the passive auditors of lectures, and the unedified witnesses of ministrations which they do not believe to be dictated and directed by the spirit of grace and wisdom. But what can they do? They are, as the Pharisees said, of " this people, who know not the law," and therefore, when they oppose themselves to their authorised instructors, " are accursed." For so, to my knowledge, they are dealt with. But still it must be obvious that there must be numbers in the Church, who, if they are built up as they should be in the faith of Christ crucified for us, as it is determined by Scripture and the Articles of our Church, must be condemned to nourish the truth in their own bosoms, while they grieve to be left in the discomforts of sheep that have no shepherd. For how are they to help themselves? or by what means obtain redress? Can it be doubted how difficult a matter it is, in the present state of various and unsettled opinion, to fix a conclusive charge of heterodoxy upon any one's system of teaching? How, otherwise, could the Oxford Tract party have gone on for now a dozen years developing that which its original friends now denounce as plain Popery, but which, while it was expressed in a more obscure and cunning manner, received that countenance and encouragement which have extended to it so long a term of influential existence and activity. Even Dr. Pusey's sermon is proof sufficient of the difficulty of fixing a satisfactory charge of error upon the most erroneous system of doctrine. When, then, it is remembered, that there is certainly a very important difference, notwithstanding, between truth and error, as an instrument of spiritual grace, it may be understood in what an uncomfortable and justly discontented situation a considerable number of well-disposed churchmen must be left, while the Oxford party is so numerous in the Church. I wish this to be well considered, for it will assist the fair consideration of what follows. The party I am speaking of, it is known, are distinguished by a superstitious estimate of those adjuncts of religion, which are in some way involved in the personal office of the minister. On this account we hear of divers of them rendering themselves notable by enforcing changes in the order of prayer and in the ceremonies of worship from what has been customary within the memory of man. They impose, also, different conditions and requirements as necessary titles to the benefits of the offices

of the Church. These being more tangible acts, are naturally laid hold of by their mistrusting and dissatisfied congregations: and such outward and visible signs, as it were, of the superstition which they discover in the other duties of the same office, very naturally awaken a feeling of aversion and disapprobation, as a symbol of the disagreement in more substantial matters, of which they are too conscious as existing between themselves and their appointed ministers. Thus the breach is made. The course of consequent events produces complaint. Then the hard facts are called for. And what is there to produce? A change of vestments, the omission of a prayer: nay, perhaps, something more material than this—some new scruples regarding the visitation of the sick, the administration of the Sacrament, the burial of the dead. Now, these practices, such as they are alleged to be, may be naturally very painful and offensive to the sound Protestant Christian: and yet they may be such as a bishop, under the prepossession of a certain bias, may feel himself justified in not condemning, forbidding positively, or visiting with reproof. Of this we have witnessed a very notable instance recently in the Helston case—a case most certainly that will not be set at rest by the decision which has been made public; inasmuch as in it there is evidenced a trial of principles, with which numerous parties will associate themselves on either side. It is, in fact, the first conflict in open debate of two different views held in the same Church, which have long maintained a friendly compromise, being restricted within certain bounds. But the late movement having carried one of these views out to its extreme conclusions, and so induced a more searching inquiry into its principles, has brought the question to an approaching issue. This approaching conflict of principles in our Church, I say, is manifest. Be it staved off as it may be, it will come on, and that before long: and it will, and must be, the subject of general communication between all concerned in it through some public channel of intelligence or other. I return now to that sentiment of your leading article of Thursday with which I began. However you may think these discussions to be deprecated, depend on it they can no longer be avoided. Some medium of communication between distant parties involved in the same cause will be sought and found. There is a consciousness that the truth, under present circumstances, may suffer in one part, while all the rest look on and sympathise: and while they are anxious to convey their sympathy to their suffering brethren, they are no less anxious to vindicate their own faith from being prejudiced in their fate. Thus it is with the business

at Helston. Say the commission has sat and the bishop has pronounced. But what then? Has he satisfied the people? Has he recovered his congregation? Say, that perhaps they withdraw from the Church. What is gained to the Church by this? Rather, if one member suffers, all are afflicted. In this mind I request permission to address some observations to you upon the subject just alluded to, which, with your leave, I will do in another Letter; desirous, in so doing, to maintain the law of charity in judging others, as well as to observe what is due to station and authority. It is manifest that there is a bias of judgment determined by the general texture and frame of pre-existing opinions and principles. To exhibit these, where it can be done, may be conducive to a better estimate of any express judgment coming from a particular authority. This, however, may be done without any bitter accusation. Matters of fact, and legitimate deductions from these, are the proper instruments of debate. To such I purpose to confine myself, if you shall think fit to give insertion to my communication.

LETTER II.

I WILL proceed now, with your permission, to review the leading features of the case relating to Helston as it lies before the public. This parish would appear to have contained, a short time ago, a well-affected church congregation, when, by chance, it fell into the hands of one, of whom the Bishop of Exeter writes to the Archdeacon, that "on originally offering himself for a curacy in this diocese, he told me that he could not conscientiously accept any charge in which he was not at full liberty to follow out all the directions of the rubric." The bishop adds, "I applauded the high feeling and principle which prompted the demand;" and further, that though he did not "give a general order for reviving those usages and the observance of those rubrics which had fallen into desuetude," yet he "permitted him to use his name as ordering them, provided this should be deemed important." The effect of this understanding is before the public in the documents connected with the late inquiry. Whether there be any thing particularly indicative of high feeling and principle in the ministerial course there exhibited, or whether we there see merely the exhibition of a mind, and spirit, and doctrine, of which strong doubts will

be entertained, whether it is the mind, and spirit, and doctrine of the Apostles or of the Reformers, is a point upon which a freedom of opinion will be exercised. Great service has, indeed, been done in publishing a report of the proceedings upon the inquiry, with a copy of the complaints, in addition to the bishop's judgment. I feel a strong persuasion that no unprejudiced person can read that report, together with the other documents, without coming to the opinion, that the dissolution of the church congregation at Helston, and the complaint of the churchwardens, have not been without the existence of those causes; or rather of that cause, to which such a result would naturally be attributed. Among the complaints of the churchwardens is one—that the preaching was unedifying: that “for the sermon, a sort of dissertation on the Liturgy had been substituted, interesting, perhaps, to the antiquarian, but unsatisfactory to a man anxious to learn his duty to God and man—a lecture frequently more historical than of any practical tendency.” This is a complaint very difficult, of course, to establish on grounds sufficient to induce animadversion, and accordingly it is dismissed by the bishop with some such remark as, that “the Liturgy is a most admirable adaptation of God's word to practice.” Nevertheless, if the complaint be true, it is not to be wondered at, as stated in the same paper, that “the congregation has been reduced more than half, the rich attending some other Church, and the poor remaining at home, or going to dissenting places of worship.” And I think that when these facts are compared with other particulars of the curate's acts, there will be an opinion that the complaint is not without probability. There is, at least, a coincidence between the complaint of the one party and the conduct of the other that constitutes a verisimilitude. The profession of the Rev. Minister is a faithful desire to follow out the rubric. The overt acts are, preaching in a surplice; disusing prayer in the pulpit; charging all persons to remain on Communion Days during a considerable portion of the Communion Service—that is, until the Confession,—or to be for ever deprived of the benefit of receiving the Holy Sacrament; refusing to administer the Sacrament to a member of the congregation because he had been born and baptized in the Roman-Catholic Church; refusing either to pray with the same alive, or to bury him when dead; compelling all women returning thanks to kneel at the altar-rails. These are practices, so we are to understand, which evince the high and faithful feeling of one desirous to fulfil the vows of his ordination. Certainly such language would imply, that the contrary to these several

practices was an obvious violation of the rubric, and attended with prejudice to those ends for which forms of worship have been devised. If, however, in many, or most, or all of these cases, the zealous curate, exceeding all direct injunction of the rubric, while casting contempt upon the almost universal practice of the Church's ministers of every grade of authority and dignity, so far as memory reaches, be found to have exhibited his faithfulness rather in devising interpretations of the rubric for himself—doubtful at the least, perhaps positively wrong;—if this be the course that appears to have been pursued, with defiance of all effect upon the minds and feelings of those whose edification was his true business, does it not shew something like a ground for the supposition, that possibly there does enter into the system of doctrine, and the expository exercises of such an one, a disproportionate estimate of outward regulations, compared with that by which they are sanctified? Such is the complaint. Do not the facts that appear lend it some colour of probability? But to look now to these other practices, and the dissatisfaction consequent upon them. Consider the *subjective* cause—the cause in the people themselves—of the dissatisfaction alleged. Consider a body of churchmen, accustomed to be instructed according to the doctrines of our Articles, and accustomed, also, as associated with these, to certain comely and reasonable forms of worship. To their instruction and discipline, in conjunction with these, they owe the proficiency of religious knowledge to which they have attained. With these, all their religious life and all their religious recollections are associated. Still, suppose that a clergyman, who, by a period of faithful service had attained to their confidence, should represent to them from time to time, and should commend to their favourable judgment the advisableness of departing in such and such particulars of form from what they had been used to, we cannot doubt but he would freely have met with the acquiescence of the better part. But a very different case may be conceived. It may be that such a congregation, with these principles and prepossessions, is at length committed to the spiritual care of one who, without having first obtained their confidence, and without any convincing reason assigned, proceeds to change the order, and method, and rule of those services which have been customary in their Church from the days of their forefathers. Suppose, at the same time, that they hear respecting these novelties, as they account them, that they are part of the system of a body of divines recently stirring the Church; the propagators of a form of doctrine, which they believe in their hearts to be far

from the reality of vital truth. Is not a feeling of distrust and dissatisfaction, in such a case, the very feeling which one would wish to find? And when the very oral doctrines of such an one fail to restore their confidence, is it not a case to be greatly deplored? Such is represented to have been the case at Helston. The congregation left the church; decay threatened the building; the churchwardens represented the grievance to the bishop. The bishop has passed his judgment, to the acquittal, in the greater measure, of the curate—to the reproof of the parishioners. And here, too, a new feature appears. It comes to light, that the curate, in taking every step, had first taken the advice of the bishop upon it. And, in consequence, the bishop, in giving judgment on some of the points, speaks rather as if justifying himself than the curate of Helston. Nor is this all. The bishop first appoints a commission to take cognizance of the complaints, and forms his judgment upon *their* report. The commission, consisting of three, comprehended, if I mistake not, a son of the bishop, and a rural dean, which is an appointment of his own. Does it seem natural, then, that the complainants should feel satisfied with the result? Was not that rather more natural, which is alleged to have occurred on the eve of the inquiry, that the Reverend defendant invited some one of the parishioners to attend, promising that they would have excellent fun?

One other remark of a general nature I would add, before addressing myself to the particulars of that judgment. It has been noticed, in the public papers, that Dr. Pusey, while under suspension of preaching at the University, has been allowed to exercise that function in the diocese of Exeter. Is it an unfounded comment upon this circumstance, to say that it seems to betoken a favour to the Tractarian cause, and a dissent from that degree of censure with which the governors of the University have marked it? If that be so, and if there be something kindred, to say no more, between the doctrines of the Tractarian school and the practices complained of at Helston, have we not, in this circumstance, a sufficient motive for scanning the judgment of the bishop with rather a jealous eye?

If I have further permission, I will, in another Letter, examine more particularly the several points of rubrical observance which figure in the complaint, and the judgment upon them.

LETTER III.

THE SURPLICE AND GOWN.

IN my two former Letters I have made a general review of the occurrences at Helston, and of the dissatisfaction occasioned by them. I will now enter upon a more particular consideration of the questions ruled by the bishop's judgment. The two most important of these, in my opinion, are those which respect the order of preaching, and those which relate to communication with the Church. Of the first kind, the points in question are, the use of the surplice and the accompaniment of prayer: of the second, the title of a person, circumstanced as Blake, to claim the rites of the National Church, and the spiritual services of its ministers. The first are, in part, but matters of form; the second involve entirely more weighty considerations. Of the former, too, the mere use of the surplice, involving, in the shape that it has taken, a question of liberty, and in the associations of its introduction, a palpable significance, is worthy of more consideration than might at first appear. In this particular instance it will be seen to form an *item* in a system which many will regard as evidencing both a principle of superstition and another principle never disjoined from the former, namely, that of priestly tyranny. It is in this united character that we look upon all these proceedings as one piece, stamping a character, as by authority, upon the religion of our Church, which we hold to be at variance with her own spirit alike and with the spirit of truth. With this view we find occasion, both in our love of the truth, and in our love of the Church, and in our desire for her success, to make a stand upon the liberty in which our fathers have left her, and check the mischievous aspirations of a budding superstition before it has effected the desolation of our sanctuary.

I begin, then, with the questions which respect the order of preaching. And, first, the wearing of the surplice in the pulpit. "On this particular," says the bishop, "I have no difficulty in saying that Mr. Blunt has been right, since he has preached in his surplice." As the bishop, however, proceeds to state the reasons of his judgment, we are able to submit them to an analysis. And whether the decision were right or wrong, I do not hesitate to affirm that the reasons stated lend it little support. A very material, but very questionable point is ruled in the first instance, that the sermon

is part of the Communion Service: and authority is then sought for the major proposition, that the surplice is the appointed garb to be worn in the administration of that ceremony. That, however, which the bishop himself tells us is the true and overruling authority upon the question, he tells us himself again decides that the surplice is not the proper garb to be used in this place. The authorities to which he refers are the canons of 1604, and the Act of Uniformity, 1662, establishing the Book of Common Prayer with the rubric as it now stands. The former of these, he tells us, is controlled by the latter. And the direction of the latter (that is, of the rubric, established by the Act of Uniformity) is, not that a surplice shall be worn at all (in this service he should have said), but a garb totally distinct, "a white alb plain, with a vestment or cope." If this, then, indeed be the case, upon what authority does the bishop rest his judgment, "that Mr. Blunt has done right, since he has preached in his surplice?" The 58th of the canons, he tells us, enjoins (though this is no longer of force as respects the minister wearing it, which is the main point), that "every minister, saying the public prayers, or ministering the Sacraments or other rites of the Church, shall wear a decent and comely surplice, with sleeves, &c., to be provided at the charge of the parish." Now it is clear, from the bishop's own shewing, that the only part of this injunction upon which an argument to his purpose can be grounded, is contained in the latter words, "to be provided at the charge of the parish:" for the more seemingly applicable portion of it, "every minister shall wear a surplice," he admits to have been controlled, that is, superseded, and rendered of none effect by the rubric, which enjoins a different garb. This very important fact, therefore, must be clear to every one, that when the bishop brings his reasons to a point, by saying, finally, that "it is the duty of the minister to wear the surplice, because it is the garment provided for him," he resolves his whole argument into a re-establishment of that which he proposed as his object from the first to annul, namely, the force of custom. The whole authority for the surplice resolves itself into custom. The intricate texture and indirect course of the argument is calculated to hide from view this plain and simple fact; but upon an analysis it comes to light. The minister is enjoined to wear an alb: the parish is enjoined to provide a surplice, that garment which the law that enjoined the alb purposely and actually forbade his using in this service. Nevertheless, the former fell into disuse: the parish provided the latter, and the minister retained the use of it. Upon what authority,

then, I ask, does it rest, but custom? I am putting the matter in the light the bishop has put it, as considering simply the proper dress to be worn by the minister in the Communion Service. And yet the purpose for which this argument is brought forward, and the effect of the decision which is based upon it, is to condemn and supersede the collateral custom of wearing the gown in the pulpit.

It will, however, be alleged, I apprehend, by those examining the bishop's language more minutely, that there is a difference still between the legitimacy of the surplice and the gown, inasmuch as the bishop propounds, that "the parishioners never provide a gown, nor is the gown anywhere mentioned or alluded to in any of the rubrics." When I first considered these words of the bishop, I imagined he had here committed a mistake in speaking of the rubrics as not mentioning a gown, implying, at the same time, that they do mention a surplice—inasmuch as I had understood his lordship to lay down, that the only apparel prescribed by the rubric actually in force is "a white alb plain, with a vestment or cope." And accordingly I attributed to this circumstance his adduction of the 58th Canon, to the effect that the parishioners were required to provide a surplice. Such is the view, I am persuaded, that any person would conceive from his Lordship's language and course of argument, as I will shew by-and-by. As his Lordship, however, nowhere expressly adduces the rubric as requiring the surplice, but expressly adduces the 58th Canon to that effect, adding, that "if a gown were required, it would be to be provided by the parish," I shall take the question of the gown and surplice upon the ground on which it is so placed. The canons do not certainly, nor the rubrics, require a gown to be provided by the parish; they do not speak of it to be worn "in ministering the rites of the Church." The canons, as the bishop tells us, require a surplice to be worn on these occasions. But the same authority speaks expressly of a "gown" to be worn by "all ministers," without reference to occasion. "Likewise all deans, masters of colleges, archdeacons, and prebendaries in cathedral and collegiate churches (being priests or deacons), doctors in divinity, law, and physic, bachelors in divinity, masters of arts, and bachelors of laws, having any ecclesiastical living, shall usually wear gowns with standing collars and sleeves straight at the hands, or wide sleeves, as is used in the Universities, with hoods or tippets of silk or sarsnet, and square caps. And all other ministers admitted, or to be admitted, into that function shall usually wear the like apparel as is aforesaid, except tippets only."—74th Canon. The same

authority, therefore, which, as far as the bishop states, mentions and enjoins the surplice, mentions and enjoins the gown also. As a portion of ecclesiastical apparel, they rest on one and the same authority. The only difference is, that one garb is required to be provided by the parish, the other garb is not. This, however, is nothing to the purpose. The gown is the legitimate apparel for the minister to wear at those times, and in the performance of those duties, for which no other dress has been specially prescribed. This is the point to be observed; and that it is not the point of view in which it has been regarded by the bishop, is clear from his observation by way of argument, that "the parishioners never provide a gown, nor if they did would he (the minister) have a right to wear it in any of his ministrations." As to the first matter, that is clearly irrelevant, as I have said; for the obligation of wearing either is not its being provided by the parish, but its being enjoined by authority. And the bishop, in making the observation, was manifestly inadvertent of the gown being the appointed dress to be usually worn by the minister. Else it would have been as pertinent to have said that a minister has no right to wear a black coat and waistcoat, or a white neckcloth, in any of his ministrations, inasmuch as they are not provided by the parish. As to the other point contained in the words printed in italics, that "the minister has no right to wear a gown absolutely, *in any of his ministrations,*" I apprehend that the bishop has advanced too much in this. For if the gown be the appointed *usual* dress, he not only has a right, *but it is his duty to wear it in the performance of every one of those duties*; in other words, in every one of those ministrations *for which no other especial dress has been prescribed*. This, I say, is the point. Has, then, the surplice been superinduced upon the gown in the office of preaching? If it has so, the surplice must be assumed; if it has not, the gown remains, for the gown is there before. Now the extraordinary thing is, that it is freely admitted that the surplice in this place is not rubrical; that it, in fact, is a wilful assumption in this place, and the wearing of it a practice justified only by good sense and custom. And yet a conscience of carrying out the rubric, which discards the surplice altogether from use in this place, is made a plea for disturbing custom, in order to introduce it into places where it was never known to have been used since rubrics were first invented. I have presented the matter in this light, because it is wholesome to observe upon what insufficient and presumptuous grounds a prurient and superstitious conscience will often invade, without any scruples of offence, the rights

of conscience in others. But I will now suppose that the surplice *were* the rubrical garb in this Service, in place of the alb and cope. The question is, whether it was the intention of the rubric to superinduce the latter upon the gown in the office of preaching. For be it remembered, that, as has been before observed, the minister is supposed to be present in his gown, as his usual ecclesiastical garment, the professional apparel to be used by all "who shall be admitted to that function." It is not, therefore, a question of changing the dress, but of putting on the surplice, or alb and cope, when going into the pulpit. For be it observed, further, it is not a case contemplated by the rubric as a matter of course, or as a usual and common occurrence, that the preacher will be the same minister who has previously administered the order of prayer. Rather the contrary. It is notorious, that, in the early days of the Reformation, when the present rubric was drawn up (though its present legal authority dates from a later period), the preacher was usually a person sent about for that especial purpose. And what is more, even so late as 1604 this was so much the case, that the canons which were authorised in that year treat everywhere of the office of preacher and of the officiating minister as distinct. This is most especially observable in the 43d and 45th Canons; wherein it is enjoined that "the deans, master, warden, or chief governor, prebendaries, and canons, in every collegiate church, shall not only preach there, in their own persons, so often as they are bound by law, statute, ordinance, or custom (observe, the canons recognise the authority of custom), but shall likewise preach in other churches of the same diocese, where they are resident, and especially in those places whence they or their Church receive any yearly rents or profits," &c. (Can. 43.) Again, "Every beneficed man allowed to be a preacher, and residing in his benefice, having no lawful impediment, shall, in his own cure, or in some other church or chapel, where he may conveniently, near adjoining (where no preacher is), preach one sermon every Sunday," &c. (Can. 45.) In each of these cases it is manifest the preacher was not supposed to be the person administering the prayers and Sacraments. Where, then, is the rubric requiring the preacher to wear surplice, alb, or cope? The argument of the bishop is, that "the sermon is part of the Communion Service; and whatever be the proper garb of the minister in the one part of that Service, the same ought to be worn by him throughout." Perhaps this might be called a somewhat dashing assertion—rather an Alexandrine mode of solving the Gordian knot. "The sermon is part of the

Communion Service, and whatever be the proper garb of the minister in one part of that Service," &c. But I think it must be evident, even from what has been just adduced, that the sermon is not part of the Communion Service, and that they are not so identified as that, in the days of the canons, they could be jointly attributed to the minister as parts of one duty. That they are not so attributed, nor so spoken of, nor provided for, in fact, is certain. They are both treated as occasional services, distinct and separate. And as those canons, which I have quoted, provide for occasional preaching, so others, the 21st and two following, provide for the occasional administration of the Communion. Moreover, Canon 57 enjoins that the "Sacraments are not to be refused at the hands of the unpreaching ministers." And the canon preceding enjoins, that "preachers and lecturers shall read Divine Service, and administer the sacraments twice a year at the least." Can any thing, then, be more clear than that the office of preaching, and that of reading Divine Service and administering the Sacraments, are regarded by the canons as separate and distinct? It has been observed that the sermon cannot be part of the Communion Service, as it is not delivered in that part of the Church where the Communion Service is read; and, further, that if its being appointed to be delivered between some of the prayers, which are considered as part of the Communion Service, were sufficient to give it this character, the notices, briefs, and citations, which intervene between the Nicene Creed and the sermon must be considered in the same light. The fact is, there is an ambiguity in the very term, "the Communion Service," as commonly applied. It of course means, properly, the service appointed for the administration of the Sacrament. But then a portion of it has been directed to be read in connection with the Morning Prayer, when even there is no Sacrament. And the place to which the sermon is assigned is just that place where it may intervene between what belongs to the General Prayer and what belongs, in a special manner, to the Communion; that is, between the Creed and the Offertory. For that the congregation was not intended to depart before this is evident, I think, if from nothing more, even from the notices which are ordered to be given here; whereas the Offertory which follows is, in a peculiar and especial manner, connected with the office of the Communion, inasmuch as the rubric enjoins of the alms when collected, that "it be reverently brought to the priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the holy table." But this, indeed, is a point which a refe-

rence to antiquity makes very clear; for, as Bingham shews, the oblations, in the first instance, were made in bread and wine, and sometimes other things, "out of which both the elements were taken, and a common feast provided for the poor." And the title of the chapter from which I quote is this, "Of the oblations of the people, and other things introductory to the consecration of the Eucharist." It appears, then, that the sermon, as it must be assigned to some place, so it is appointed, in connection with some other indifferent matters, to intervene between the Common Prayer and the Communion. *Ergo*, it is not a part of the Communion Service, as every one knew before. There remain, however, some other very especial points before bringing this argument to a close, but a consideration of length advises me to defer them till another time.



LETTER IV.

THE QUESTION OF THE SURPLICE OR GOWN SETTLED BY THE RUBRIC.

In my last Letter I treated the question of the gown or surplice in preaching upon the grounds on which that question had been rested by the Bishop of Exeter. His argument is, that the sermon is part of the Communion Service, and that whatever is the garb proper to be used in that service ought to be used throughout; that this indeed is not a surplice, but a white alb plain, with a vestment or cope; nevertheless, as the latter had fallen into disuse, and as, by the 58th Canon (though this is superseded by the rubric), the minister was required to wear a surplice to be provided by the parish, it is the duty of the minister to wear this; that, in short, being directed by the rubric to wear one garment to be provided by the parish, it is his duty, in default of that, to wear another, being actually so provided. Whatever reason the latter part of this might have in any other case, it is at least a failure in respect of giving one garment a preference to the other, on the ground of its being rubrical, which was the point of conscience asserted in excuse for departing from established usage. To the whole argument I answered—and shewed, I trust,—that the sermon is not part of the Communion Service; and that, in respect of the gown being absolutely to be rejected, because not mentioned in the rubrics, I replied that the Bishop had not defended the use of the surplice upon the authority of the rubric, but upon

the authority of the canons; and that the same authority enjoins the gown as the usual ecclesiastical dress, the canonical apparel, therefore, of the minister, and therefore that garb which it is his duty to wear in the performance of all those duties for which no other dress is prescribed. Where, then, I inquired, is the rubric or canon which superinduces upon the preacher, who is supposed to be present in his canonical gown during the prayers, the use of the alb or surplice when he goes into the pulpit? For I shewed that the preacher was not contemplated as the same person with the officiating minister. There remains only one more ground of the assumption, and that is but incidentally introduced by the Bishop, being contained in these words of the 58th Canon, "or other rites of the Church." "Every minister saying the public prayers, or ministering the Sacraments, or other rites of the Church, shall wear a decent and comely surplice," &c. Is preaching, then, a rite of the Church? for I am willing to try this question upon every adducible ground. A rite is a ceremony. Is preaching such? Is it not a general duty of all God's ministers in the Church and out of the Church? By the Church here, I mean, of course, the sacred precincts; for within them alone I conceive is the ordinary place for ministering the rites of the Church. But preaching the Word of God I conceive to be a duty of a minister, not limited by time or place, nor to be assumed or laid aside with a vestment, but always lying upon him in season and out of season, at all times and places. I am here distinguishing things by their different natures. But, however, in fact, was not regular formal preaching performed by some of the best of our ministers in the early days of the Reformation outside the Church as well as within it? What was the case with the sermons preached at St. Paul's Cross? Were they not preached on unritual ground? And were they preached in a surplice? For the practice of the age when the rubric was framed must be some guide to its intention. Were, in fact, any sermons ever preached in a surplice, as a rule, until these recent attempts to enforce it? I ask for the historical fact; for all the facts that I can find incline the other way. In the first place, the bare gown is found to be the garb in use. When did the custom commence? Where is there any record of any other? Throughout the whole period of the Reformation there were repeated contentions about the sacerdotal vestments of the Romish Church, the surplice and the alb, for that very reason, and for that only—because they were regarded as sacerdotal vestments, and significant of a sacerdotal character in the minister engaged in those offices

in which they were worn; that is, in the ministration of public prayer and the Sacraments, offices which, in the Romish Church, were indeed most ceremonial rites, and arrogated for the minister a sacerdotal character. With preaching, on the contrary, it never was so. It is incapable of such a superstitious perversion of character; therefore it was neglected in the Romish mediæval Church. And in the same Church, since the practice has been resumed, it is performed in the plain gown. What record or evidence is there, then, that preaching in a surplice was ever thought of by the Reformers of our Church? Were they likely to extend the use of a badge objected to in its own uses to others with which it had never been associated? All the disputes about the surplice relate to its use in the ministration of prayer and the Sacraments. And the rubrics and canons enjoin its use but in one or other of these services, with the exception of the phrase in the 58th Canon, "or other rites of the Church," which words, I think, are satisfactorily explained of the offices of marriage and burial.

Here, then, I have done with every argument that has been directly or indirectly adduced in support of the surplice, and to the rejection of the gown, as the rubrical, canonical, or legitimate or proper dress of the preacher or lecturer, for the terms are so connected in the canons. But this is not all. There is more behind, and of very grave import. I have now to maintain that the rubric is express authority for the actual practice, and to shew that the rubric has not been really and truly brought forward as it is, nor a just view of it been presented in the judgment of the Bishop of Exeter. To that end I will first transcribe, in full, the passage to which my complaint applies.

The bishop says :—" On this particular I have no difficulty in saying that Mr. Blunt has been right, since he has preached in his surplice.

" The sermon is part of the Communion Service, and whatever be the proper garb of the minister in the one part of that service, the same ought to be worn by him throughout. The rubric and canons recognise no difference whatever.

" The rubric at the commencement of ' the Order for Morning and Evening Prayer,' says, ' That such ornaments of the Church, and of the ministers thereof, *at all times of their ministrations*, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in the Church of England by the authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI. ;' in other words, ' a white alb plain, with a vestment or cope.' "

Upon the apparent meaning of this passage, and in their

conception of what it was intended to mean, and does mean, I have found every one agreed with whom I have conversed ; namely, that the rubric at the commencement of Morning and Evening Prayer says, that the ornaments or dress of the minister, *at all times of his ministrations*, shall be a white alb plain, with a vestment or cope. And I believe this is the sense in which every one who reads it will understand the passage, until he finds that that sense is not according to the fact. Furthermore, all that follows, in the bishop's judgment, with the exception of one allusion, which first set me upon examination, tends to confirm the same impression ; namely, that the white alb plain, with vestment or cope, is the one sole dress retained by the rubric, as having been in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI.

The continuation is : " These were forbidden in King Edward's Second Book, which ordered that the minister, at the time of the Communion, and at all other times of his ministration, shall use neither alb nor cope ; but being an archbishop or bishop he shall have and wear a rochet ; and being a priest or deacon he shall have and wear a surplice only." We are then told, that within a few months Queen Mary restored Popery ; and when the accession of Queen Elizabeth brought back the Reformation, she and the convocation and the parliament deliberately rejected the simple direction of Edward's Second Book, and revived the ornaments of the first. This decision was followed again by the Crown, Convocation, and Parliament, at the restoration of Charles II., when the existing Act of Uniformity established the Book of Common Prayer with the rubrics, in the form in which they now stand.

" From this statement it will be seen that the surplice may be objected to with some reason ; but then it must be because the law requires " the alb and the vestment or cope."

Now I say that the natural and necessary impression received by the reader of this is, that, by the present rubric, as by that of the second year of King Edward, the alb and the vestment or cope is appointed to be the garb of the minister in all his ministrations, to the exclusion of the surplice altogether ; that the direction of the rubric is simple, " an alb with cope ;" and that the surplice is now no rubrical dress at all. And what follows is calculated to sustain this impression ; for when it becomes the object of the bishop, nevertheless, to support the surplice, he derives his authority for it, not from the rubric, but from the canon.

" The 58th Canon of 1604," he says (which, however, cannot controul the Act of Uniformity of 1662), enjoins, " that

every minister saying the public prayers, or ministering the sacraments, or other rites of the Church, shall wear a decent and comely surplice with sleeves, &c., to be provided by the parish."

Now, I say again, that the idea conveyed by the bishop in stating what the direction of the rubric is, is this; that in all his ministrations the clergyman shall wear a white alb plain, with a vestment or cope; and it creates surprise, when, upon examination, it appears that the rubric is no such simple rule, but that it appoints special robes for special services; and the direction which the bishop has quoted is the direction for administering the Sacrament, and for that alone; nor is it the whole of that. The truth is thus:—

In the said book, viz. the First Book of King Edward VI., there are two rubrics relating to the habits in which ministers are to officiate; one prescribing what habits shall be worn in all public ministrations whatsoever; the other relating only to the habits that are to be used at the Communion. The first is in the last leaf of the book, and runs thus (I quote Wheatley):—

"In the saying or singing of matins or evensong, baptizing, and burying, the ministers in parish churches and chapels annexed to the same shall use a surplice. And in all cathedral churches and colleges, archdeacons, deans, provosts, masters, prebendaries, and fellows, being graduates, may use, in the choir, besides the surplices, such hoods as pertain to their several degrees which they have holden in any of the Universities of this realm; but in all other places every minister shall be at liberty to use any surplice or no. It is also seemly that graduates, when they do preach, should use such hoods as pertaineth to their several degrees. And whenever the bishop shall celebrate the Holy Communion in the Church, or execute any other public ministration, he shall have upon him, beside his rochet, a surplice or alb, and a cope or vestment, and also his pastoral staff in his hand, or else borne or holden by his chaplain."

'In saying or singing matins or evensong, baptizing, and burying, the minister shall use a surplice. In all other places every minister shall be at liberty to use any surplice or no. It is also seemly that graduates, when they do preach, should use such hoods as pertain to their several degrees.' This is the letter of the rubric, telling expressly in what services the surplice must be worn, and leaving it optional in all others. "Every minister shall be at liberty;" only that, in preaching, it is seemly for a graduate to wear his hood.

The other rubric that relates to the habits that are to be worn by the minister at the Communion is at the beginning of the office, and runs thus:—

“Upon the day and the time appointed for the ministration of the Holy Communion, the priest that shall execute the holy ministry shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that ministration: that is to say, a white alb plain, with a vestment or cope. And where there be many priests or deacons, there shall so many be ready to help the priest in the ministration as shall be requisite; and shall have upon them likewise the vesture appointed for the ministry, that is to say, albs with tunicles.”

These are the ministerial ornaments enjoined by our present rubric.—(Wheatley.)

I have only one remark more to make (and indeed that is unnecessary, it being absolutely clear, I think, that the sermon is one of those services, in performing which every minister is, by the rubric, at liberty to use any surplice or no). But this one remark may be made upon the preacher being recommended to wear his hood. The hood is nowhere mentioned, that I find, as to be worn with the alb and cope. It is mentioned three times in the canons as to be worn with the surplice, but never with the alb and cope; and these garments are especially appropriated to the actual administration of the Sacrament. The alb is a sort of white cassock, that is, a kind of linen garment described by Wheatley, after Durand, as made fit and close to the body, tied round the middle with a girdle or sash, with sleeves either plain like those of a cassock, or else gathered close at the hands like a shirt-sleeve; being made in that fashion, he supposes, for the convenience of the minister, and to prevent his being hindered at the consecration and delivery of the elements; a very natural reason. The vestment or cope to be worn with it was a kind of coat without sleeves, only very rich embroidery and the like. And, says Wheatley, “I shall only observe, that it seems to be prescribed to none but the bishop, and the priest that consecrates the elements at the Sacraments; whereas the priests and deacons that assist in the distribution of the elements, instead of copes, are to wear tunicles, which Durand describes to have been a silk sky-coloured coat made in the shape of a cope.” Nor is this all; for the 24th Canon confirms the same rule, ordering that in cathedrals “the principal minister” only administering the Communion shall wear a decent cope, the “gospeller and epistler” the same as have been given above.

In this account of the adaptation of garments is a strong presumption against the bishop's judgment.* So completely is the cope appropriated to the office of consecrating the elements, that it is not to be worn even by any other minister officiating in the same service. Surely it was never put on for merely the reading of the Commandments and the rehearsing of the Nicene Creed, a mere portion of the Morning Prayer, and included in "saying matins:" and the robe that is appointed for these—that is, the surplice,—is appointed only for the services specified. Whereas the preacher has this one, and this only peculiar garb (beside his canonicals, of course, that is, his gown), merely recommended to his use, namely, his hood.

I think, then, that the rubric alone settles the question in a most clear and definite manner. In the communion the minister consecrating should wear an alb and cope, the other ministers assisting in the distribution of the elements an alb and tunicle. In saying matins and evensong, baptizing, and burying, he should wear a surplice. In all other places every minister is at liberty to use any surplice or no. But it is seemly that the preacher, being a graduate, should wear his hood.

LETTER V.

THE GOWN THE GARB OF THE PREACHER.

I now supply some additional observations, with a view of pointing attention to the main hinges of the question.

The Bishop of Exeter speaks positively: the sermon is part of the Communion Service; and therefore, in observance of the rubric, it should be preached in an alb and cope; whereas these garments, as I have shewn most distinctly, are designed and appointed for nothing but the actual administration of the Lord's Supper. The very change of the surplice for the alb, Wheatley, with Durand, understands to be made for the convenience of the minister, that he may not be hindered (that is, by the loose sleeves) in consecrating and delivering the sacred elements. But, further, the cope is expressly and exclusively appointed for the sole office of "executing the holy ministry," that is, of consecrating the elements; any other ministers, as the gospeller and epistler

* The force of this argument, nevertheless, is brought into question by a subsequent discovery, noticed in Letter VII.

in cathedrals, assisting in the same service, but who do not consecrate, having upon them albs with tunicles. Again, I have shewn, beyond all question, from the canons, that the preacher is not regarded as the same person with the officiating minister. Now, therefore, suppose the case stated in the rubric, where there are present several priests or deacons. The principal officiating minister puts on the alb and cope. So many as are requisite to help him, put on albs with tunicles. What do the rest?—of whom I suppose the preacher to be one. Of course they continue to wear the same canonical dress in which they are supposed to be present, that is, their gown. I do not see how there can be a question about it.

Again, from the circumstance just noticed, that the cope is specially appropriated to the office of consecrating the sacramental elements, and that the alb is appointed only to be worn with that, or with the tunicle—and that, too, only when the sacrament is actually administered,—it seems to follow, that neither dress is intended to be assumed under the mere pretence of a Communion, when those prayers only are read which have no reference to the Communion at all, but simply form the conclusion of matins, when they are read at matins. It is all but evident, from the very directions about dress, that by the Communion Service in the rubric is meant actually the Communion Service. For, in fact, what says the rubric? "Upon the day, and at the time appointed for the ministration of the Holy Communion;" and then it proceeds to direct the use of the cope and tunicle, according to the part to be borne in the ceremony. And there is no direction for the alb, cope, or tunicle, to be worn under any other circumstances. I say, therefore, that they are not directed to be worn merely at the fag-end of morning prayer, or to be put on for the sake of those general prayers and lections with which the Communion Service, when performed as a distinct and separate service, commences; but which, having no particular reference to that office, are evidently regarded by the rubric, at least so far as relates to apparel, as included in matins, and as forming a part of that service. This agrees, moreover, with what I shewed at the end of my third Letter, that the proper Communion Service begins with the Offertory, as was the case in the ancient Church.

Upon the whole, therefore, we observe in the rubric a regular gradation of ceremonial, from the plain surplice at prayers, to the alb and cope "very rich with embroidery and the like," appointed for the most holy office, so considered,

of consecrating the sacramental elements; the intermediate degree of ritual consequence attaching to the assistant ministers in the same ceremony being signified by the less handsome tunicle. Whereas the simple office of preaching the Word is characterized only by the scholar's badge—the hood, in addition, that is, to the gown, the professional dress of an ecclesiastic. (Canon 74.)

Having now done with the alb and cope, I have yet a point to dismiss with reference to the surplice. As to the use of this, be it remembered, the rubric is express and definite, "In saying matins or evensong, in baptizing and burying." In what follows I have interpreted the words, "In all other places," to signify, "In all other services." It is possible, however, that some may allege, that they mean what is indeed rather difficult, that "in all other places besides parish churches, and chapels annexed to them, cathedral churches and colleges, every minister shall be at liberty, in saying or singing matins, or evensong, in baptizing and burying, to use any surplice or no." Therefore, although the argument has not yet been held that the sermon is part of matins, I think proper to note, in case of such a point being taken in conjunction with the objection I have supposed to my sense of the words recited above, and in case of an argument being rested on that ground, that therefore the surplice is the rubrical garb of the preacher: in such case, I say, I think proper to notice, that whereas the second clause of the said rubric (see Letter IV.), permitting certain parties to wear their hoods in the choir, says in this place, "besides their surplices," the fourth clause, which speaks of the preacher, and directs the hood to be worn in that office also, makes no allusion to the surplice. And this, I think, is another conclusive argument against the surplice. At least, I am convinced that any competent legal authority would, upon this ground alone, pronounce that the surplice neither is nor was intended by the rubric to be enforced in the office of preaching. Under all these circumstances, I say again, that, since neither the surplice on the one hand, nor, on the other, either the alb with cope, or the alb with tunicle, is prescribed to be worn in this service, nothing remains for the preacher to wear but the usual ecclesiastical habit enjoined by the 74th Canon; that is to say, his gown, with the simple addition of the hood.

One only remark more on this subject. The surplice is an inconvenient dress to preach in. Suppose an extempore sermon, which is the true type of preaching the Gospel, and the unsuitableness is evident. Nor is such a remark trivial,

when we see the rubric appointing the alb to replace the surplice in the Communion for this very reason.

But now it may possibly be asked, Why all this fuss about a garment? But the answer is rather incumbent on those who wish to change the custom. There are many valid reasons against the change of an usage which do not exist against its continuance. We know, moreover, that this warfare against the gown is simultaneous with a movement against all that pure preaching represents; that is, the power and due consideration of divine knowledge among the means of individual salvation. The parties who endeavour to discard the gown would make the salvation of men to depend, in an unscriptural degree, upon outward official ministrations. We cared little about the gown once, but now we regard it as the symbol of a vital principle; and in the maintenance of a rag of bombazin we defend no less than a great spiritual truth, that it is by the Word of Grace men are begotten again unto eternal life; that faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God; that in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing nor uncircumcision, while it has pleased God, by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe. Further, it is in keeping with the pure understanding of this that preaching should be regarded as no perfunctory duty, but that its authority should depend upon its inherent truth. And with this it best agrees, that the preacher should stand forth in the character of no more than a learned clerk separated and sanctified to the ministry, as his gown imports; and sufficiently instructed to teach others, as is expressed by his hood. These explanations, nevertheless, are given more in the spirit of the days when the distinctions noticed were thought worthy of being symbolized, than in that of the present and of later days, when they have been in a measure overlooked; and yet while the others have past into neglect, the only one I am defending is the only one that has been preserved. The distinction of the alb and cope very rich with embroidery and the like, appropriated to the holy ministry, will fall upon the ear of the present generation, as the spectacle would startle their eye, with a notion of incongruous finery. But whoever reads of the pageants of the courts of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, or even considers the foppery of Pepys in his rose-coloured loublet, connected with a later era, will find, in the spirit of the age, an explanation of something magnificent being admitted into the ritual of religion. But it is observable that these robes do not seem to have been ever used; for the anons, which occupy about a middle date between the esta-

blishment of the rubric by Elizabeth, in 1562, and its re-enactment a century after, enjoin a surplice in their place. And after about an equal space of time, the entire rubric appears, from Gibson, to have been forgotten. I have not the means of referring to his Codex; but I find this in the "Clergyman's Vade Mecum," a work published in 1715, two years later: "Gibson truly says, Legally, the ornaments of ministers in performing Divine Service are the same now as they were in 2 Edward VI.—Code, p. 363. Yet he remarks this rubric of Edward VI. as obsolete.—P. 472. He does not so mark the rubric in our present Liturgy, p. 363, and yet it is certain they are both in force, or neither of them is so. It is much to be wished that this rubric were altered by proper authority."—P. 23. Now, one cannot help observing the absurd pretence of those who would alter the immemorial practices of the Church upon a conscience of keeping the rubric; and yet in the very particular in which they would enforce the change they do not even pretend to adopt the rubric; while, in fact, departing from their own notions of the rubric in this, as they depart from the canons without compunction in a hundred other particulars of a no less reasonable nature, and of no less forcible obligation upon a ceremonious conscience, they desire, upon a pretext of rubrical observance, to abolish one of the few standing usages in which the rubric has never yet been innovated.



LETTER VI.



THE BIDDING PRAYER, AND OTHER PRAYERS ACCOMPANYING THE SERMON.

THE innovations upon our Church's ancient practices begun at Helston, and the proceedings consequent upon them, are pregnant with questions of extreme importance. We have lately been occupied at some length in defending a garment, assured that in that article, so indifferent in itself, more serious matter was involved. And this will appear presently, not merely in the way of prestige and principle, but in very fact it will appear, when we come to study the next innovation connected with the same service; that is, the disuse of prayer in the pulpit. For when all that has transpired already in connection with this subject is put together, it will appear that the defence of this novelty will rest upon the same fiction that was adduced for the expulsion of the

gown; namely, that the sermon is part of the Communion. I shall, accordingly, have yet to say something more on that head, and I shall be able to produce further evidence upon the point.

The question I now undertake, and the ground it occupies, will be presented in the best manner, if I relate an occurrence referred to in the bishop's judgment. The archdeacon, it seems, had appointed, according to custom I presume, to hold his Visitation in that Church; and as the ceremony is used to commence with Divine Service and a sermon, which is preached by one of the clergy whom it pleases the archdeacon to appoint, the usual course was to be followed on this occasion. Here, however, the curate interfered, and insisted that, in deference to his ideas of conformity with the rubric, the sermon should be preached in a surplice, and without the accompaniment of prayer. "And," said the bishop, "I cannot blame him:" ruling the point that such is the sense of the rubric, and justifying the young man in endeavouring to force upon the whole archdeaconry, with his ordinary included, his own peculiar and original construction of the law, contrary to, and in condemnation of, the whole Church, and her practice from time out of mind. The result, however, was, that the sermon was omitted, whether to the edifying of the Church or no. And the bishop has not only justified the proceeding, but has taken other initiatory steps in consequence, portending a general injunction of the Helston novelty as a new rule of conformity. Now perhaps it will not be out of place, before I enter upon an examination of the rights of this question, to make some general remarks upon the reason of the case.

The bishop, in his Pastoral Letter, employs the language of very earnest entreaty, as he calls upon his clergy to co-operate with him in his endeavour to put a stop to the existing evil of an alleged diversity of practice in the worship of Almighty God, which, in concurrence with other unhappy causes, is threatening to involve the Church in a state of perilous disunion. The bishop, however, proceeds to say, that "the evil has not been felt so strongly in this diocese as in some others." Now these passages, in conjunction with some others, are calculated to elicit the inquiry, To what practices does the bishop allude in his complaint? and to what parties as guilty of them? For it becomes every man that receives another's words to examine strictly what it is they mean. And when a person in authority declares his views, and states his premises in a proceeding of great and general interest, it is becoming in no man of sense and

honesty to take up with a general impression of their meaning without studying to possess himself of the exact facts to which the words apply. Now, it is seen that the evils to which the bishop alludes are said not to have been so strongly felt in the diocese over which he presides as in some others. And he presently calls it "the common evil;" for he says, "But even here we are far from exempt from the common evil." So far there is a statement of a general evil prevalent in the Church, and threatening the most perilous consequences of disunion, not so prevalent, however, in the diocese of Exeter as elsewhere. Nevertheless, "there are parishes in Devonshire," he continues, "and still more in Cornwall, in which grave misunderstandings have arisen between the minister and the people, from causes for which neither he nor they have been primarily responsible." Here, then, we are apparently informed, by the given instances, what the evil is which invites the interposition of the bishop. It would seem to be the grave misunderstanding which has arisen in Helston and elsewhere between the minister and the people. This should naturally be the evil in the bishop's mind, which he expresses his earnest desire to remedy in the opening passage of his Letter: "I address you on a subject of very deep interest to us all—the diversity of practice in the worship of Almighty God, which, in concurrence with other unhappy causes, has threatened to involve us in a state of painful, I had almost said perilous, disunion." But if the evil to be remedied be merely the evil which his instances present, how should the bishop say of this, that "the mischief has not been so strongly felt in this diocese as in some others," and speak of his own diocese as comparatively exempt from "the common evil?" For, so far from this being the case, the evil complained of, and shewn, in the instances adduced, is confined to the diocese over which his Lordship presides, and to but one other besides: and in both of these it has arisen, as all the world knows, from none but the bishops themselves encouraging that very diversity of practice which is seen to be threatening such perilous consequences. And the simple remedy for such evil is in the hands of those who have caused it; and that is, simply to cease to apply the cause by which the mischief is provoked. This easy suggestion of the mode of cure, therefore, and the discrepancy of fact with the bishop's words understood in that sense, necessitate the conclusion, that what his lordship means as the diversity so threatening, and the common evil less prevalent in his own diocese than in some others, is not the diversity of practice introduced into those places where

the evil which alarms him has manifested its appearance. It is clear that the evil indeed which his Lordship would check is the disaffection of the people to that diversity of practice which his lordship himself would introduce; but the diversity of practice, which is the subject of his address, is that uniformity of practice throughout the whole Church, which is believed to have prevailed from the time of the Reformation, but which is a diversity from the usage he is desirous to introduce, and the cause of mischief so far only as his personal attempts to change it excite the disaffection of the people. This is what he surely means, if he mean any thing by his expressed earnestness to allay the evil. For else, how easy to do it by ceasing to unsettle the established practice? But this is not his will. The evil, therefore, is the aversion of the people to change; and the diversity so threatening the peace of the Church is the mere diversity from the practice he is desirous to introduce—the actual uniformity, in fact, which he seems engaged to disturb.

Now, this inconsistency in the bishop's language appears to me to be not without import; for it appears to me to intimate a want of clearness in seeing, or of plainness in stating, the premises of his judgment, which affords a reasonable ground for withholding from it perfect confidence. And, further, I would suggest, if there be not a degree of error besides in the mode of allusion to "some other unhappy causes" concurring to produce the alarming evils. To these allusion is made again when the bishop attributes the misunderstandings which have arisen between the minister and the people at Helston to "causes for which neither he nor they have been primarily responsible." The causes meant are explained in the next paragraph, and may, I believe, be stated thus:—A certain party in the Church, which was the first to accuse the existing practices of irregularity, and to call for a return to what they conceived to be the directions of the rubric, have since run out into such excesses of Popish superstition as to cast a suspicion upon any individual clergyman who would act upon their instance so far as to endeavour to revive the rubric, according to his own construction of it, that is. In the bishop's judgment it is nothing but the erring course of the Tractarians, and the odium excited by it, that has caused the people to cleave with so much tenacity to their ancient custom. This has "indisposed the laity (he says) to the reception of any change." But a little more attention will shew that it is the nature of the changes themselves, and the principles evidenced in them, and the tenor of doctrine with which they have been accompanied, that

have awakened the distrust of the people. The entire affair at Helston includes a string of particulars, some of less, others of greater moment, which, put together, present a character and wear an aspect which the bishop will never be able to persuade the people to regard as in accordance with the spirit of truth, and with the real temper of the Church. The Tractarians have certainly contributed to heighten the suspicion with which all innovations will be received which evince an assimilation in principle to Tractarian views of religion. And as such, I believe, will be obstinately regarded those two as yet noticed innovations respecting the order of preaching. Even respecting the first of these, I believe no plain common-sense judgment will ever be persuaded that there can be a fair and unprejudiced apprehension of Christian truth in the foundations of that mind, which can look upon the imaginary restitution of fictitious rules of an obsolete and imperfect rubric, three hundred years old, respecting a ministerial dress, as a paramount act of conscience. But if a deteriorating form of religion be apparent in a pruriency of observance in a matter so indifferent, how much more manifest is the principle of superstition, when, as in the subject of the present Letter, it invades the most plain dictates of reason, and the most solemn sanctions of religion. A robe is a trivial thing; but not so the use of prayer. This is one of those acts and expressions of an otherwise equivocal purpose which bring the ruling principle to a test. Such steps as these, in concert and accompanied with others like them, have been felt, in the questions they have raised, to involve no less than the retrogression or advancement of the Church in the path of pure religion, and in the maintenance of that faith once delivered to the Saints, which, after ages of bondage to the elements of the world and the corruptions of an usurping generation, the evangelists of the Reformation laboured manfully to purge of its dross, and restore to its essential purity, even by the fire of their own sacrifice, and the sprinkling of their own blood.

The bishop has stated that by effect of Tractarian errors the people are "indisposed to *any change*." If so, there is an answer at hand to his complaint "of great, and pressing, and growing evils," of "a diversity of practice, that threatens a state of perilous disunion." It fixes at once the authorship of the evil upon the disturbers of the Church's peace. And it seems to me, moreover, to bespeak any thing but wisdom in the method held out by the bishop of allaying the fever that has been excited in a few places by unsettling the practice of worshipping Almighty God; namely, to apply the

inflaming cause to the whole Church at once, and change the fever into an epidemic. It appears to me, that the people will say, "What is the reason of this universal change?" And they will answer, "The object appears to be to obscure the evidence of Tractarian views in the acts of the parties who hold them. At present we have an outward sign to produce of the spirit and frame of doctrine that informs the ministrations of our appointed teacher." We know how many there are, they will say, who have followed the Tractarians till a very recent period, and who still would adhere to them if it had not been for Mr. Ward's Ideal of a Church, and Mr. Newman's Lives of the Saints; whereas, we consider the question of Romanist or Protestant as lying deeper, and as turning upon principles that come far short of such unequivocal confessions. And that the principles, of which these excesses are the developments, are shared by a large party, either ignorantly or approvingly, is the undoubted evidence of fact: and that fact has precipitated its own judgment. The length to which that evidence has gone, and the variety of form in which it has been manifested, has awakened an attention, and elicited a feeling in the Church, that will not be satisfied with an equivocal Protestantism. Upon the issue of questions at present pending, therefore, the establishment of our Church upon a surer footing, with a promise of enlargement and advance, or the loosening of her deepest foundations, will depend.

I have yet one topic more to include in this general review. Some three or four years ago the great division of parties in the Church consisted of the Tractarians, on the one hand, and those called Evangelical on the other: the latter earnest in their reprobation of the Tracts; and the friends of these equally eager to find matter of accusation against their opponents, which was commonly to the effect that they sunk the just claims of the Church, and reduced her to the same level with any other Christian community. At this time the Bishop of Exeter took part in the controversy, so far as to denounce the Tractarians as disseminators of error upon no less than six or seven most vital points of doctrine; yet finally to extend to them, nevertheless, a considerable measure of commendation for the strength he was pleased to think they had brought to the support of Church authority. Now the general notion of Church authority includes, in some minds, a detail of restraint, and an enforcement of conformity to strict rule upon every minute particular, alike in the sphere of ministerial duty, and in the method of worship of the Church at large. To such it seems a

deplorable evil that the least discretion in the selection of a prayer, or the place of singing a hymn, should be left to an ordinary individual. It seems a disparagement of some theoretical conception of a perfect state of Church authority. And, upon the realization of this state, they promise themselves great results, which others think will never be attained by those means; and that to propose the attainment of them by those means, is to draw attention from a more excellent way.

However, I believe that the Bishop of Exeter regards with distaste the later tendencies of religious feeling in the party most opposite to the Tractarians; and that he has been inclined to seek a legitimate occasion for reviving an attention to forms, which is not now generally entertained, with a view of making this an element of Church Religion, and counter-acting the tendencies of which I spoke. I will not say that he has therefore evoked these local disquietudes as a case to justify a general interference on his part with the settled practice of worship. But it is a public fact, that he has been, by his advice, and by his justificatory judgment, the actual cause of the partial disaffection, which he promises to allay by rendering it general; while the evil which he threatens to redress is clearly the subject-matter of that peace and quietness which reigns as yet wherever the disturbance has not reached. Now when I reflected at the time upon the bishop's admission to the Tractarians, that though disseminating pernicious error of doctrine, they yet were incurring the obligation of the Church for the support they lent to her authority, I could not but think that the bishop betrayed too high an estimate of Church authority. And I cannot but think that he is influenced by the same mind now. I therefore hold it to be the duty of those who desire the progress of more spiritual truths, to resist the innovations now sought to be made upon the liberty allowed by the rules of the Church, as handed down to us both in practice and in writing. And, further, I think that the bishop is in a sad error as to the policy of the course he is desirous of following out. When it was said that the Tractarians were strengthening the Church, I looked to the future for different results. And some have already been seen. They lost to the Church the influence she would have had, by Sir J. Graham's Bill, in superintending the education of the people. And those who are now endeavouring to act upon their instance in the points at present in dispute are only turning off the congregations from the Church. And if the same principles are pursued, the same effects will follow; till at

length, if they go on, they will leave her an empty building, that will sit like the great city in prophecy, and say, "I am a queen, and no widow;" while the merchants of the earth will answer, "The fruits that thy soul lusted after are departed from thee, and thou shalt find them no more at all."

P.S.—The vote of the Common Council, just published, refusing a grant of money to the new churches, is another illustration of the fatal policy of the course I have alluded to above.

LETTER VII.

THE MINISTER AND THE PREACHER.

AN error that I have discovered obliges me to trouble you again with a reference to the old subject. But while I correct my error, I hope to strengthen my case. The Parker Society has lately issued a reprint of the Liturgies of Edward VI., but by some error my copy has not reached me. By accident I have met with one, and there I find a direction, which I was not aware of before.

I said, in my fifth Letter, that the very directions about dress in King Edward's book, made it all but evident that the alb and cope were not intended to be worn in reading merely that portion of the Communion Service which is appointed for the conclusion of matins, when there is no Communion actually. And that my conclusion from the premises was right is shewn by the very discovery which certainly discredits the fact. The case is this: I took my statement from Wheatley, no incompetent authority, who says: "In the said book of Edward the Sixth there are two rubrics respecting the habits in which ministers are to officiate; one prescribing what habits shall be worn in all public ministrations whatsoever; the other relating only to the habits that are to be used at the Communion:" and, after reciting these two rubrics, he adds: "These are the ministerial ornaments enjoined by our present rubric." To the same effect is the account, contained in another book to which I have referred, "The Clergyman's Vade Mecum, 1715," a very learned compilation of laws relating to Church affairs, "by John Johnson, M.A., Proctor for the Clergy of the Diocese of Canterbury," who mentions these two rubrics, and no others. The book itself, however, proves to contain a third rubric, which bears upon the point, for, at the end of the Communion Service, there is the following direction:—"Upon

Wednesdays and Fridays the English Litany shall be said or sung in all places, after such form as is appointed by the King's Majesty's injunctions, or as is or shall be otherwise appointed by his highness. And though there be none to communicate with the priest, yet *these days* (after the Litany ended) the priest shall put upon him a plain alb or surplice with a cope, and say all things at the altar (appointed to be said at the celebration of the Lord's Supper), until after the offertory, and then shall add one or two of the collects afore-written, as occasion shall serve, by his discretion; and then turning him to the people, shall let them depart with the accustomed blessing." Now this particular direction certainly relates to no more than Wednesdays and Fridays, when the Litany is appointed to be read. And it is true that there is no direct injunction to read the Litany on Sunday. There is, however, a rubric at the end of the book which implies it, viz. "Also upon Christmas Day, Easter Day, the Ascension Day, Whit Sunday, and the Feast of Trinity, may be used any part of the Holy Scriptures, hereafter to be certainly limited and appointed, in the stead of the Litany." And, further: "If there be a sermon, or for other great cause, the curate by his discretion may leave out the Litany, Gloria in Excelsis, the Creed, the Homily, and the Exhortation to the Communion." The first of these rules would seem to imply that the Litany was usually read on Sundays; but there is no direct injunction on the point. There is, however, this especial reason for the assumption of the alb or surplice in this place, that the Litany is not included in those services in which the surplice is directed to be worn. The Litany is distinct from matins; and till a late period, even down to 1661, it was a separate service by itself, and used some time after Morning Prayer. There is, therefore, no rubric enjoining the surplice to be worn in the Litany. In fact this very rubric that "*these days, the Litany ended, the priest shall put upon him a plain alb or surplice with a cope,*" naturally implies that, in saying the Litany, he did not wear a surplice. And there is still existing in collegiate chapels a practice which tends to confirm this: for on chief fast days, as Ash Wednesday, there is what is called a black chapel, that is, a service in the plain gown without the surplice, which is worn at other times; and, of course, the Litany or Supplication is the especial service for such days. On this account it used to be read or chanted in a suppliant posture on the falled stool at the entrance of the chancel, in application of the direction by the prophet Joel, "Let the priests, the ministers of the Lord, weep between the porch and the altar, and let them say,

Spare thy people, O Lord," &c. It being the case, therefore, that the priest on this occasion was neither in surplice nor alb previously, it became him, of course, in going to the altar, to put on the one or the other. The cope is certainly enjoined also. It is, however, a fact, that the rubric only relates to Wednesdays and Fridays. There is, indeed, another which follows it, viz. "And the same order shall be used all other days whensoever the people be customably assembled to pray in the Church, and none disposed to communicate with the priest." But what this means is unexplained. Wheatley recites it in connection with the foregoing, and then gives no explanation of this, but explains the other in a way that this must contradict, if it has any meaning at all. As to the present point, however, I think that the words "yet these days" should mean something.

Allow me now to recapitulate the points chiefly deserving notice. 1st. The preacher is everywhere spoken of as distinct from the minister. He is nowhere called the minister, nor is the office of preaching attributed anywhere to the minister, the priest, or the curate. On this head I have adduced some canons, which shew that they were regarded as being, and were, in fact, different persons. And the general language of the canons in regard to this is very observable. "Every beneficed man allowed to be a preacher."—Can. 45. "Every beneficed man not allowed to be a preacher."—Can. 46. "Neither the minister nor churchwardens shall suffer any man to preach," &c.—Can. 50. From which I say that, as to preaching, a minister, though he be such, and must be a minister, yet he is not so called; and the only place where it would seem to occur, is actually a confirmation of what I say, that is, in the 55th Canon: "Before all sermons, lectures, and homilies, the preachers and ministers shall move the people to join with them in prayer in this form." For here the preacher is spoken of in regard to the sermon, and the minister in regard to the homily, according to the 46th Canon: "And upon every Sunday, when there shall not be a sermon preached in his cure, he or his curate shall read some one of the homilies." I say, then, that the preacher is nowhere meant to be understood, when the minister is spoken of; and so the directions in the rubric respecting the minister are not intended to apply to the preacher; he is a distinct person. Further, inasmuch as it is alleged, by way of solution of this question of dress, that the sermon is part of the Communion Service, be it observed—and this is a material point—that the rubric, which speaks of the preacher, and enjoins his dress—that is, his hood—is not

included in, nor connected with, the rubric, which relates to the dress to be worn at the Holy Communion, but is part of that other rubric which relates to the dress to be worn in all other public services excepting the Communion. There are also the two incongruities of the cope, to be worn by this rule outside of the chancel, and in conjunction with the hood.

It may be remembered that, in my last Letter, I observed that I had more evidence to produce upon the point. I had intended to reserve it for a later place; but it will perhaps be as well to introduce it here. It is this: 1st. What I have observed of the language of the canons is found also to be strictly observed in the Act of Uniformity, the very letter of the law now in force. Not merely is the designation "the minister" never in this applied to the preacher, but he is never called a minister at all. 2d. Even here also, at so late a period, as he is distinguished by title, so is he also by office, from the minister, inasmuch as it is required of him only to read Divine Service for the purpose of expressing his assent to it: and at other times it is required that before the sermon Divine Service be read by some priest or deacon, except in the University Churches, where it is allowed to preach without that preceding. And this is another circumstance which dissevers the sermon from the Communion: but I shall have to use this for another point.

This is the language, then, of the Act of Uniformity: "That every person who is or shall be licensed, appointed, or received, as a lecturer, to preach upon any day of the week, in any church, &c., shall openly, publicly, and solemnly read the Common Prayer and service, in and by the said book appointed to be read for that time of the day, and then and there publicly and openly declare his assent unto and approbation of the said book, and to the use of all prayers, rites, &c., therein contained and prescribed." And it goes on to say, that this shall be repeated once in every month during the time that he continues lecturer; except in cathedral and collegiate churches and chapels, where "it shall be sufficient for him to declare his assent to all things contained in the said book," that is, without his reading it; and afterwards, "That at all times when any sermon is to be preached, the Common Prayer and service in and by the said book appointed to be read for that time of the day, shall be openly, publicly, and solemnly read by *some* priest or deacon in the church or chapel or place of worship, where the said sermon or lecture is to be preached; and the lecturer then to preach shall be present at the reading thereof." Now I say again, should it not require a special rubric to appoint any garment for the

preacher? This is indeed done in the first rubric appointing that he wear his hood, his gown being understood, as I have shewn, and all mention of the surplice omitted, as I have shewn also, in that place; whereas in a preceding clause, where certain parties are directed to wear their hood in the choir, it is said "besides their surplices." Furthermore, the words "upon any day of the week," and "for that time of the day," imply, I think, that the sermon might be preached on any day of the week, and at any time of the day; in short, that it might follow or be connected with any one of the Church Services.

LETTER VIII.

SOME RECENT DOCUMENTS, AND A WORD UPON THE LAITY.

I WILL not abandon my engagement to justify that devout and edifying and grace-seeking practice of beginning and ending the most solemn of all public engagements, the preaching of the Word of God by the mouth of mortal man, with humble and faith-expressing prayer for the prevention and furtherance of God's good spirit—a piece of wisdom understood by all the prudent of Heathen nations as well as Christians; for *Παντες ὅσοι σωφροσύνης μετεχουσιν, ἐπὶ πασῇ ὁρμῇ καὶ μικροῦ καὶ μεγάλου πραγματος Θεοῦ αἰετὶ καλοῦσι*. "All men that possess an ordinary share of sense and understanding always call upon God at the outset of every undertaking, whether great or small." This most precious gem, that shines among the brightest in the coronal of our Church's apostolic institutions, I will not desert. But passing circumstances call for a word of comment in the way of parenthesis.

Our neighbour's house under the same roof is on fire, and the smell of burning has entered our own. The bishop has uttered some new papers, in which he evinces the expectation certainly of bringing the whole Church under the Helston rubric. For he professes to take these steps with a view to uniformity; and I am unaware of any distinction of Churches to which the word "uniformity" can apply, commensurate with the bounds of a diocese. I know of the Church of England, and I have heard of the Church of Rome; but I know nothing of the Church of Exeter distinct from the Church of Ely or Peterborough. Therefore whatever step is taken with a view to uniformity, must intend a walk over the ordinances of the whole pale. There have been men of confident temperament and bold demeanour who have obtained an ascendancy

in council, and have overborne the reluctance of meeker minds. And probably his lordship trusts, with that measure of argument he has yet vouchsafed, to secure such a conclusion of the forthcoming conference. *Μη γένοιτο*. I trust there are evangelical and masculine minds upon the bench whom it would be invidious to name. I trust, also, the conference will include all the heads of the United Church, since what are united are one and the same authority embraces all. But as to the motive of uniformity, it is like the voice of the first plague-spot, which says, I must make all alike.

The bishop still says, "I must order either the surplice or the gown, and the surplice has the authority of the Church; the gown has not." But the gown has the authority of the Church to be worn everywhere; the surplice only where it is prescribed. And it is not prescribed even to the minister in the Communion, which is the argument. Much less is it prescribed to the preacher. To him nothing in addition is prescribed except his hood. The minister is not the preacher, nor the preacher the minister.

Again, the bishop writes: "My order in this particular is for the sole purpose of putting an end to party." Observe how much importance his lordship attaches to it! To put an end to party. But how? Is it not in the same manner as the mark of "an uncertain sound," put upon the mouth of one unfortunate gentleman, is said to have been removed by the hand of Exeter? Doubtless, when a separation has been made, and none but the order of Bluntinians remain, there will be an end of party. *Ubi solitudinem fecerint, pacem appellabunt*. Meanwhile, how can it tend to put an end to party, to enjoin the universal surplice, unless the rage for novelty has spread more widely among the clergy of Devon than the world has been made aware of? For there is something in the bishop's letter to this purpose: being an allusion to one occasion or two, upon which the clergy seem to have requested permission, or more probably some curate of Helston on their behalf, to make a procession in surplices. Whoever did so, but that he may have done it inconsiderately, I should say, is not to be trusted. If it were not for the express prohibition of our Articles, I should expect the procession of the host to follow soon after. But one of the deaneries, in their reply to the Pastoral Letter, have not done themselves credit: "Uniting humbly with your lordship in thanksgiving to Almighty God (for so they write) for our comparative exemption from the evil we so deeply deplore." I should be glad to learn that they intended to speak of the deanery, not of the diocese; because, as they are an echo of his lordship's

words, they bear that meaning. And accordingly, in the name of the clergy and laity of the other dioceses, I require their explanation. Is it to be given out to the world, and recorded to future generations, that the Church at large is going to dissolution through a "growing" and "threatening" diversity of practice; and that these are the efforts of a bond of union that yet reigns in one peaceful oasis, endeavouring to extend itself till it has reduced to its own calm the madness of all but universal discord? Or is it that the gentlemen, having added up the account of confusion in which they are themselves involved, and having compared it with the like disasters befallen some other diocese, that, running in the same harness, has fallen into the same trouble, have struck and wished to announce a balance in their own favour? If this be the meaning—*ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔδει γε*, their brethren of the metropolis may well say, *εταίρω ἀνδρὶ ἐπηγελᾶν*. Verily, it was not kind to thrust their friends into the foreground. But if it be that their words have no meaning, and they have presumed to thank God for a figment, or even in *verba magistri*, the levity of their conduct is not exceeded by the comparison, when I declare, that they remind me of the half-starved school-boys of a certain Character, offering similar vows for their good breakfast. For they have not only done it, but have published it to the world.

And now, a word upon the laity. I think they have not yet had justice done them. And I think it essential to the security of the Church that such justice should be done. Even the excellent archbishop, who reminds us of the tradition of the last of the Apostles in his latter days, when he is said to have sat in the Church and to have confined his exhortations to the reiterated repetition of that charge of the Lord who loved him, "Children, love one another;" even he, I do think, has not done justice, in a case of difficulty it may be, to the appeal of the churchwarden of East Farleigh. He says, "I cannot think it possible that any clergyman can be so ignorant as to put the Church above its Divine Founder, or to magnify the sign above the thing signified." But surely there is no such impossibility, however little it ought to be expected, since it is the very system of the Romish Church; and besides, it is the very same corruption of principle that our Saviour rebuked in the Jews, when he said, "For whether is greater, the gold, or the temple that sanctifieth the gold?" For it is not a plain proposition to that effect that is complained of, but a general spirit and tenor of language, and the continual setting forth of the one, while the other occupies but the background. And again, his Grace admitted that it

was a grave offence to introduce into the Common Prayer any word not contained in the text; the word being "blessed" before "Virgin Mary" in the Creed. But he overlooked the comment which such a practice affords to the frame of that minister's mind who would so interpolate, and the probable spirit of his doctrine. For this is the pith of every complaint. And it is what I have endeavoured to make to be understood. And it is a complaint which ought to be understood, and to receive the greatest consideration. I know the difficulty indeed: but the case deserves the greatest consideration. I think it is not generally understood as it ought to be, that, though the laity be not licensed to preach, they are licensed to hear, and licensed to judge—to judge, that is, for themselves at least. It is their duty. And I think it is as little understood, that they are likely to be no incompetent judges. I discard the imputation that men do not like the truth: that it is like bitter medicine. They may not like to practise it, until their heart has become deeply impressed with its weight and excellence. But this is the business of preaching. They may not like any such presentment of it as points to themselves in the way of personality. In other respects, I believe that every man with a reasonable mind, when he addresses his mind to religious duty, desires to have the truth set before him. And, I say again, I entirely believe that the laity are often the best judges of what is edifying and what is not. And I believe that the clergyman who made it his study to observe the effect of his preaching upon the people, would, in such a practice of observation, have a means of self-improvement. The practice of Molière has been allowed to contain wisdom, who read his exhibitions of human nature to his old female domestic, that he might judge of their truth by the effect upon her mind. And what is the evidence afforded us by recent complaints? Has any one alleged against his teacher that he dealt too plainly with him; that he set forth the truth of Scripture in too strong a manner? No; but that they dress it up, and cover it up, as those teachers from Jerusalem did, who had perverted the Galatians, as St. Paul testifies. And the evidence of the parade and punctilio observed by them in their ministrations, as alleged by the complainants, makes the grievance too probable. And it is a great grievance to a man desirous of being fed with the sincere milk of God's word. And until our overseers come to be sensible of this, there is no security for the Church. When it is considered that there are perhaps five hundred in the Church, perhaps many more, who hold Tractarian views in a greater or less degree, and that there are many more, who, up to a very recent

period could not see the error of their doctrine; acknowledging this fact, it becomes our guardians and overseers to exercise a vigilant eye over their inferior ministers and curates, to see that they rightly dispense the pure Word of God, and so to frame their exhortations, their charges, and their directions, as to guide their minds and spirits into channels of thought and search, that may counteract the acquired leaning or the tendency to trivial considerations. I must beg pardon for the freedom I have taken in the heat of conviction. But now again to the laity. I cannot but feel that the Church is deeply indebted to them, and will be ultimately most deeply indebted to them, for the remonstrances recently made by them against recent tendencies to corruption. Let not the Church be too proud. She has nourished Tractarianism in her bosom for a dozen years, and she should receive the remonstrances humbly. I have spoken of the capacity for judging of what is edifying, which I attribute to the laity. Let me add a further reason. They were not the authors, nor have they been the recipients, of Tractarian errors. A generation of clerical boys, it has been, who have sat at the Tractarians' feet. And there is reason in it. And this reason is noticed, in part, in the memorial of the parishioners of St. Sidwell and St. James. Their minds have fed upon different sustenance. The one have drawn their knowledge from the Bible, the other from systems of theology. The former, though it may not impart so soon a skill in expounding, while alone, will certainly impart a skill in judging of what is edifying or not. But I am rather long upon this. I wish, however, to hold out some encouragement to the laity, who are rather too much set at nought, I think, to consider the duty that rests upon them. Let them not think of leaving the Church. The Church looks to them to help her. They are her children. Through her they have been begotten again unto eternal life. They belong to her. Let them consider it, and consider their duty to her, and how they can best discharge it. She will bless them for it in the end. And if they persevere, they will succeed. There are plenty of the clergy, and of the bishops too, I trust, who respect them, and approve and desire the same ends. And let me give them a word to please them. I have open before me a passage in "Skinner's Letters addressed to Candidates for Holy Orders," in which he says, "Often did I wonder how the original faith, in the article of our Saviour's deity, was preserved during the period of scholastic disputation [he is speaking of the Arian Controversy], until I met with an observation made, if I remember well, by Hilary of Poitiers (that is, one of the most

respectable of the ancient Fathers), a contemporary writer, who ascribes its preservation, amidst the fierceness of clerical wrangling, to the indisposition or incapacity, on the part of the laity, to enter into the merits of the contest; inso-much that by them was the primitive and unadulterated faith retained, as exhibited by the record of Scripture, and handed down by a successive tradition to purer and simpler times." Let it be the study of the laity of the present day, that the same testimony may be borne of them by those who shall tell their children.

LETTER IX.

THE BIDDING PRAYER, AND OTHER PRAYERS ACCOMPANYING THE SERMON.

I HAVE said that the ground occupied by this question would be presented in the best manner by relating the occurrence at the archdeacon's visitation (for which see my sixth Letter). The prayer which would have been used on that occasion but for the prohibition of the curate, I take to have been, according to general custom, what is called the Bidding Prayer, as enjoined by the 55th Canon. Now the consideration of the subject, as so presented, appears to me to contain a point of conscience, a point of law, and a point of reason. The curate refused to allow the preacher to use the Bidding Prayer in the pulpit upon a conscience of following the rubric, which, we understand him to allege, enjoins no such preface, but says, "Here follows the sermon." It is true this is enjoined by the canons, but the rubric says nothing about it. Now as this is a point of conscience, I am fain to say, at the beginning, that in the repository of my mental instruments I can find no one of such exquisitely magnifying power as to shew me the exact proportions of an ultra-rubrical, non-canonical conscience. I would wish, however, to discover the plea upon which it stands. Is it then that the rubric, as stated by the bishop in one place, is part of the law of the land; that is, as it is established by an Act of Parliament? Is it then the scruple of observing the letter of the law in ever so minute an article? But then I do not find that this punctiliousness, in any instance that has come before the public, extends beyond Church matters. Let us therefore confine its operations to that, and consider it as the sacred obligation of observing the law in relation to sacred things, attributing to it a peculiar sacredness in proportion to the sup-

posed sacredness of the subject. It will be a counterpart, then, of the conscientiousness of the Pharisees, "who taxed the mint, anise, and cummin;" and when we consider that it is obedience in a negative point, to the denial of the broad duty of opening a new work with an appropriate prayer, we may add, "but who passed over the weightier matters of the law, judgment, and mercy, and faith." In every law there is a letter and a spirit. The Pharisee enshrines the one, the man of simplicity regards the other. The letter of the Jewish law had said, "Thou shalt do no manner of work upon the Sabbath Day." Our Saviour healed a man of his infirmity on that day; and the Pharisees sought to kill him. For the law had not included in the letter of it, that it was lawful to do good upon the Sabbath; and the Pharisees worshipped the letter, the red letter, or rubric of their law, with a vengeance of faithfulness and high principle that abominated the least violation of it by any work of mercy. And so the rubric, or red letter of the Act of Uniformity, we are instructed, makes no provision for prayer in any part of the preacher's office. But red is an ill-omened colour in religious institutes, from the first sacrament, which was written in blood, to the emblematic robe of the Servant of servants. We will grant that the rubric contains no prescript for prayer in this place, and we will not attempt to account for it at present. But why is the canon to be despised, which commands that a prayer after a certain form be proposed before every sermon? I am at present trying the point of conscience, and the answer is, because the Act of Uniformity, which is of later date, makes no such provision. Now, I conceive, that in a movement of conscience, where there is an allowance of liberty, the intention of the law will form an element of consideration. I will therefore state the case of the canons and the rubric to the best of my apprehension of it, and in so doing I shall necessarily connect the point of law with the point of conscience. The rubric, we may say generally, was established on the accession of Queen Elizabeth as part of the law of the land by the Act of Uniformity in the first of her reign. In the second year of her successor, that same Act remaining in force, the canons were established by constitutional authority; that is, by the Crown and convocation, for the regulation of Church affairs, and as a general ecclesiastical law controlling the rubric upon the points on which they clashed, and supplying its deficiencies where such appeared. Of the latter kind was the injunction as to the form of prayer before sermon, where the rubric was silent. This, then, was Church law, and I believe part

of the law of the land, as it was made under the authority of an Act of Parliament 25th Henry VIII., empowering convocation, with approbation of the Crown, to pass such enactments. Nevertheless, Blackstone says, that not being confirmed by Parliament, it has been ruled by courts of law that the canons are not binding on the laity, whatever obligations they may lay upon the consciences of the clergy. They certainly were supposed, however, to be vested with authority; and the defect of it, wholesome as it probably is, is one of those intricacies in law where acts and principles come into collision. This, however, was the state of things, when the disturbances under Charles I., and temporary subversion of the Church Establishment, ensued. Upon the Restoration, a revision of the Prayer Book was made by convocation, to which the present Act of Uniformity, a few months after, attached the authority of law. "This bill (Hume says) established the Church in the same condition in which it stood before the commencement of the civil wars." Now the question is, whether this Act affected, or was intended to affect, the order of worship in any other respects than to the extent of the alterations made at the same time. That it does actually override the authority of the canons in points where they come into collision with one another, as in the habits to be worn at the Communion, I do not undertake to dispute, although without any alteration. But whether, in points where they do not conflict, but where the canons, by authority of the Church, regulate a matter untouched by the rubric—whether in these the Act of Uniformity excludes the intervention of the canonical regulation, this may perhaps be a matter of question. If it be affirmed that they do so, the question follows, on what ground? By the Act of Convocation, or by the Act of Parliament? If answer be made, By the former, the reply is, that the convocation did not touch upon this point; and that as they are the same body which enacted the canonical regulation in question, a body cannot destroy its own acts except by repeal or substitution, or by some substantial alteration. And none such was attempted in the case we are considering; therefore the previous act of the same body providing in the canons in what manner the sermon should be commenced, which the rubric merely had appointed to follow in a certain place, remained in the same authority in which it stood before, nothing being done by convocation to invalidate it. But if it be answered, that it is excluded by the Act of Parliament which establishes the Prayer Book, with its services, in the order appointed by the rubric, we shall then have caught these sticklers for the

sanctity of a red letter in the admission of the Erastian principle, that this authority, of which they are so superstitious, depends upon the sanction of the Civil power. But this particular question all our liturgical commentators are particular to vindicate from such a judgment. "It was indeed (says Bishop Burnet) confirmed by the authority of Parliament, and there was good reason to desire that, to give it the force of a law (that is, as he says afterwards, to make those alterations obligatory on the subject): but the authority of those changes is wholly to be derived from the Convocation, who only consulted about them and made them." So that Wheatley says—and this is very much to the point, with which I began—"Our Liturgy was, therefore, first established by the Convocation or Provincial Synods of the realm, and thereby became obligatory *in foro conscientiæ*; and was then confirmed and ratified by the supreme magistrate in Parliament; and so also became obligatory *in foro civili*." To which court, then, does Mr. Blunt appeal? To the civil court, or the court of conscience? If to the former, it is a very significant hint to the laity from what quarter they must seek redress. It is as much as to advise them to have recourse to Parliament, and not to a conference of the bishops. But the whole tenor of Mr. Blunt's behaviour is at variance with this supposition, however he may have committed himself in the point of consistency. To place the matter, therefore, *in foro conscientiæ*, he draws the sanction for his superstition from the vote of Convocation. Then I wish to know how the alterations made by Convocation in some particulars of religious worship invalidate or annul the previous acts of the same body respecting other particulars not meddled with on this occasion. But that is not all. For, *in foro conscientiæ*, we do not follow the same method of solution that pertains to knotty points of law in the civil courts, after the practice used by the Tractarians in regard to the articles of agreement. We look to the intention of the legislature. And here we inquire whether there is reason to believe that it was in the mind and intention of Convocation in 1661 to annul the 55th Canon, and abolish the use of prayer in the pulpit. And to this question my conscience distinctly answers, No. And I think it is sufficient reason to allege merely, that it never was abolished, nor the attempt made that I know of, until the new rubric was propounded at Helston: and besides, that I find nothing in the Acts of Convocation at this time to induce such an opinion. It appears, therefore, that this case of conscience is not quite so clear as the curate imagined, when he withstood not only

the whole archdeaconry, but defied the countenance of the whole Church—aye, the whole Catholic Church, and all the generations of the faithful from the beginning, as far as we have any record. He may say, “We trust that we have a clear conscience.” But before he presumed to put his finger to one of such customs, intrinsically holy, and reverend by time and by the example of the good and great and holy men who have observed them—before, I say, a sprig of a curate should have presumed to let in disorder upon a system of devout and holy practices, approved and beloved by the whole Church of God, he should have taken more knowledge of his ground; or it may become necessary to admonish him, that a man’s conscience is in part according to his own spirit and temper, and in a greater part still according to his *light*; and when a man awakens his conscience into activity for such purposes of offence, we are very much inclined to question what degree of light there is in him.

But now we come to another point. The Prayer Book is the Book of Common Prayer and of the administration of the Sacraments. The sermon is no part of this matter; therefore there are no particular directions given in the Prayer Book respecting the regulation of this part of ministerial duty. It is a separate service, in the performance of which the preacher is not considered as engaged in any ceremonial rite, and therefore he is not, as such, called a minister, nor the regulation of his duty included in the ritual; but a simple direction is given as to the place where it is to intervene. And in such silence on the part of the rubric, I would submit that the law is to be ascertained by reference to other statutes or injunctions, or, as is the case in common law, by an inquiry into practice.

And now I arrive at the last point of my brief, which is the point of reason. And here, first, we find a comely and edifying custom prevailing everywhere, that when the preacher (whether he be the same person, or the same man, to use canonical designations, who has been previously engaged in the ministration of common prayer, or whether, according to the requisition of the Act of Uniformity, he has been present during the service) proceeds into the pulpit to undertake the very solemn and weighty duty of delivering the Word of God, he first addresses himself upon his knees in humble prayer and thanksgiving to the Author of every grace and blessing. This is the practice. And when we proceed to inquire into its origin and sanction, we find, in the first place, that the records of the Church from remotest ages exhibit the usage as a customary thing. “It was usual

for the preacher (says Bingham) many times to usher in his discourse with a short prayer for Divine assistance, and also to move the people to pray for him." St. Austin, he says, having mentioned, in a certain homily, the assistance of the Spirit, immediately adds, "Whither shall I betake myself, thus violently pressed in these straits, but to the footstool of charity, or the grace of the Spirit? And to that I now make my supplication, that he would grant me ability to speak something worthy of him, whereby I may at once fulfil my ministry, and satisfy your desire." And in his book of instructions of the Christian orator, where he prescribes many excellent rules for preaching, he lays down this among others, "That the Christian orator should pray both for himself and others before he begins to teach; that he may be able to speak those things that are holy, just, and good; and that his auditors may hear him with understanding, with willingness, and with an obedient heart." And very much more to the same purpose, in a very beautiful and affecting strain. Chrysostom to the same effect: "We must first pray, then preach." And such, says Bingham, is that prayer which St. Ambrose is said to have used before his sermons, "I beseech thee, O Lord, and earnestly entreat thee, give me an humble knowledge, which may edify; put into my mouth the words of consolation, and edification, and exhortation, that I may be able to exhort those that are good to go on to greater perfection, and to reduce those that walk perversely, to the rule of righteousness," &c. And this Chrysostom judged to have been the way of the Apostles, and especially of St. Paul, who prays, in the opening of all his Epistles, that "the light of prayer, like the light of a link, going before, might open the way to his discourse." And this further is observed by Bingham, which is very pertinent to present questions, that "they are mistaken who suppose the common prayers of the Church came before the sermon, and that there were no other prayers before sermon but those; for nothing is more certain than that the common prayer did not begin till the sermon was ended; and yet there were such short prayers for grace and assistance as we are speaking of, peculiarly adapted to the business of preaching and hearing, and not respecting any other subject. And sometimes the people's prayers were required to be joined with them," &c. But as I have occupied my space, I will reserve the rest till another day. One thing, however, I would observe before concluding; that as the respective and comparative obligation to obedience of the canons and the rubric is not a new subject, and as it is a subject debated by Arch-

deacon Sharpe in his first charge, and as there is matter there, which might be adduced by extraction in support of any views, I am prepared to defend what I have advanced above, as in no wise inconsistent with what is evidently the archdeacon's leading view, while, at the same time, I should have thought it proper to demur to his distinction, as one of invariable force, if he had not himself limited it by various general provisos. I may, indeed, think proper to give the subject a further notice.

LETTER X.

THE BIDDING PRAYER, AND OTHER PRAYERS ACCOMPANYING THE SERMON.

WHEN I broke off my last letter I was engaged in shewing, from Bingham, that the records of the ancient Church exhibit the exercise of prayer in the commencement of the sermon, and as a part of the office, as a customary thing. Upon this subject he is very express, citing prayers at length from the Fathers, to show both "to what degree they depended on the Spirit's assistance in preaching, and also what sort of prayers those were which they commonly made before sermon; viz. not the common prayers of the Church, as some mistake, but these short prayers for the assistance and conduct of the Spirit, to direct both them and the people in speaking and hearing"—"And sometimes the people's prayers were required to be joined with them," &c. But I will quit this part of my subject for the present, and descend to modern times, wherein we shall find the same practice recognised by authority throughout the whole history of our Reformed Church. By express injunction of Edward VI., by the same of Elizabeth, by the canons approved by James I., and, again, by injunction of William III., this exercise of reverence and devotion, first forbidden in the aisles of Helston, was prescribed and regulated. But then, says the curate of Helston, it is not in the rubric. And what does this shew, but that it is something beside the scope of the rubric, not being a part of the Common Prayer, nor of the Communion; which was the reason also why the preacher is never called the minister, nor the surplice enjoined for the habit of the pulpit. However, that same custom, which we found to prevail in so excellent and edifying a form in the early ages of the Church, we meet with again in the reformation of our own, but

mostly in the bidding form, which deserves to be accounted for. The subject is treated in the Charges of Archdeacon Sharpe, and he deduces the usage altogether from "the custom of preachers in the Popish times, in some part or other of their sermons, but generally about the beginning, to bid the beads, or advertise the audience to say an Ave Maria or a Pater Noster for a blessing upon the word to be delivered to them, and for all the necessary graces to be bestowed both on the preacher and themselves." And this is all very well, and orthodox, and primitive, passing over the formality of the Pater Noster, and the idolatry of the other invocation. But he says further, and this "was at the discretion of the preacher for such things as best suited the present occasion." And so far no blame. But here we find, that "in sermons at funerals, or at commemorations of the dead, the beads were bid for the souls of the departed." And here the regulation of our Henry VIII. intervenes, who, when he threw off the supremacy of the Pope, with other steps, took the direction of the office of preaching into his own hands. And perhaps he might have managed it better, by restoring it after a purer and more primitive fashion. For there will appear a degree of confusion in the arrangement. Howbeit, his first step was, in 1533, to forbid preaching altogether, until due orders for its regulation should be framed. Then, in the next year, he published, among other injunctions, "an order for preaching and bidding the beads." And, as a chief reason for his suspending the exercise of preaching was, that the matter of sermons at that time consisted too much in canvassing his marriage with Anne Boleyn; so when he issued his order for its revival, he accompanied it with a direction to bid the beads or the prayers of the people for himself as supreme head of the Church, for his Queen Anne, and for the Lady Elizabeth, their heir. Thus we have the history of the canonical prayer; and the archdeacon may be practically right in deducing it from the custom of the Popish times. But when we trace the history of it, as part only of the wider subject of sermon prayers, which is a more apt way of treating the matter, at least in our age of the Church; it is certainly a more instructive course to ascend to a higher stage, and a purer era, where the origin of the custom appears in a principle and a practice of worship more accordant with our own; instead of fixing its propriety, as it were, upon the perversion of its corrupted form to a politic purpose of the throne. When the subject is traced in this way, we shall find that the canonical form is a derivation from a double source; that is, from the sermon prayers we have already

spoken of, and from other prayers more distinctly in the bidding form, which constituted a regular and considerable part of the Communion Service of the ancient church; at the beginning of which the minister prescribed to the kneeling congregation what to pray for in the silence of their own spirits, or else answering to the several biddings *κυρίε ἔλεησον*, "Have mercy, good Lord!" whether the prayer were for their own good or in behalf of others. And then the same minister or bishop offered up a summary of the whole in a collected form, which is the origin of the Liturgical Collect. (Stillingfleet's Origin. Brit.) These biddings and prayers were accustomed to take a wide range of subject, including, in charitable intercession, the whole body of the universal Church, and descending, by a chain of gradation, to more special objects. This is the original of the existing form of the modern bidding prayer. In Popish times it got merged in the practice of bidding beads at the time of sermon. And it is probable that Henry VIII. might not have intended to follow the ancient model, but rather to transfer the direction of intercession from departed souls, or other living subjects at the discretion of the preacher, to an inculcation of his own supremacy. However, subsequent additions, carrying out the same plan, have, in a manner, revived one of the ancient usages in the place of another. Thus much for the history of the canonical form. And I judge this retrospect of consequence, when the present practice of sermon prayers is estimated; and it proves to be a regular proceeding that has been transmitted and continued through every age, shaped, indeed, to a peculiar fashion at a certain period, but gradually wearing round again to its original character and purpose. Having said thus much, we will open again upon the track of the old subject, purposing to shew a regular series of authorities for sermon prayer; and, secondly, that every valid authority recognises it as offered in the preacher's own words; and hence the reason why it is not prescribed for in the rubric.

I have mentioned that there is an injunction of King Edward VI. to this effect. It is one, however, which would have no weight by itself, as it was issued two years previous to the framing of the first Liturgy. But when we find him, after this injunction, omit all notice of the subject in both of his Liturgies, and Queen Elizabeth in like manner, though in the reverse order, first establish the Liturgy, and then re-issue the injunction; and when, after a considerable interval, we find again her successor, with Convocation, adopting and ratifying the same injunction by the express form of a canon;

and when, after a like space, again we find the Convocation, upon a revision of the Liturgy, introducing no direction on this subject, while yet the custom was universally followed, and King William further, with a view, indeed, to the acknowledgment of his own titles, recalling practice to conformity with the canon; we seem to be reduced to the admission of two things; first, that sermon prayers were always a customary thing, recognised, sanctioned, enjoined, and, in a certain measure, regulated by authority; and, secondly, that they were ever considered a part of the service extra-rubrical. And I cannot but observe, that an inadvertence of this fact has involved Archdeacon Sharpe in manifest embarrassment in his whole treatment of this subject. He seems, indeed, to have some notion of the preacher being distinguished from the minister; and distinctly says, what I have argued in former Letters, that the surplice was not prescribed to be, nor was usually, worn in the pulpit. But he is at a loss to reconcile the circumstance of Queen Elizabeth's issuing the injunction we have noticed, with the Act of Uniformity of her own reign, which forbade any other prayers than what were used in the service book. Whereas, the distinction between the preacher and the minister properly recognised clears away the whole difficulty.

Having, therefore, adduced a series of authorities for sermon prayer, we will now pay some attention to the form of it. The language of the 55th Canon is as follows: "Before all sermons, lectures, and homilies, the preachers and ministers shall move the people to join with them in prayer in this form, or to this effect, as briefly as conveniently they may: Ye shall pray for Christ's Holy Catholic Church, that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the world," &c. The language of this canon, it is observed, is nearly identical with Queen Elizabeth's injunction: only that the title of the injunction was, "the form of bidding the prayers," the title of this is, "the form of a prayer to be used by all preachers before their sermons;" and at the end of it, it was now ordered to use the Lord's Prayer. The purport of this is to recognise the liberty of the preacher in that office making direct prayer in words of his own choice, the subject only being prescribed. And this seems to be in character with the general idea that the preacher stands upon his own ground, and speaks his own words: the minister, on the contrary, speaks the words of the Church. There is something more to the same purpose; for the title of King Edward's injunction aforetime was, "the form of bidding the prayers to be used *generally* in this *uniform* sort;" a context of words

at disagreement with one another, but which is explained thus: that the generality of the clergy, who were not then preachers, but only read the homilies according to order, were to bid the prayers of the people in the express words prescribed; whereas the preachers, as men allowed to utter their own compositions in the Church, were at liberty to vary the form while they kept to the substance. And this distinction it seems to have been the intention of the framers of our canon at a later period to make; for the ministers and preachers are ordered to move the people to join with them in prayer *in this form, or to this effect*. This, I therefore maintain, is the actual state of the law; and this its actual intention—that preachers shall preface their sermons with a form of prayer, in which they shall call upon the people to join them, taking the range of subject enjoined in the canon, but shaping it in their own fashion, only concluding with the Prayer of our Lord. The subject of the prayer is, as we have seen, a general intercession for the whole Church, after the fashion of the ancient bidding prayers, which belonged to a different part of the service. The Bishop of Exeter says it is not an edifying prayer. It is certainly not appropriate to the sermon; otherwise it is as edifying as the prayer for All Conditions, or that for the Church militant: and it is edifying, inasmuch as it brings the preacher, as St. Augustine says, to the footstool of charity; which now seems much in need to be inculcated, though not in accordance with the judgment on the case of poor Blake. However, it does not certainly accord with common practice now-a-days. But I think there is a point of reason in the case. When the regulation was made, a sermon was not an every-day occurrence, nor do the homilies seem to have been read with regularity. Now, the formal detail of this prayer, necessarily rather long, is just such as, while it is edifying from its spirit on particular occasions, would make it wearisome on continual repetition. It may, however, be asked, Why, therefore, has not the general direction been observed, with a curtailment of particulars, especially as the canon recognises the liberty of the preacher to express himself in his own words? I believe the answer may be given in a circumstance which is strikingly exhibited just now in the questions addressed to his clergy by the Bishop of Exeter; and that is, the extreme jealousy that has grown upon the Church in later days, of allowing any thing to the discretion of the minister. I doubt not the custom of substituting for a prayer of the preacher's own composition "to the effect" of the canon one of the collects from the Liturgy, had its rise in episcopal command. And now the same authority is dis-

posed to proceed to the length of forbidding prayer at all. And this is strongly confirmed to my mind by the account which Archdeacon Sharpe gives of the most common practice in his day, and to which he himself conformed, about a hundred years ago; which was to bid the people in the words, "Let us pray," and then put up a prayer after the direction of the canon "as briefly as may conveniently be." But this, as a general practice, has disappeared in the course of the last hundred years; and the clergy have been by arbitrary authority confined to the use of a collect.

Now, in whatever light the subject be viewed, this one thing is clear—first of all, that some form of prayer, or exhortation to prayer, concluding with that of our Lord, is certainly the order of the Church, and has as certainly always been used until the new rubric propounded at Helston. Until a hundred years ago, moreover, a certain liberty was understood to be allowed, and was commonly exercised, as to the manner of it. That liberty has since been very much curtailed; whether reasonably or not, is a point to have been judged by circumstances. Let it be understood, however, that the practice now generally enjoined is itself both a curtailment of the liberty allowed by the Church, and a deviation from her special direction. Whether there be any harm done by this, I will not say. But a reason adduced by Archdeacon Sharpe, why a freedom of composition in prayer should not be conceived to have been allowed to all in King Edward's days, because all were not allowed to preach—"for if they were not to be trusted with a liberty of preaching, how much less with a liberty of prayer?"—the converse of this reason might be alleged for an increased liberty in the present day, instead of a curtailment of that the Church has granted. And when I have heard a devout man preface his sermon with humbly beseeching Almighty God to "be with us, and to bless us this day, that in ministering and in hearing the truths of thy holy word we may be edified together in love through faith in Jesus Christ," or some other form of petition in a similar strain, I have been at a loss to understand the reason of the great jealousy existing against such liberty. I know very well that what I have recited would be exceedingly nauseating to great numbers of orthodox churchmen, as they think themselves, but as I do not think them, to hear. And I hold that very feeling, or prejudice I would say, to be an unmanly nicety, not at all according with the sterling temper of the Gospel. I wish, however, to observe merely that there is nothing in existing documents that reproves this practice. The direction of the Church grants the liberty in

the point objected to. The standing practice, and episcopal sanction defend the change of subject, reverting, in fact, to the original style of sermon prayer as used by the ancient Fathers. For myself I am quite satisfied to hear "Prevent us, O Lord!" or "O Lord Jesus Christ!" But the mischief of that freedom which the Church has deliberately and by repeated sanction granted, I have never witnessed. And while I doubt whether any power exists beneath that of Convocation and the Crown together to annul it, I doubt, also, whether it is a wholesome thing to resign a point of liberty altogether. There are as great evils engendered by the abandonment of liberty as by the abuse of it. And I am strongly of opinion that a slavish particularity of form is apt to foster a superstitious temperament, and will often prove a let and hindrance to the free exercise of Christian devotion. It is good, therefore, to claim what rests upon right, or further rights may be seized, as the present instance shews. For a resignation of the right of praying in their own words in the pulpit seems, above all other things, to have led to the endangering at least, and nearly to the loss of the ground of liberty allowed to Christian ministers in their own province of the pulpit, insomuch that they are now commanded to assume the ceremonial garment, and to forego the exercise of special prayer altogether. Whereas the entire context of my inquiries result in this view, that the sermon is a separate office wherever it be introduced, entire in itself, and independent of what goes before or follows after; that it is extra rubrical; that the Christian minister, as I propounded in Letter IV., is allowed by the Church to stand upon his own ground in the pulpit, to be there exercising the ministry to which he has been called by the Holy Ghost, untrammelled by any other requisitions on the part of the Church, than that he be duly authorized and fitly prepared, and keep sound doctrine, and observe a certain order. I doubt if it be not expected by the Church that a preacher will deliver himself extempore, for this seems to be the natural difference between preaching a sermon and reading a lecture, according to the words of the canons and the Act of Uniformity.* And if this was the mind of the Reformers, why may there not be wholesome reason in it? And if so, it is right to assert it. Therefore, although a bishop may

* "That no person shall be allowed to preach as a lecturer, or to preach or read any sermon or lecture," &c.

"That if any sermon or lecture be to be preached or read in any cathedral or collegiate church or chapel," &c.—Act of Uniformity.

"And likewise every other stipendiary preacher that readeth any lecture, or Catechizeth, or preacheth in any church or chapel," &c.—56th Canon.

perhaps deprive the poor people (see "Questions," &c.) of the pleasure of singing a hymn more consonant with their own taste, more accordant with their frame of mind and sentiment than our literal versions of the Psalms of David, engaging to resound the praises of God to all the listening nations round—very beautiful as many passages contained in them are, but still not more so, nor more edifying, than many a metrical enlargement of other parts of Scripture, especially the words of our Lord, and those who made known His grace;—this, I say, and the pleasure of awakening their devotion with a hymn at the beginning, or of lifting up their voices at the end of the service in praise of their God and in adoration of His goodness;—this, I say, notwithstanding the example of that divine assembly, who, having sung a hymn, went out, a bishop, for the honour of Church authority, may probably take away, because he has power within the limits of the law, although the force of a law that has lapsed is questionable. But a liberty which the Church has granted, and directions which she has expressly made, I do not see how a merely administrative authority can have power to revoke. And wherever such a stretch of authority is made to annul a living act of the Church, and enjoin an irreverend and presumptuous behaviour before God, can there possibly be a question in such a variance of command that the higher authority should prevail? The question is brought to this point by the comments of the bishop—that it is a mere question of authority or none, whether the people will obey their bishop—will obey them that have the rule over them; and whether the clergy will abide by the vow of their ordination reverently to obey their ordinary, following with a glad mind his godly admonitions. This situation of the question I have not space to canvas here, having something further to observe more closely connected with the express subject of this Letter. And that relates to the after prayer. The Bishop of Exeter, if I understand him right, has forbidden any prayer at all in the pulpit at Morning Service, on the ground that the sermon is part of the Communion; but the evening sermon being not in the rubric he there allows a collect before, but none after the sermon. Doubtless the bishop has a reason. I should judge myself that it is that he may withhold something of common usage, and thereby exercise authority. But having declared the sermon to be extra-rubrical, I hold that the rule of authority in the case is practice, and the sanction reasonable propriety.* I will, therefore, conclude this Letter with two extracts, one from Bing-

* The express authority of the rubric itself for saying Collects in such place is, however, adduced in Letter XII. p. 63.

ham, the other from Sharpe. "In Origen's Book of Homilies there are abundance of such short prayers, not only in the beginning of his discourses, but sometimes also in the middle of them: and generally in the close he makes another such short prayer, in a few words suitable to the subject, &c. But I cannot omit to observe, that as St. Austin often began his sermon with a short prayer, so he usually ended it with another of the like nature, the forms of which are, some of them, now to be found at the end of several of his Homilies. In some of them we trace this form at length:—Let us now turn to the Lord God, our Father Almighty, with a pure heart, and give him thanks, &c., beseeching Him, that he would drive away the enemy from all our thoughts and actions, by His power: that He would increase our faith, govern our minds, grant us spiritual thoughts, and conduct us to everlasting happiness, through Jesus Christ, His Son, our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with Him in the unity of the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end."—*Bingham*. And other forms he gives, very closely agreeing with present practice. Now for Archdeacon Sharpe:—"I find, indeed, Archbishop Sandys concluding a sermon at St. Paul's Cross in a public thanksgiving with a large prayer of thanksgiving. . . . I find likewise, in a book published in 1566, and perused, and allowed by authority, by Thomas Becon, entitled 'A Postill, or Sermons for all Sundays in the Year,' upon the Gospels (to be read by curates to their congregations), prayers composed, to be used both before and after sermon. To which Postill, says Strype, two prayers are added, either of them to be said before sermon, a longer and a shorter, according to the minister's discretion, and another prayer or thanksgiving to be said after sermon. These prayers and these sermons were framed for ministers of less abilities to invent and compose prayers and sermons for themselves."

LETTER XI.

THE RUBRIC.

THE proof of generals lies in the particulars: and by the same is tested the propriety and exactness of the terms in which the leading propositions of an argument are framed. The Bishop of Exeter, in his Letter to the Dean, has published a series of propositions submitted by him to the Chapter, and

by them approved, as preparatory to his taking the initiative in his judgment on the Helston Case.

" 1. That, on account of divisions, &c., it is desirable that there be uniformity.

" 2. That the only way of securing uniformity must be, that all act according to law.

" 3. That the bishop having stated his views of the state of the Church in parts of his diocese, and of the best and most peaceable means of producing uniformity, is advised by this meeting, that it is desirable that the bishop should issue a general direction to obey the rubric. If there be any doubt what is the sense of the rubric in any instances, that the course prescribed by the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer be observed."

Now I think it is desirable for the Church to protest against this manner of syllogising away all her senses. The Tractarians took their initiative in exactly the same manner, as Mr. Percival has recorded, and with exactly the same logic. A foundation is laid in a context of speculative generalities, with a practical abstraction to form a basement; then comes story after story of a commanding fabric of unlimited height and splendour: for a problematical basis will extend itself *ad libitum* to the dimensions of any superstructure. It is advisable, therefore, to proclaim that this is a favourite source of fallacy. I wish I could lay my hand upon the analogous propositions, upon which the Tractarians erected their system of divinity. But the present illustration is sufficient. For it will be found in these, and frequently in like cases, that not only in the leading proposition is something stated *absolutely* which is rather *conditional*, or as *universal* which is only *general*; but that the second, which proposes the specific rule, is framed of terms, which, in a certain sense, are true, but in the sense intended are false; that, in fact, an uncertain term is made the medium of connection between the speculative principle and the practical decision. Thus the Tractarian rudiment, that the body and blood of Christ are received in the Sacrament, is true in one sense, but not in the sense they intended. And so when the bishop laid down, that uniformity is to be obtained alone by all obeying the law, he was preparing a sanction, and a practical enforcement, of an uncertain and private opinion: inasmuch as the law, in the case in question, has proved so far from being a manifest rule, that the two first instances, and more than these, in which he has proceeded to exercise it, have been really deviations from all law, and arbitrary novelties of his own. And this seems to be the allusion of one of

the Chapter:—"That an assent may have been given to certain abstract propositions, the full force of which is not perceived until developed in detail. For instance, that uniformity was desirable, that it could not be obtained without one rule, and that the law laid down that rule." This may have been assented to; and an energetic man in council, invested with authority, may have exacted so much from his milder coadjutors, without regard to provisos and limitations; while they could scarcely hint that in *interpreting* the law, *he* might affirm that which was no law at all. But yet with this possibility, confirmed by subsequent fact, how completely is the third resolution, in its triple texture, a surrender of half the Church's safeguards to the insecurity of individual power, "that the bishop should issue a general direction to obey the rubric;—that if there should be any doubt, in any instances, what the sense of the rubric is,—the course prescribed by the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer be observed." "If there should be any doubt in any instances!" Certainly this is rather a gentle hint of a contingency that might arise from the abrogation of universal immemorial usage; as likewise the final clause, "that the course prescribed by the Prayer Book be observed," is a very gentle way of consigning to a bishop the power of putting any, however original, construction upon an ancient, uncertain, imperfect, and in part obsolete directory, so as to supply any deficiencies in it in any manner he shall please, although at utter variance with all known usage. The Tractarians upon their groundwork of fallacy erected reserve, especially in preaching the atonement, salvation *ex opere operato* of the Sacraments, and, in due course, all the human devices of the old Popish religion. And the bishop having thus taken upon his office to bring in a new order, begins by reducing the office of preaching, and proceeds to confirm the excommunication of poor Blake.

Now there are three points of objection to this course—1st. That it is both questionable in law, and certainly not expedient under present circumstances, nor conducive to the ends for which they were designed, to revive every form that has fallen into desuetude. 2dly. That there is great uncertainty and danger of actual mistake in every such attempt: and, 3dly, what I am surprised to find so little dwelt upon, That, so far as yet, in every prominent instance upon which debate has most ensued, the attempt has been an actual innovation, an invasion of orthodox rule, and a misdirection of law. The last is the point which I have maintained in every article as yet. But as there is force in the

others, I will make a cursory review of the rubric with reference to these questions.

In the first place, What is the rubric actually? It is a series of incurious regulations loosely connected, never digested, in parts imperfect, incongruous, and obscure; made at different times, with application to different circumstances, to the changes and conjunctions and contingencies of which it has never been carefully adjusted. I beg, however, distinctly to declare, that these remarks are applicable only to very indifferent matters, it being clear enough and satisfactory enough in all points of consequence, when received, as it has been adjusted by usage to changes of circumstances. But this, I think, is a sufficient presumption, that neither the original framers of its parts, nor the ultimate authorisers of the whole, should be supposed to have treated it as proper to be regarded in that sacred light in which some would now place it. I have, in a former Letter, No. VII., adduced reasons for believing that its directions as to dress never came into common use. And I have met with a circumstance of a very surprising nature, as indicating an extraordinary carelessness upon the subject, almost in the very persons from whose act it takes its sanction. This is an engraving in an edition of "Bishop Patrick's Devotions," published in 1672, with the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of Canterbury, representing a congregation kneeling at the communion, and two clergymen administering at the altar, the one on the north side dressed in a surplice, the other (*credite posteri*) in his gown! This, I say, is a very surprising circumstance. It has been laid down recently, that the gown was not even to be allowed in the pulpit, according to the intention of those who framed the existing law; that is, the clergy, the Crown, and the Parliament of 1662. But here we find a prebendary of Westminster, one who was soon after a bishop, and at the very time chaplain to the Crown—that is, to the temporal head of the Church—issuing a picture, within ten years of the passing of the Act, exhibiting the gown even at the altar; and this accompanied with the express sanction of the highest spiritual authority. Of course, I do not mean that a picture would have any weight to contradict the letter of the law; but there is no law in either case; and it has much weight in another sense, as shewing in what light the very men to whom the present worshippers of the rubric appeal regarded such incidental matters. It is true, they resisted the cry of the Presbyterians to have some of these very regulations annulled. But that they did, as I think, because they would not admit the principle, that any matter of superstition was in-

volved in their retention, and so discredit the age of the Reformation, and make way for unnecessary innovation. But the evidence of practice shews, beyond denial, that they did not regard it as that matter of conscience which some now pretend, to be over scrupulous in the observance of such particulars; and that, as I think, because they were men of a different mind. Is it natural, therefore, to suppose, that when they made it a requisition from such as would enter upon the ministry, that they received all things contained in the Book of Common Prayer, they alluded to a string of regulations which they did not respect themselves, and which they had not even taken the trouble to render consistent or clear? Of course I am not going the length of infringing the due authority of the rubric in matters of real importance to comeliness and regularity of worship, and, as such, confirmed by established usage. It is easy to object, But how do you undertake to distinguish? But I am brought into no strait at present, because all that I have yet defended has been the mind of the rubric itself in every particular. I have as yet but defended the rubric itself from innovation, though I am fully prepared to go to the length of limiting its practical authority, after this lapse of time, by the general consent of practice. What is this, in fact, but the mind and judgment of the same body which framed the law, ascertaining, in the course of experience, its most convenient application, and modifying the old enactment accordingly? And I am of opinion that the argument of the "Standard," to which I alluded in my first Letter, is sound, that where the functions of the legislature have slept for a length of time, concurrent usage assumes the force of law, and disuse is a virtual repeal. In fact, it is to be considered that the Church, had she been called into legislative action, would have expressed the same mind which she has testified by practice, especially as there are several particular reasons why forms and usages were retained in the earlier Reformed Church which no longer exist. That being allowed, it follows that existing arrangements are not of a kind to be reasonably regarded as immutable and eternal, and it is folly to entertain such an opinion. What more reasonable course of adjustment, then, can be conceived than by the admission of those easy changes in indifferent matters, which no spirit of innovation, but a general consideration of convenience and suitableness, while accompanied with a careful attention to serious duties, has gradually brought about? How much better and safer this than changes upon speculation, which else must come some day! But further, there are two things in religion as exe

cised by man. There are human elements as well as divine; and in every thing like an Establishment they are so welded together that it is sometimes difficult to define exactly where the line of separation runs. But this is no reason why they should be confounded in principle, or be generally treated as of equal sanction. Now the Prayer Book contains matters of both these kinds—an order of worship, and several ceremonious regulations. The first is intrinsically a holy thing—a sacred or sanctified thing at the very least estimate; although being, as to form, a human arrangement, it is subject to the lot of human infirmity. The latter sort are of a more various nature; some are instinct with peculiar solemnity, others are very different. And this difference a sound mind will appreciate; one self-interested or prejudiced may confound. I will throw out some examples: to kneel at prayer; to stand in adoration, or while admonished; to sit in meditation or hearing; to mingle confession with thanksgiving; to pray for grace to profit by instruction. But the last belong rather to the substantial matters included under the first head: the others are matters of propriety, which is the first point of demeanour.

I have said that the rubric is in parts incongruous, incurious, imperfect, and obscure. I will shew cause for the expressions. And, first, it is a compilation of rules taken from preceding Liturgies, if we may so call the previous states of the same, while more imperfect. Changes took place in the order of service, and the rubric was varied in parts. Then, lastly, a compilation from all preceding ones was made, with further corrections and additions; and the rubrical directions accompanying the parts, taken from one or other of the former Liturgies, were placed occasionally in an incongruous context: in some instances supplemental directions were introduced, instead of removing or altering others which had become inapplicable to the altered form of service.

I will endeavour to shew this historically. But here I must observe, that even the first Liturgy is exceedingly indirect, to say the least. And an indirect direction is somewhat of an incongruity. First, it says, "Upon the day, and at the time appointed for the Holy Communion, the priest that shall execute the holy ministry shall," &c. And this leads us into the service: by which it is implied that this is a service appointed for the administration of the Holy Communion, and for no other purpose. And accordingly we come to an earnest exhortation to self-examination, the same which is retained in the present Liturgy: "Dearly beloved in the

Lord, ye that mind to come," &c. But the next thing that follows is this: "And *then* if the people be negligent to come to the Communion, *then* shall the priest earnestly exhort, &c., saying these or the like words unto them (strange!), 'Dear friends, and you upon whose souls I have cure and charge, on — next I do intend,' " &c. Thus, in the very midst of a special service for the actual administration of the Communion, we meet with a notice of the service itself as future. And both these exhortations, in this Liturgy, come before the offertory. In a later place we meet with collects to be said after the offertory, *when there is no Communion*. This would be unintelligible, but that afterwards we find the following:—"On Wednesdays and Fridays, the English Litany shall be said or sung, &c. And though there be none to communicate, yet *these days* the priest shall say all things at the altar appointed to be said at the celebration of the Lord's Supper until after the offertory;" the first exhortation, therefore, included literally, though this is strictly preparatory to the actual celebration of the Sacrament. This certainly is a very incongruous and a very indirect direction, as it is the only one, to explain what I last noticed as difficult to be understood: and this is applicable to Wednesdays and Fridays only. But afterwards, "And the same order shall be used all other days, whensoever the people be customably assembled to pray in the Church, and none disposed to communicate with the priest." This may, possibly, be intended to apply to Sundays; but it would rather seem to allude to other "week-days," or "work-days," as the same indirect allusion is made in other parts to the Communion as possibly to be celebrated on those days; and yet no epistle or gospel is provided for them, although this is a regular part of the Communion Service. And in no part of this Liturgy is there any rubric which appoints when either the Litany or Communion shall be performed, except on Wednesdays and Fridays. But there are allusions *to the customs* of certain places. I must further observe, that the prayer for the Church militant, running out to an excess of prayers for the dead, occurs, in this Liturgy, in the very body of the service, after the proper prefaces, and is not included in that part which is to be said when there is no Communion.

Next, let us advert to the second Liturgy of Edward VI. This appoints that the Litany be said on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. But still it leaves the Communion open, beginning the directions for that office thus: "The table having at the communion time a fair white linen cloth, &c., the priest standing, &c., shall say." Here, for the first time,

the curate is ordered to declare what holydays there are in the week, and that between the sermon and the offertory. Here, too, the prayer for the Church militant, purged of its excesses, is brought forward to the place where it now stands: and here the incongruous *notice* of Communion is converted into an exhortation to the people present to stay and partake of it, and is placed *before* the other exhortation to those "that mind to come." Thus one incongruity is avoided, but another is incurred; inasmuch as a previous rubric retained from the first Liturgy enjoins that none shall be allowed to communicate who have not signified their names to the curate at least by the time of Morning Prayer. And at the end of this service is the following rubric: "*Upon the holydays*, if there be no Communion, shall be said all that is appointed at the Communion until the end of the homily, concluding with the prayer for the Church militant," &c. This seems to be in effect a simple order that on each *holyday* there shall be a service, in which the Epistle and Gospel specially appointed for such day shall be read, and a sermon be preached, with a few other prayers, to complete the service. But this does not include Wednesdays and Fridays, nor any other than holydays. And that term is in the first Liturgy distinguished from Sunday. In both these Liturgies, therefore, which are the basis of the present one, we find both incongruities and imperfections; by this I mean deficiencies, that is, the omission of express directions in points that must be understood.

Having found my matter extend beyond the length I had contemplated, I am obliged to divide it here, and reserve the remainder for another Letter.

LETTER XII.

THE RUBRIC.

THE course of our inquiries brings us now to the present Liturgy. And in this the order for Communion commences, to speak generally, as the last. The first deviation from it is, that the publishing of the holydays and fasting days precedes the sermon. And then comes a difficulty, which has been noticed more than once. For the next order is, "then also shall notice be given of the Communion." The sermon follows, and the offertory: then the prayer for the Church militant. And *then*, "when the minister giveth warning for the celebration of the Holy Communion, after the sermon ended,

he shall read the exhortion, Dearly beloved, on — next I purpose," &c.; so that there is a double order for the publication of the same thing in two several places. Further, as we proceed, we find the old order for the collects to be said after the offertory, when there is no Communion; and at the end of the service this: "Upon the Sundays and the holy-days, if there be no Communion, shall be said all that is appointed at the Communion, until the end of the general prayer for the Church militant, together with one or more of these collects last before rehearsed." Here is another case of embarrassment similar to the last. Does this rubric mean that the collect or collects are to follow the prayer for the Church militant, which is the usage? Then it contradicts the last, which said that the collects should be said after the offertory. Or is one collect or more to be said after the offertory, and again one or more after the prayer for the Church militant? Both are prescribed, yet evidently both are not meant; just as the notice of Communion is probably only intended to be given once, yet literally it is to be given twice. These points alone declare the rubric to be, as I have said, incurious. And again, at matins we read towards the end, "Then these five prayers," &c. Yet afterwards we meet with a series of other prayers and thanksgivings, to be read, any of them, before the last two. And, what is rather strange, the rubric before the collects at the end of *Communion*, says, "The same may be said after the collects either of the *Morning or Evening Prayer*, Communion, or Litany." This is no doubt the origin of the practice of saying these collects before and after sermon. And so we find here a most express contradiction of the doctrine of the Bishop of Exeter and of the curate of Helston, that in such place they are not authorized by the rubric; inasmuch as we have here an express permission to use them at the end both of Morning and of Evening Prayer. Further, the Litany is here spoken of as a separate service, whereas, by the rubric that orders the Morning Prayer it is let into that service.

Lastly, the rubric is, as I have said, imperfect; for there are points connected with the services which it has left untouched. For instance, there is no direction when the Communion shall be performed, whether at once with matins, or by itself. And from hence arises the incongruity in practice, of tacking on the preliminary part of it, when there is no Communion, to the fag-end of Morning Prayer; this being deduced from an ancient rubric when the services were performed separately, and the present usage involving a plain repetition of subject. And what relates to singing and to

the sermon is left very imperfect; all, in fact, which is not part of the priestly ministration. But in using the word imperfect, I intend a reference to those who affirm a negative obligation to admit nothing into the service which the rubric does not enjoin. Now, as to the first matter, the rubric says only in one place, "In choirs and places where they sing, here followeth the anthem." Now by the selection of the term "the Anthymn," as it is properly written, which correctly signifies a hymn in alternate parts, and by the allusion to choirs, it seems most probable that no other than choral music is here intended, and accordingly that the rubric as to plain psalmody contains no direction at all. How, then, is this to be regulated by it? As to this matter it is an imperfect rule. And in any sense of the word anthem, if it is capable of meaning a psalm or hymn, except in poetry, where were these to be sought at the time the rubric was framed? Now, (it is said) by an *ex post facto* order of the Crown, the versions of Sternhold and Hopkins, or of Brady and Tate, with the few hymns bound up at the end of them, are the only sacred songs authorized to be sung in churches. What is the authority, then, for pieces of Handel or Haydn or others, that are sung in cathedral and collegiate churches and chapels? Besides, I know not what is the authority for Bishop Ken's hymns, and a few others, that are bound up in Prayer Books. But I know that it is absurd to suppose that no one within the last hundred years should have written a hymn as fit to be sung in Church as those of the century before. Moreover, if an *ex post facto* order of the Crown, subsequent to the Act of Uniformity, be sufficient to regulate one extra-rubrical matter, namely, as to the selection of the hymn, why may not an order or injunction of Queen Elizabeth, *ex post facto* to the rubric in an earlier stage, be enough to supply another extra-rubrical point concerning the time of singing it? For one of her injunctions runs thus: "For the comforting of such as delight in music, it may be permitted, that in the beginning or in the end of the Common Prayer, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn, or such like song, to the praise of Almighty God, in the best melody and music that may be conveniently devised, having respect that the sentence of the hymn may be understood and perceived." At all events, is there reason in beginning now to draw the strings of the ancient rubric tighter than they ever were drawn before?

As to what concern the rubric has with the sermon, I have treated of that matter in many places of my past Letters. Especially in Letter VII. I shewed that the Act of Unifor-

mity, which gives its present force to the rubric, seems to recognise sermons after any one of the services, although not noticed by the rubric itself. And I have another authority to adduce to the same point, being the "Admonition to ministers ecclesiastical" at the beginning of the second volume of the Homilies, in which it is directed, "that where the homilies may appear too long for one reading, to divide the same, to be read part in the forenoon and part in the afternoon." Here is a clear and positive recognition, by an authority contemporary and co-ordinate with the rubric, of an act of public service, of which the rubric takes no notice. I say contemporary, for it is actually contemporary with that portion which alone alludes to a sermon. And does not this, as well as the injunctions and the language of the Act of Uniformity, shew that the rubric is not to be regarded as the sole exclusive authority allowing and restraining the whole detail of public service? As for those who construe to that effect the rule of publications, to wit, "and nothing shall be proclaimed or published in the Church, during the time of Divine Service, but by the minister; nor by him any thing but what is prescribed by the rules of this book, or enjoined by the Queen, or by the ordinary of the place," it is a pity that the construction of any rule should be in the hands of such persons. If they will refer to books which have treated upon this subject, when there was no theory to be maintained, they will find complaints of the "publishing or giving notice of the most frivolous, unbecoming, and, sometimes, ridiculous things, in the face of the congregation;" as "the publishing hue and cries, and inquiries after lost goods;" and, even subsequent to the Act of Uniformity, "the names of persons newly come to be inhabitants might, at their request, be published after Divine Service," with various rates and assessments, and presentments of the surveyor of the highways, &c.; only some of which profane subjects were banished from the Church before a recent act. It is indeed quite shocking that conscience should be pleaded on such grounds, to prevent either the saying of a prayer, or the singing of a hymn, or the same being given out by the clerk, the very person to whose especial province the psalm or anthem peculiarly belongs: for the clerks were originally the singing men, and so, the leaders of the congregation.

These, I think, are satisfactory evidences, that, for the ends to which some modern bishops and curates are disposed to stretch the rubric, it is insufficient and imperfect. As to the last point of its obscurity, this lies in the same field; for as

far as it has been construed by practice it is clear enough. That it is, however, obscure, I feel bound to allow in deference to those who have so much mistaken it. I need not advert again to the recent doctrine, that the surplice is the rubrical garb, which it is enjoined the preacher to wear. I need not refer any more to the banishment of prayer from the pulpit upon the like pretext of rubrical conformity. But I cannot help remarking once more, as I draw near my conclusion of this subject, how very striking a circumstance it is, that those who have taken upon them to disturb the custom of the Church upon a conscience of acting by the rubric, should have proved to have been actually attempting by constraint to force upon the consciences of others a positive departure from the rule they pleaded: that while they have so dealt as to raise a suspicion against the rubric as a yoke prepared to gall our necks, it has proved a law of liberty which it has been their attempt to straiten. And this fact I would most especially point out with reference to the collects at the end of the Communion. I have treated the sermon all along as a matter beside the rubric; but the curate of Helston, as well as a higher dignitary, have treated it as part of the general service, and have said that there is no permission by the rubric for any of the collects to be said in that place; whereas it appears that the very letter of the rubric expressly permits any one *or more* of these collects to be said at the end of any service. I therefore submit, that when the Bishop of Exeter commands, in his Pastoral Letter, that on occasion of a sermon being preached after *Evening Prayer*, one collect shall be said before and none after the sermon, he is himself infringing upon the express word of the rubric, and overruling the law. Whether he has power to do so is a question.

There remains but one other point, which, in justice to the same parties, I must also note as obscure; and that is, the time to dismiss the congregation before the Communion is celebrated. I say it is a point obscure. But why should it be so? Was it ever found so before? Nevertheless, to those who have been minded to throw contempt upon practice, in order that they might interpose a restraining authority, the point seemed obscure, because the rubric, in their judgment, is defective in that point, giving no directions upon the subject. For thus the bishop, debating the matter with great deference to Mr. Blunt's innovations, propounds, "What may be the particular part of the service, and whether there be any, when those who do not propose to partake of the

Holy Communion may properly leave the Church, is not declared" (by the rubric, that is). "Manifestly they ought not to go before that part of the service begins, which is used only at the actual celebration of the Holy Communion; not, therefore, until after the prayer for the Church militant. But ought they to go then? There is no direction requiring them to go, or recognising their departure. *The earlier Books of Common Prayer plainly contemplate their remaining during the whole administration; for*"—I will add the reason presently. But here, since the bishop has referred the question to the arbitration of the earlier Liturgies, I will transcribe a passage from the rubric of King Edward's first book, which is very much to the purpose: "Then so many as shall be partakers of the Holy Communion shall tarry still in the quire, or in some convenient place nigh the quire, the men on the one side, and the women on the other side. *All the others (that mind not to receive the said Holy Communion) shall depart out of the quire, except the ministers and clerks.*" I must suppose that the bishop, as all are liable to do, committed an oversight here. For the passage is certainly decisive against his reason for the opinion expressed above, as well as against that on which it rests, namely, the sense which he gives to the following words of the invitation that comes afterwards, "Draw near, &c., and make your humble confession before Almighty God *before this congregation* here gathered together in His name." This is evidently the congregation of communicants, the others having departed. There is, therefore, in the earlier Books of Common Prayer a place at which the non-communicants are directed to withdraw. And what is that place? It is immediately after the offertory; that is, at that place where the service ended, which was occasionally said without Communion. For in this Liturgy, as I have stated in my last Letter, the prayer for the Church militant comes much later. Now how does present custom accord with this? In the general rule it accords exactly, although, through change of circumstances, it deviates from the direction of the rubric. By the rule of practice, the offertory is part of the Communion, to which it belonged of old as a special and peculiar portion of it. Obvious purposes in after times brought it into the service of Common Prayer, with which it had nothing in character, being, in the very doctrine of those days, an appropriate portion of that service, the chief element of which was not prayer but sacrifice. The advantage of raising contributions, however, brought it into more general request. And accordingly, when our Liturgy was

composed, the advantage was adopted, insomuch that, while the offertory was reading, the curate seems to have been in the quire receiving his accustomed offerings from the people, previous to their being dismissed. This is expressed by the rubric which precedes the one I last quoted; and in that, too, the ministers are mentioned as then in the quire. Circumstances however changed, and the form failed to answer its purpose, or was no longer required, and so it went out of use. And henceforward, until our days, the offertory has been restored to its original place and character as the opening passage of the Communion. I speak not of a sentence being occasionally read by way of general admonition, as "Let your light so shine," &c.: this, by itself, is no offertory. The prayer for the Church militant has indeed changed its place; but whether it ever changed its use in common practice, I cannot say. That it was originally a strict part of the Communion, and that custom still uses it as such, is all that appears: and that seems to me to be enough. In country churches, when there is no sermon in the morning, it is the custom to read it; and no better can be done. When there is a sermon, the custom has been not to read it; and every reasonable consideration tends to approve the omission. Except in thanks for those departed in the faith and fear of God, with prayer for grace to follow their example, the whole is a repetition of prayers already said (it is, indeed, the third time of praying for the Queen). And as to these, they are not so essential as that, after a full service of prayer ended, and a long sermon after it, the robes of prayer should be again resumed, the altar again repaired to, and while the congregation, exhausted of attention, and weary with long sitting, perhaps also numbed and chill, are expectant of dismissal, their reluctant charity be worn into indifference by perpetual ritual appeals without special cause or special argument to recommend them, the ceremony to be wound up with a long repetition of very formal, though solemn prayer. With this subject I have now nearly done. I think I have shewn cause for the language I applied to the rubric, that carried out to that length of exclusive and superstitious authority, in which it has been attempted not to revive it, or restore it, like Pelias, from old age to second youth, but really by a process of anamorphosis to stretch it into strange and unknown proportions—that for the purposes of such speculative students of the obsolete, it is incurious, incongruous, imperfect, and obscure. Retrograde changes without certainty of restoration, and

even restoration without circumstantial reasons of suitability and advantage, are of very problematical expedience. At the same time, and in illustration of the first particular, I have been happy, in defending the practice of the Church, to have had the sense of the rubric, both by itself, and more especially when compared with other co-ordinate authorities, altogether in my favour, and in favour of reasonable analogy, and a fair measure of liberty. I trust there is not a word that I have written that can favour irregularity or license. There is a certain measure of freedom consistent with rule and reason, that lies between this and servility, and is most favourable to the maintenance of truth. It is the same principle in the regulation of externals, which in doctrine is called the analogy of faith. It is the scope and exercise of reason, with the sanction of ordination, in the adjustment of the means to the end—in the subordination of parts to the whole. In carrying any principle into practice, and in the execution of every rule, it is in the power of unsound minds to commit both irregularity and excess. This has certainly been committed on one side, if there has been any truth in my arguments. And if that were true, which the bishop stated in his Letter to the dean (for I believe, though I have not seen it, that the statement has been withdrawn), that some clergyman has been so indecent as to manifest his contempt of extravagant form by abandoning the gown also in the pulpit, it is certain that such person is deserving of most grave censure. There always will be such persons, who will bring suspicion upon the best cause; like a certain writer under the sign of "Vindicator," who has been charging his own ignorance and misreadings upon the Bishops of Exeter and London with a great deal of irreverence and indecency. Such persons can only make mischief: although I must say this, that a want of honesty and resolution manfully to search and maintain the truth, apparent in those whom truth and reason should affect, will always bring the excitements of passion into exercise to compensate for their supineness. As to any one, however—if any there be—who, in obtuse perverseness of opposition, would carry his secular exterior unmodified into a most solemn official service, to the disturbance of the wholesome and salutary prejudices attaching to established and comely usage, it would be right to visit upon such person the penalty of the violated canon (the 74th), of which the living force is commensurate with the practice under it. Such a person would need to be placed under restraint, being most apt to breed mischief, and

most fit, by accordance of design with the exciter of these disputes, to blow another discordant trumpet in the Helston Foray.*

I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

A PROVINCIAL

Jan. 7, 1845.

P. S. Extracts from documents relative to the use of the gown in preaching and the liberty of prayer in the minister's own words.

In 1562. "Another paper was presented to the House (of Convocation) with the following requests, signed by thirty-three names:—That the use of surplices and copes be taken away, so that all ministers in their ministry use a grave, comely, and sad garment, *as they commonly do in preaching.*"—History of the Puritans.

From the Address of the Puritan Ministers met at Sion College to King Charles II., 1660—

"Concerning Liturgy.

"1. We are satisfied in our judgments concerning the lawfulness of a liturgy, or form of worship, provided it be for matter agreeable to the word of God, and suited to the nature of the several ordinances and necessities of the Church, neither too tedious, nor composed of too short prayers or responsals; not dissonant from the liturgies of other Reformed Churches, nor too rigorously imposed; neither the minister too strictly confined thereunto, but that he may also make use of his gifts for prayer and exhortation."

Instead of a conference, which the ministers expected, the bishops having obtained a copy of the paper of the Presbyterians, drew up an answer—

"Concerning Liturgy.

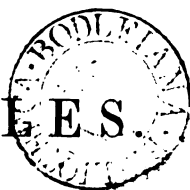
"We esteem the liturgy of the Church of England contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and by law established, to be such an one as is by them desired, &c. Nor can the imposition of it be called rigorous, as long as clergymen have the liberty of using this gift before and after sermon," &c.—Ibid.

* A march so called.

SUBSCRIPTION

TO

THE ARTICLES.



BY

GEORGE DUDLEY RYDER, M.A.,

RECTOR OF EASTON, HANTS.

"As deceivers, and yet true."—2 Cor. vi. 8.

LONDON:

JAMES TOOVEY, 291, PICCADILLY.

1845.

SUBSCRIPTION TO THE ARTICLES.

THE condemnation of Mr. Ward, by a majority of the members of the Oxford Convocation, assembled in the theatre on the 13th of February last, whether to be considered legal or not, is a fact that no wishes of moderate men, or exertions of such as are violent, can keep in isolation. If it had nothing to do with facts that preceded it, then might it be hoped that it would be the cause of none to follow. It was, however, a consequence itself, and will in turn have consequences of its own. It was intended to have them: the measure was proposed that the public might see the authorities of the University, and a large majority in her Convocation strenuously opposing themselves to certain views, and that an effectual stop might be put to the maintenance of such views by Oxford men. The measure was intended to have these consequences; it has had the former: how far it may be able to achieve the latter remains to be seen; perhaps, too, it may have others, and these not such as were at first expected. But I have no present concern with its general results; indeed no speculation of mine upon such a subject would be worth publishing. What follows, viz. a statement of the view under which I consider myself as subscribing the Articles, is one of its

results, the only one with which I am now concerned, and perhaps, to any but myself, one of no importance whatever.

Before I state it, however, I must say what it is that induces me to make it public. It has hitherto been universally acknowledged that those before whom subscription is made have nothing to do with it, beyond seeing that it takes place. Each of us has subscribed as he thought he best might ; he may have had scruples, and asked advice of friends, or he may have reasoned himself out of them without assistance ; at any rate, he has felt himself concerned with the honesty of his own subscription alone, and not ventured to impugn that of others. Things are now changed : between seven and eight hundred Masters of Arts have assisted the authorities in Oxford in condemning Mr. Ward as guilty of dishonest subscription ; they have placed on record their conviction that to subscribe as he does is utterly inconsistent with good faith. Of course there is a great difference between a view held privately, although acted on, and another which is both acted on and maintained publicly ; authorities naturally and properly regard the one with a different eye to that with which they regard the other. And had the course adopted in Mr. Ward's case been simply to censure his view, or even gone so far as to punish him for publishing it, the understanding to which I have referred might still have continued. But, as all know, this is not what has been done : the University has not only censured Mr. Ward's view, but has also gone further, and censured and degraded him as a dishonest man for holding it. The courses are evidently different in kind and in effect upon the individual and the public : either might have been

chosen, and the preference of the one to the other arose of course from the intentions of the proposers being such that they would be furthered by the one, not, or more than by the other. We are bound to presume that the course adopted, putting an end so immediately and necessarily as it does to the tacit understanding I have mentioned as previously existing, was intended to do so ; that those who proposed or forwarded the measure foresaw this consequence, and desired it. I am far from complaining that such should have been the case ; what they put an end to was anything but a satisfactory state of things ; but, in putting an end to it, more has been done than simply to notify to all present and future subscribers the possibility of authorities inquiring and punishing if they suspect subscription to have been made under a view of which they do not approve. Graduates, lay or clerical, are not like schoolboys, we may hope, content to do in silence what, if known, might subject them to punishment, but men who would rather risk the loss of temporal advantages, however important to them, than endure the impression that, if the sense in which they subscribed were avowed, they might possibly be deprived of them. When the conduct of men is made subject to inquiry, and praise or blame, those who are anxious to act in an honest and straightforward manner, feel they are called upon to exercise a degree of openness that they would never have dreamt of otherwise,—to make confessions, and offer explanations. In the present case, I cannot but think that men are bound in honor, after what has happened, to see that the view under which they subscribe is either by their own act, or that of others, sufficiently presented to the notice of authorities, for themselves to feel

that they enjoy whatever they hold on condition of subscription, henceforward not from any ignorance on the part of such authorities of the sense in which they have subscribed, but from their voluntarily conniving at or approving it. It is with this feeling that I now offer to every one who may be concerned to know it, in my case, the following statement of the sense in which alone, as I am at present minded, I can subscribe the Articles. I publish it, because doing so may possibly induce some others to do the like, who would not otherwise have thought of it; but, as I have written to confess what some might think a crime, and suppose they had the right and power to punish, not to press for the adoption of the view I state, I have endeavoured to be as brief as I could make consistent with being explicit.

1. To speak of subscription generally: it is in all cases a significant act; by it you commit yourself to something,—lay yourself under some obligation. The degree, however, in which you do this, is evidently not the same in all cases: *e. g.* your signature, as affixed to a letter, commits you much more than it does when attached among many others to a petition or protest. What may be the obligation incurred in a given case, the contents of the paper subscribed, with its other circumstances, must determine. Neither those before whom you subscribe, nor your own intention at the time, can do it; thus, for example, a travelling agent, in a bookselling speculation, may represent to you that signing an order for his work will not oblige you to take it, when brought, if you do not like it, and you may sign with this idea; but you have nevertheless made yourself legally liable to be forced to take it, because the agent was not authorised to say what he

did, and you had no right to suppose he was. The opinions, therefore, of those before whom the Articles are subscribed, whether only probably known to you or expressed at the time, for as much as such persons are only officers seeing that a law is obeyed, and the particular sense in which you have subscribed, for as much as the legislature did not authorize it, however valid they may be as excuses for subsequent laxity or needless scrupulosity, neither increase or diminish the obligation you have incurred. The circumstances essential to the case determine that—not its peculiarities. These may have tended to make it more or less difficult to discover what that obligation was, but cannot have altered it.

2. Now, of these circumstances, the first to be considered in the case before us, is the document we subscribe. It contains 39 Articles or Decisions on Religious questions passed by an English Convocation in 1562, with their ratification by the King, and 3 Articles from the 36th Canon, passed in like manner in 1603. An English Convocation is a Provincial Council. To estimate its decisions aright, therefore, we must know what are the powers of such a Council; and turning for this to the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, we find them described as follows :

“ *Provincialia concilia sunt, quæ propter Ecclesiasticas causas, et altercationum sedationes per singulas provincias, convocanti Metropolitano Episcopo omnes provinciales Episcopos, et Cathedralium Ecclesiarum Capitalia, celebrari placuit. Hæc autem neque definiendi, neque generaliter constituendi vim aliquam habent : sed tantum curandi, ut id servetur, quod alias statutum est, et quod generaliter seu specialiter observari præceptum est : licet interdum*

“ et quæ ab his recte statuta sunt etiam Catholica
 “ Ecclesia suscipiat.”*

It may indeed be maintained from the same work that the powers of an English Convocation were lessened, and even became none at all by our separation from the Pope,†—a point in which of course we do not allow its authority. Still we must admit it to be a valid witness as to the powers of provincial councils when in communion with the Pope,—powers for the exercise of which alone the English Convocation was originally constituted. And if so, how can a good title be made out for the possession of greater powers after separation from the Pope than before? Should it be held that the councils of a Provincial Church are to it as general councils during a schism, then we have J. Taylor’s authority for thinking that general councils themselves have no more power to determine in matters of Faith‡ than such as are Provincial. So that the powers of the English Convocation are either as above stated or less. Supposing them, however, to amount to what is stated, then it is evident that while, on the one hand, it was competent for the English Convocation to make decisions for the avoiding diversities of opinion, and establishing of consent in true religion,—it was, on the other, not competent for it to define—and, of course, not either to originate, innovate, or develope in religion; it could not declare in new matter what was truth, and what not; it was limited to the applying old admitted truth to existing circumstances. It might attempt more, for it might err: it might do so unconsciously; but, so far as it

* Institut. Juris Canon. tit. iii. comp. Gratianus Decret. i. dist. xviii.

† Decret. dist. xvii. c. 6.

Ductor Dubitantium, Book iii. c. 4, t. 22.

did so, it lacked authority, and neither could, nor can bind any man's conscience, whether subscribing or not. Surely, to suppose that subscription obliges us to adherence to anything in the Articles, if any such there be, which the Convocation had no right to place there, is to suppose it analogous to the oath of a rebel to a usurper, which the circumstances require him to understand as obliging him to support his leader in all he undertakes to obtain the crown whether just or unjust. It must be much more for the credit and interest of the Church of England to maintain an analogy between it and the oath of a loyal subject, who swears indeed that he will obey his sovereign, but would not be foresworn, though he refused on finding he was commanded to do what his duty to God, or the known laws of his country forbade.

So much as to the general character of the Articles: I will speak now of how they appear to me on a nearer inspection.

a. They may evidently be divided into two classes. Some are long admitted indubitable Articles of Catholic Faith. These, occurring as they do at the commencement of the document, form a preface to what follows, similar to those we find in Ancient Conciliar Acts. I suppose, however, that they owe only their situation to their serving this purpose, and the higher dignity of their subject—that they are not merely a formal preface, but have been placed in the document, notwithstanding their abstract appearance, because the circumstances of the time required their enunciation by a council seeking to establish consent in true religion. We are certainly not to suppose that they are all the Articles of Catholic Faith which the Convocation intended to admit, but those only the declara-

tion of which it thought was then required : for had it been otherwise, we should undoubtedly have had amongst them one on the inspiration of the Bible. Others, again, bear on their surface a reference to the times in which they were written, which there is no mistaking : thus *e. g.* the Homilies are said to contain doctrines necessary for these times—meaning of course those of Queen Elizabeth, not all succeeding times.

b. About the class of Articles last mentioned, there is evidently more or less of obsolescence. Thus in that just referred to, what is obsolete, if the Homilies are not ? A man might as well hope to escape a stare, a laugh, and a whisper, if he went about in trunk-hose and doublet, as expect that he could read the Homilies in his pulpit word for word, Sunday after Sunday, without occasioning irreverence, horror, appeal to Bishop, commission de lunatico inquirendo. The book can no longer be used for the purpose for which it was written ; its place is no longer in the pulpit. Where is it then ? undoubtedly wherever its intrinsic merits in the eyes of each man fit it to be. Because the Church once placed it in our pulpits, and it can no longer be there, can it therefore claim to be a standard book in divinity, in the hands of our students,—a purpose for which it was never intended ? It contains a godly doctrine ;—doubtless,—so do thousands of books, and the Homilies not more than they :—a wholesome ;—yes, to the listening patients of the 16th and 17th centuries ; but one which, if administered now, would produce most violent and dangerous effects : and necessary ; yes, once, but anything rather than necessary now. Here there is obsolescence of subject matter.

Again, there is obsolescence of fact. In the 37th Article, the Bishop of Rome is said to have no jurisdiction here. When this statement was made, though there were persons in the country, not a few, who maintained his right to it, yet he was unable to exercise it except very irregularly and by stealth. He had it not, though he was endeavouring to have it,—and therefore the statement was quite true, and relatively to that time is so now, and will ever be. But nothing is more notorious than that the Article does not give a correct account of the state of things amongst us at the present day. The Pope has jurisdiction here, and exercises it by means of his four Vicars, with the full knowledge and permission of the civil power, and with far less interference from it than our own Bishop's experience.

The first of the three Articles states that the king has the same supremacy in Ecclesiastical matters as in Temporal. Every one must see how very far this is from describing the state of a country in which, on the one hand, the temporal supremacy is so universally and instinctively admitted, and felt to be so far removed from almost the possibility of check that rebellion is not hopeless but childish; and on the other, the Ecclesiastical has men, in all our towns, and far the larger number of our villages, many and influential, who deny and deride it, who are known to do so, and yet till the other day were the pet subjects of the civil government. Here is obsolescence as to fact dating from early times, but becoming formal and certain from the repeal of the acts for securing uniformity.

c. There is another obsolescence besides these, and one which requires to be noticed by itself. The lapse

of time since the Articles were written, with its multitudinous variations in religious error, has not indeed produced an obsolescence of doctrine, that neither it nor anything else can do, but it has produced one of doctrinal statement. A council such as that of 1562, intending *bonâ fide* the preservation of the truth and the correction of error, would never confine itself to statements of doctrine abstract and entire; it would make them constantly, if not always, so far, and in such a way only as seemed most likely to effect what it had in view. Its decisions would very naturally have a definitive form; but not only would they not be definitions from want of authority in the Council to make them such, but we indulge, so I think, in a slanderous supposition when deceived by that form we think its fathers could have so intended them. Our Articles then do not present us with the whole truth in array, but with such portion of it as the particular character of the error with which it was then in collision had called into its front rank. Hence the partial, fragmental, barely trueish appearance of some of them to men of another age, when time's kaleidoscope presents truth and error in such different dresses, and related to one another in such different ways to what they formerly were: and hence, *me judice*, the demand on the part of many to be allowed to understand them each in his own sense,—to head, tail, and piece them, not that they may better express what they originally meant, but what the subscribers can best bear them to mean.

The 19th Article “of the Church” is an instance in point. If we look upon it as a definition, what Churchman does not feel it to be meagre and un-

satisfactory? yea worse, what Churchman does not see that such is the position of the Church amongst us at present, that taken as a definition it favours dissenters and latitudinarians, and effectually silences himself? History, however, happily, not to say providentially, supplies us with proof that, notwithstanding its definitive form, it never could have been intended for a definition. No Roman Catholic canonist, similarly circumstanced, could have taken greater pains than Elizabeth and her Council to perpetuate the Apostolic succession in the Church they were severing from Rome. All the Reforming bodies on the continent recklessly abandoned it, — the English alone, though they had no slight difficulty in doing so, would keep it. Years, centuries pass away, and the English colonies in America desire, amongst their various sects, to have the Church of the mother-country. What more easy? if this Article is the English definition of a Church, they had only to take our Prayer Book and Articles, with our translation of the Bible, and they would have had a complete transatlantic representation of the Anglican Church; but so indubitably is the possession of Apostolic succession an essential part of the Anglican's idea of a Church, that they did not think possession of our Prayer Book, Articles, and Bible would give them any real connexion with us unless they also had our Orders. Surely then the Article was never meant as a definition, but as a decision that the particulars therein mentioned are of the essence of a Church, such declaration being called for to correct certain mis-statements and erroneous impressions of the time. The effect of this argument is increased not a little, if we bear in mind that our Articles are not merely a compilation by

the heads of the Church,—those very heads who were so particular as to our canonical ordination,—though this is sufficient; but that they have the *imprimatur* of Convocation,—the body of the Church from which, let the Reformers do what they would, there seemed no eradicating an instinctive Churchmanship,—that body but for which Cranmer and his friends would have given us a very different Prayer Book from what we have, only he said he found he was matched with so Popish a Clergy it was impossible.

An Article already referred to states not only that the Pope has no power here, but that he ought not to have any: the statement of fact has been noticed above as obsolete; that of doctrine appended to it seems no less so. The power of the Pope ceased in England because a Monarch, “who never spared man in his anger, nor woman in his lust,” found it, as then existing, to interfere disagreeably with his own. He, with consent of the other two estates of his realm, assembled respectively in Convocation, and Parliament annulled it; and whether the act was a wrong one, as Pole, More, and Fisher thought, or not, still “*quod non fieri debet, factum valebat*,” and, being but of positive obligation, when so annulled, its exercise became unjustifiable. In itself it was not so; for Patriarchal power does not so differ from Metropolitan, that if the one is right in Canterbury, the other can be necessarily wrong in Rome,—and the exercise of supreme Ecclesiastical power in England, by a foreign Bishop and his conclave of Cardinals, can hardly have been *per se* wicked, if that of Supreme civil power by a British Queen and her Parliament, over such distant countries as Canada and the Indies,

is righteous. So far, then, as the Pope has been permitted to resume his authority here, he has also recovered his right to it; and the obsolescence of the doctrinal statement in this Article is co-extensive with that of its statement of fact.

And now it may be as well, before leaving this part of the subject, to notice the obsolescence in the Article "of Purgatory,"—the 22nd. Let theologians determine its degree,—I, who am certainly none, only venture to assert that obsolescence more or less attaches to it. In January 1562, the English Convocation notices doctrines on the subjects mentioned in the Article as "the Romish,"—*i. e.* those then existing in the Romish Communion as contra-distinguished from such as might be found elsewhere—*e. g.* amongst themselves or the Greek Church,—and scouts them in toto as vain and fond, and rather than otherwise repugnant to Scripture. In December 1563, the Council of Trent, then holding its twenty-fifth session, reviews these identical Romish doctrines, prunes them of excrescences, cutting away—so at least it professes—all that was superstitious or profane about them. The English Council rejects certain doctrines existing in a foreign branch of the Church Catholic, and thereupon of course Anglicans are bound to reject them too. But subsequently a Council of that branch reforms these doctrines, and makes them other than they were when the English Council rejected them. Can there be a doubt that the rejection of the English Convocation was affected thereby? The practical question of whether these doctrines, after their reformation were made tenable by an Anglican depends, I suppose, on the view taken of the amount of change

produced theoretically by that revision upon what they were jointly in practice and theory when our Council denounced them, and is, I should have thought, to be left to private judgment, till the English Church speaks again about it. If any one cares to know my own, it is that the Article is no longer valid as a prohibition, but is so as an authoritative caution.

These instances will perhaps be sufficient to shew what I mean, when I say that on nearer view I find the document to be subscribed to contain matter obsolete more or less in facts and doctrinal statements. I proceed now to consider,—

3. Its subscription.

a. This I think is attached to it in its original sense, whatever that may be, and no other. It is true there are parts, perhaps many, in which it may be impossible to discover what that is, yet this does not appear to warrant the putting upon it any sense other than what it had at first. I cannot conceive how the Articles are an authority in any other sense than that in which the Convocation past them. They oblige a subscriber, not in that they are Articles which he has subscribed, for then subscription would be significant only of his opinions at the moment he subscribed; but they oblige in that they are “Articles agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the Convocation holden at London in the year 1562:” and therefore as then understood, and under no circumstances otherwise.

b. I think, too, that it betokens adoption or reception of its contents. I do not use these words as identical in sense; by adoption, I understand a cordial em-

bracing, with the desire that what is adopted shall be and be considered as henceforward of and belonging to you; but reception, though willing and sincere, seems to denote an act that is less cordial, which expresses an intention to submit, but no wish for the establishment of any more intimate relation. I think it betokens indifferently one or other of these, because though subscription to Articles such as ours of three hundred years old is unprecedented, yet subscription to the Articles of Councils is a most ancient custom, and we find these two sorts of subscription to them to have existed and been recognized as legitimate. The account of those following on the Council of Ephesus,* besides the necessity of the case, is sufficient to establish this. I think it is evident too that the original subscriptions to our Articles were of this mixed kind. Many doubtless signed in token of adoption, but when we hear that the Bishops went down into their dioceses, and obliged their public preachers to sign also, and maintain the same in their pulpits under pain of revocation of licence, we cannot but feel sure that the subscription of reception was all that could have been sought, or in many of the cases obtained. Compulsory subscription may be one of adoption, but cannot be counted on as signifying more than reception.

c. The form of subscription does not affect its meaning, unless it bears evidence of this on its face, or it can be shewn that it was intended to do so; neither of which can, I think, with any probability of correctness, be asserted.

I receive the Articles then in the sense in which they

* Vide Fleury, Book xxvi. chap. 15—38.

were originally enacted, as being in that sense decrees of Provincial Councils of my Church, and as such, until abrogated, so far as they may be, binding upon me and all her children. Knowing nothing to the contrary, I consider them what such decrees ought to be, and no more than they should be; and authority calling on me so to do, I willingly and sincerely subscribe them in token that I so think. Difficulty or impossibility of ascertaining the original sense in particular Articles does not make me less ready to allow them to be true and agreeable to God's word, all and every of them, for I hold them to be this, not from confidence in myself, as having examined and found them so to be, but from confidence in God's superintending providence over my Church's Councils. The obsolescence of sundry amongst them, occasions me no difficulty, as it does not destroy their truth, but merely limits their operation to the past, and not extending to all, but leaving many still unaffected by time, as are all those embodied in our Liturgy and Catechism, it does not make subscription nugatory. Neither do I hesitate to do what is demanded of me, because I know my Church may have erred in this matter as in any other, for I know also that there is a far greater liability to error in my own, and every body else's private judgment on the subject:—and I am not my Church's judge, but her son.

And here I might conclude, for I have stated how I subscribe the Articles, and my reasons, did I not feel myself concerned to notice another view of the subject, not to combat it indeed, but because it has reference, too exclusively, I think, but still rightly, to an obligation incurred by a subscriber, and to which it therefore behoves me to shew I am not insensible. It may be said; surely the significancy of such an Act as this

is most clearly and quickly ascertained, for all practical purposes; by inquiring what it is, by common consent of rulers and subjects, taken to mean, for this a subscriber ought to mean by it, and it can be nothing to any body but himself, whether he means more or not. Granted;—but the inquiry appears much more easy than it is,—and the matter being one of conscience, I cannot satisfy myself to let the meaning of subscription in my case be determined by its result. I prefer proceeding as I have done above. I readily admit, however, that formal acts like this come to mean different things at different times, and that what they are generally held to mean at a given time, they do mean then, although they may, and ought, in the intention of the individual, also to mean more.

If there was one popular impression as to the obligation incurred by subscription, which had existed from the first, and continued unimpaired to the present time—one therefore on which we could calculate, then doubtless a strong case might be made out for considering it to decide the sense of subscription, and to make the meaning anything further by it gratuitous; but such is not the case. A little thought shows us that with the changes of the religious and theological aspect of the Anglican world, the popular impression on this subject has also undergone change. I have already spoken of the cordial subscriptions of adoption, and the compulsory ones of reception in Queen Elizabeth's day. How different was the state of things in the days of the Carolan divines! Certain of the Articles had by that time become irremediably obsolete; framed originally for avoidance of diversities of opinion, their sense had become obscure, or they had ceased to be applicable to the opinions of the day, for, says the Decla-

ration, "Men of all sorts took the Articles of the Church of England to be for them." This was a strange and dangerous state of things in the eyes of all who thought the Articles, and their subscription, essential to the interests of the English Church. The king congratulates himself that it had not led any to refuse subscription to them; but as its tendency was evidently to do so, he, by advice of certain bishops, interfered to prevent it. The expedient resorted to in the emergency is to forbid any one to print or preach about the Articles, *i. e.* make public use of them except in their full, plain, literal, and grammatical sense. Not of course that subscription was henceforth to be limited to them in that sense, or we should never have had Jeremy Taylor* insisting upon it that such Articles as ours should be made in the greatest latitude of sense, and that, so as the form of words be subscribed, men be allowed to understand them in any sense they please, that the truth of God will suffer and the words can be capable of; but that the sense of the Articles should be no longer a matter of public dispute between interested individuals, one making them mean one thing, another quite the contrary,—that the Articles should be considered a public document, and the ecclesiastical authorities its guardians and interpreters, that, as long as they were silent, men might sign it with their own impressions as to its meaning, but must not quote it against the views of any one else unless they were quite sure they were using it in its full, plain, literal, and grammatical sense. The expedient fully answered its purpose; it put an end to the then use of the Articles, which was an abuse, and yet did not make them useless

* Ductor Dubitantium, Book iii. c. 4, rule 23.

to the Church at a future period, as was proved by the disadvantageous position in which they placed the Arians who subscribed them in Waterland's time.

The form in which we now subscribe was made compulsory in 1661, but as the Churchmen then in power were more or less of J. Taylor's stamp, we cannot suppose, in the absence of all direct proof to the contrary, that it was intended by it to exclude any he would have admitted. Change however was soon about to take place: for following speedily upon the Revolution, and its religious complement,—the expulsion of the non-jurors personally and theologically from the Established Church,—came the Burnet and Waterland view as to subscription: and strangely did its partial strictness contrast with the almost licentious liberty which J. Taylor had, however unwillingly, thought it necessary to allow. They insisted that it was significant in every case of adoption in one and the same sense of all the Articles, except certain about which they and their friends had differences of opinion:—of these Waterland said they were open Articles, and Burnet that they admitted of more senses than one.

But long before the High Church party ceased to exercise supreme power in church affairs they had abandoned all attempts to insist on this mode of subscription. Towards the end of the last century, a most energetic resistance was made to the continuance of subscription at all, and was very nearly successful. It failed; but from that time to this it has been, in practice, considered as affording no sure index of theological opinion, but merely as an oath of fealty to the Established Church, binding him who takes it to as much obedience as is customarily required. I know many subscribe meaning much more than this; but, as meaning

this, subscription has been argued for and against, been retained at Oxford, given up at Cambridge; and, as meaning this, those, I presume, who are heterodox on the doctrines of the Trinity or sacraments, conform to its requirement; and, in present popular acceptance, therefore, it cannot now be taken to mean more.

The popular meaning of subscription then is not fixed but variable; and therefore, while I admit that it has claims on the attention of a subscriber, so that he must see to it that it is included in his meaning, or protest against its being attached to his subscription, for that he is not like the mass of subscribers, and does not mean what they do. I think it most unfit to be taken by any one simply by itself as the meaning of what he does, for how knows he that he may not outlive the present meaning! if he survives his subscription anything like the usual period, he will almost certainly do so; and then in what an antiquated, unreal position he has placed himself: he means by subscription what most certainly subscription no longer means. I consent to mean by my subscription, therefore, nothing but what the act appears to me to mean, considered apart from the changing circumstances of the day. When I last actually subscribed, it meant, popularly, adherence to the Church of England, understood with the greatest possible latitude, and I might be well content to let my subscription be understood to mean that, for it did mean it and much more. A member of the Church of England I was, and am, by all the ordinances of religion participated in or administered by me, by the life-long associations of family and friends, and I trust that whatever may be my opinions about her, I am much more than contented to be so. I subscribed, therefore, in a sense that included the lower one in which I was

understood to subscribe. I think it very necessary that I should state this, for, as the popular meaning of subscription has changed, so will it, and so, to my apprehension, is it now undergoing change. As the continuance of the tacit understanding that no one is accountable except to God and his own conscience for the sense in which he subscribed evidenced the prevalence of the popular meaning of subscription I have mentioned, so the end put to that by Mr. Ward's condemnation shows that it is ceasing to be what it was, and is becoming something else. I will not pretend to foresee, with any accuracy, what that is; but when I consider the composition of the majority on that occasion, and that he owed his condemnation, not to any one's thinking him dishonest in the common meaning of the term, or to be actually intending to leave or injure the Church, but to his having expressed opinions inconsistent with popular views about her, her duties and interests;—I cannot but conclude that the change is to a narrower view than that which has hitherto obtained,—to one which acknowledges error and repudiates truth. The condemnation indicates, and tends to establish a popular persuasion that subscription to the Articles means, not merely that bare adherence to the English Church in practice, which it has of late done, but, in addition, that if you have a theory about it, it must be that one of blind admiration for it, as a Protestant establishment, which every one knows to have been so long and so widely circulated amongst us, but which till now a gracious Providence seems never to have suffered us to recognize. If this is not an unfounded supposition, and it be true that such a change is really begun, and will continue, then I here enter my protest against being understood to subscribe

in any such sense. I may, as I do, think, not that my religious privileges, as a member of the English Church, are too few for me, for I am confident that they are just what best suits me, since they are God's own gift, not my choice, and feel that what I have to do is to strive to use them aright, not to pine after, or wilfully seek their increase while I am deserving their loss; still, lest I fail to inherit the promises, I must study to be a Catholic. I do not believe the Church of England, as I do "the Holy Catholic Church;" I admire nothing about it except what makes it Her representative to me. As an establishment, or a national church, a form of worshipping God ordained by human law, or the *vox populi*, I acknowledge it to have no claim upon me for more than outward civility. I am no Romanist,—I feel it would be necessary to put me into a crucible, fuse, sublimate me, and what not, before I became one; but sooner than forego present Catholic aspirations and efforts, and with eyes open, become an Erastian, whether with the sovereign or the nation for the autocrat of my faith, I would seek Catholicity elsewhere; yes, though

Est iter in silvis; ubi cœlum condidit umbra
Jupiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem,

and though it cannot but be that in most cases converts to Rome, from the indelible nature of their early habits, fail of being Roman Catholics, and are rather renegades to the end of their lives.

And now I wish my reader farewell, praying only that God may enable both of us to see what is our duty in the trials to which it is His will to expose us, and, seeing it, unhesitatingly to perform it.

Easton, Lent, 1845.

